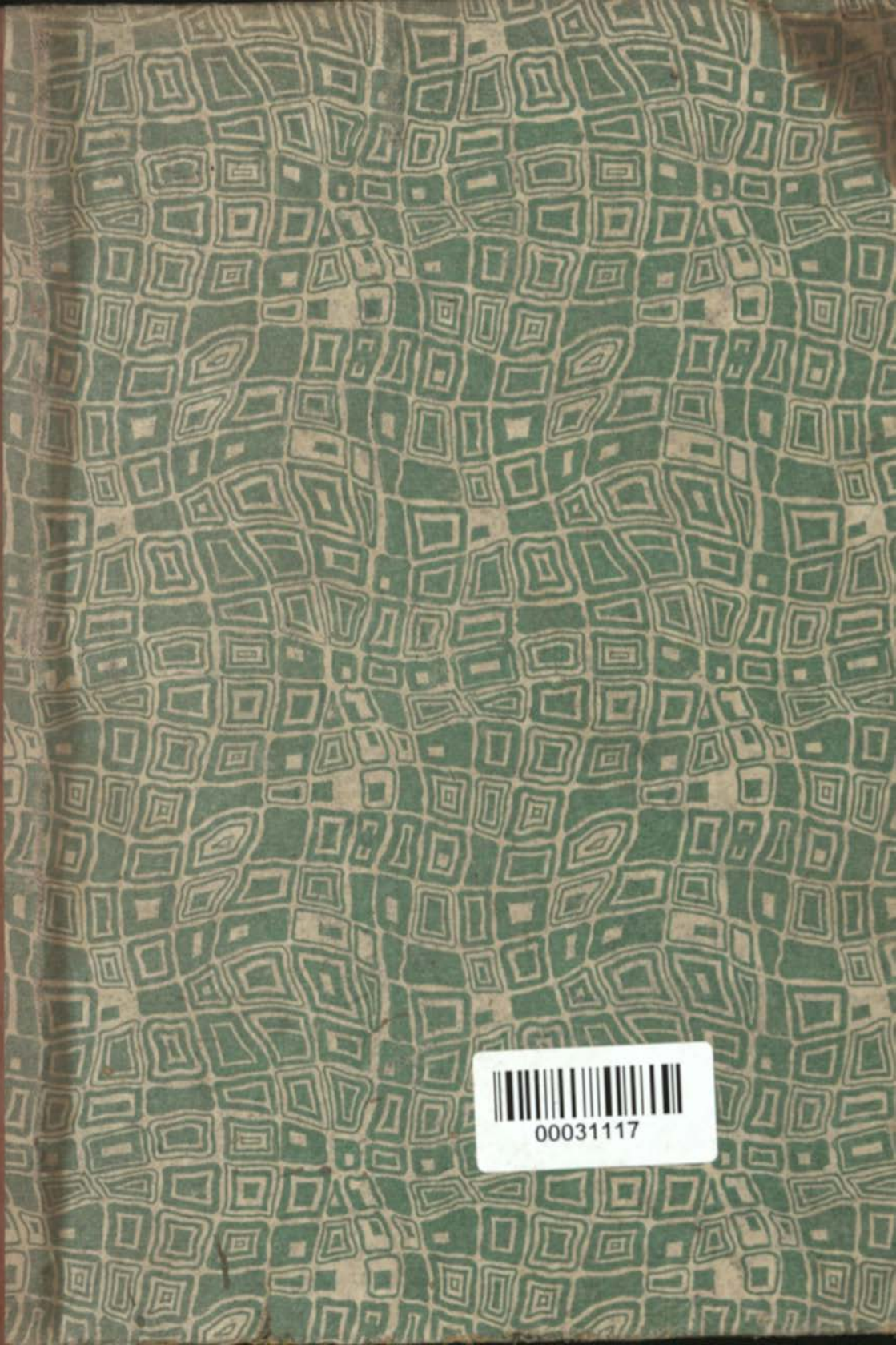
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AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

STATE OF IRELAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY UNDER HENRY II.

TO ITS

UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

On the 1st of January, 1801.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By FRANCIS PLOWDEN, Esq.

VOL. II. PART II.

Pauci prudentiâ, honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt: plures aliorum eventis docentur.
TAC. 4. *Ann.* 33.

Few are qualified by their own reflection to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom. MURPHY'S *Trans.* Vol. i. p. 273.

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1803.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER VII.

The Rebellion in 1798.

THE plan of attack for the 23d of May, communicated far and wide among the rebels—Mr. Neilſon arreſted by the keeper of Newgate—Firſt commotions in Leinſter—The town of Naas attacked —— —— —— —— —— 687

Anonymous *letters to Lord Gosford and Son, Note*—A body of rebels diſperſed, their leaders Ledwich and Keogh, made priſoners —— —— —— 688

General Lake's proclamation publiſhed—The Lord Mayor's proclamation —— 689

The Lord Lieutenant's proclamation—A meſſage from the viceroy to parliament 690

An addreſs to his excellency moved and carried —— —— —— 691

The city of Dublin nearly deſerted by all the lower mechanics and ſervants —— 692

Picketings, ſtranglings, floggings, and tortures applauded —— —— 693

Sir Richard Muſgrave in his appendix juſtifies the ſyſtem —— —— 694

Cruelties exerciſed in Beresford's riding-houſe, Sandy's prevot, the old cuſtom-houſe Dublin, and throughout the country—Many attacks of the rebels with ill ſucceſs—The mail-coaches not arriving at the uſual hours, ſignals of ſedition —— —— —— 695

Sir Edward Croſbie ſhot by martial-law at Carlow —— —— 696

Attack upon Slane—The rebels foiled, not for want of courage or reſolution but for want of proper leaders—After the attack of Proſperous, *Mite* denounces Dr. Eſmond as the perſon who commanded there —— —— —— —— —— 697

Sanguinary plans of the rebels —— —— —— —— 698

Dr. Eſmond arreſted, carried to Dublin and executed, *Note*—Incorporate union will prevent ſuch exceſſes in future —— —— —— —— 699

Two addreſſes of the Roman Catholics at this period, *Appendix*—All the leaders of the rebellion, Eſmond,

Eſmond, M'Nevin and a few others excepted, were Proteſtant—The bulk of the rebel mob Roman Catholics —— —— —— —— 700
Dr. M Nevin's anſwer to the Archbiſhop of Caſhel concerning the conduct of the Catholics in the county of Wexford, *Note*—The word *Saſanagh*, meaning Engliſhman or Proteſtant 701
Various attacks and defeats —— —— —— —— 702
A caution from the lord mayor of Dublin —Contradictions of Sir Richard Muſgrave, *Note* 703
The mail-coaches ceaſe to run without a ſtrong military eſcort —— —— 704
Surrender of the rebel chief, Perkins, near the Curragh of Kildare to General Dundas—Brutal conduct of the military towards the ſex, *Note* —— —— —— 705
The diſpoſition to ſurrender damped by the cruelty of Lord Jocelyn's Fox-hunters 706
Extract of a letter from General Duffe to General Lake—Contradictory accounts of theſe tranſactions —— —— —— —— —— 707
Sir Richard Muſgrave's aſſertions proved falſe—Cullen's acquittal, *Note*—Mr. Dunne's letter to Dr. Troy about the tranſactions at Naas, *Note*—The great diſtinction of the contending parties was that of *Orangemen* and *United Iriſhmen*—More falſehoods of Sir Richard Muſgrave, *Note* —— —— —— —— —— 708
Loyalty diſplayed at firſt by all deſcriptions of people in the county of Wexford in an addreſs preſented by Lord Mountnorris —— —— —— 710
Dennis M'Daniel's terror and death related by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, *Note* —— 711
Syſtem of flogging and half hanging in Gorey—Riſe and progreſs of the Orange ſyſtem in Wexford —— —— —— —— —— 712
North Cork regiment the introducers if not the inventors of the *pitched cap torture* in the county of Wexford—Unheard of tortures practiſed by the North Cork militia—Ingenuity of *Tom the Devil* in torturing —— —— —— —— 713
Women treated with indecent cruelty by the military—The ſyſtem of terror encreaſes the numbers of the *Union*—Cauſes of the religious rancor in the county of Wexford —— 714
The inhabitants quit their houſes—Retaliation of the people on the military —— 715
Father Murphy becomes a rebel —— —— —— 716
Account of moſt of the Catholic prieſts who were engaged in rebellion —— 717
A detachment of the North Cork militia defeated by Murphy —— 718
Enniſcorthy attacked and carried by the rebels —— —— —— 719
The military abandon the town of Wexford—Bagnal Harvey, Colclough, and Fitzgerald, arreſted —Colclough and Fitzgerald deputed to appeaſe the rebels —— —— 720
The rebels detain Fitzgerald and ſend Colclough back to announce hoſtilities —— 721
Captain Adams defeated with a detachment from Dungannon fort—Retreat of General Fawcett —Harvey addreſſes the rebels to ſpare the lives of their priſoners, &c. —— 722
Counſellor Richards announces the ſurrender of Wexford—Diſaſtrous ſituation of the Catholics of Wexford —— —— —— —— —— 723
The town taken poſſeſſion of by the rebels—Bagnal Harvey releaſed by the rebels and forced to take the command—Many of the yeomen join the rebel ſtandard—The troops upon their retreat from Wexford burn and deſtroy all before them —— —— 724
The town of Gorey evacuated by the military—Arklow refuſes any aſſiſtance to the flying ſoldiers —Their arms taken and burned—The Catholics form an aſſociation to protect Proteſtant houſes and property in the town of Gorey—Rebel camp of Vinegar hill —— 725

The

The neighbouring town of Enniſcorthy garriſoned from the ſaid camp—Gorey is garriſoned by ſome militia and yeomen cavalry—A corps of rebels defeated near Ballycanoo—The rebels defeated at Newtonbarry—The diſtreſſes of the poor women and children as reported by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, *Note* —— —— —— —— 726
Evils reſulting from the diviſion of troops into ſmall detachments—Barbarous conduct of Lieutenant Young —— —— —— —— —— —— 727
The rebels retreat to Corrigua Hill—Death of Col. Walpole, and defeat of his detachment 728
General Loftus at the head of 1200 military men—Retreats firſt to Carnew, next to the county Carlow—The rebels divide into two bodies—The one under the command of Harvey direct their courſe towards New Roſs, and encamp on Corbet Hill —— —— 729
Bagenal Harvey's ſummons to General Johnſon—The Town of Roſs attacked 730
The rebels after a violent and long conteſt defeated—Lord Mountjoy killed in the beginning of the attack —— —— —— —— 731
The maſſacre at Scullabogue houſe —— —— —— 732
Cauſe of this maſſacre —— —— —— 733
General Harvey reſigns the command of the rebel army, firſt publiſhing general orders 734
The rebels encamp on Sleeve Keelta and elect for commander Father Philip Roche—The negligence of the rebels during their ſtay in the neighbourhood of New Roſs —— 735
The town of Arklow attacked —— —— —— 738
Murphy the rebel commander killed—The rebels defeated—The town of Wexford head quarters of the rebels —— —— —— —— 739
General Keugh appointed commander by the rebels—Keugh's life and character—Diſtreſs of the Proteſtant inhabitants, &c. —— —— —— 740
Above 100 perſons ſuffer death in Wexford during the government of the rebels—Captain Dixon the author of the murders—Proclamation of the *United* Iriſhmen of Wexford, *Note* 741
Dixon inflames the mob againſt Mr. Le Hunte—Mr. Le Hunte's life ſaved by Meſſrs. Hay and Carty —— —— —— —— —— 742
Cauſe of Dixon's animoſity to the gentry of Wexford —— —— 743
Sir Richard Muſgrave's aſſertions reprobated by his excellency the lord lieutenant 744
No pariſh prieſt, in the county of Wexford implicated in the rebellion—Dr. Caulfield's houſe ſearched for Orangemen —— —— 745
Lord Kingſborough taken priſoner in Wexford —— —— —— 746
Approach of the army—Terror of the country people, and the devaſtations committed by the troops ſeen from Vinegar Hill—General Moore's humane conduct —— 747
Execrable butchery commanded by the Monſter Dixon—Father Corrin puts a ſtop to the maſſacre —— —— —— —— 748
Dr. Caulfield's letter to Dr. Troy, *Note* —— —— 749
The army from Arklow under the command of General Needham moves towards Gorey—Several armies under the command of general officers move from all ſides to ſurround the rebel camp on Vinegar Hill —— —— —— 752
The king's forces amount to 13,000 men with artillery—The rebels fly after a ſmart cannonading—Leave their guns and a quantity of plunder —— —— 753

The

The Heſſian troops commit exceſſes againſt friends and foes—The battle and defeat of the rebels at Goff's bridge —— —— —— —— —— 754

Propoſals by the town of Wexford to capitulate—Mr. Edward Hay's account of the ſtate of things then, *Note* —— —— —— —— —— 755

Declaration of Dr. Caulfield againſt Sir Richard Muſgrave's falſe aſſertions—Mention of the black flag—Deſcribed by Mr. Hay —— —— —— 757

An hiſtorical account of the 21ſt of June, by Dr. Caulfield —— —— 758

General Lake rejects the offers of ſurrender of the city of Wexford—Rev. Mr. Gordon called upon and vouches for Dr. Caulfield's ſtatement of facts, *Note*—Enſign Harman ſent by M'Carthy on a miſſion to General Moore—Shot upon his way —— —— 761

The inſurgents prevailed on at length to quit Wexford —— —— 762

Notwithſtanding all the precautions of General Moore, upon the army's entering Wexford they put all the wounded in the hoſpital to the ſword, and many of the people found in the ſtreets likewiſe 763

Detached ſcouts ſent out to ſcour the country from the corps under the command of General Needham—They burn houſes and chapels, and kill all they find on the roads, though unarmed—Retaliation of the inſurgents—Bloody Friday —— —— 764

On the 20th of June 1798 the Marquis Cornwallis arrives in Dublin—He changes the whole ſyſtem of the military government—Happy conſequences of his meaſures —— 765

All the principal inhabitants of Wexford arraigned for treaſon upon General Lake's army entering the city—Captain Keugh remains in the town—Bagenal Harvey retires to his ſeat in the country—Colclough and Harvey taken in the Saltee iſlands—Grogan taken at his manſion of Johnſtown—All ſucceſſively tried by court-martial and executed, and their properties confiſcated by a ſubſequent act of the Iriſh parliament —— —— —— 766–7

The ſcene of terroriſm cloſed by order of the lord lieutenant, who orders General Lake to Dublin—Good conduct of General Hunter—The Northern inſurgents attack Antrim, and take it—Death of Lord O'Neil —— —— —— 768

The inſurgents after a long conteſt with the troops retire to Donnegar Hill, ſurrender their arms and diſperſe—Dr. Jackſon's corps of united Iriſh, in the county of Down, ſet fire to the houſe of Mackee an informer—The ſame corps of rebels defeated by Colonel Stapleton's detachment of York fencibles and Yeomen cavalry—The rebels take poſt at Ballynahinch—The battle and defeat of the rebels—A revenue cruiſer and 40 men burned by the rebels—The Northern inſurgents diſperſe and ſurrender—An inſurrection in the county of Corke —— 769

Diſperſed by the Weſtmeath militia, and ſome of the Caithneſs legion—The rebels of Wexford ſhape their courſe through Scollogh Gap in Mount Leinſter, under the command of Father John Murphy, in hopes of raiſing the colliers in the county of Kilkenny—They defeat ſeveral ſmall bodies of the military on the way —— —— —— 770

Sir Charles Aſgill marches againſt them, but the rapidity of their march prevents his joining them at Newbridge, as he intended—The rebels retire back from Caſtlecomer, which they ſet on fire, after defeating 250 men ſent to protect it—They are followed by the army and defeated at Kilcomny, near Newbridge —— —— —— 771

The other body of Wexford rebels are defeated near Hacketſtown, in the county of Wicklow—The

The rebels direct their courſe for Carnew, and defeat General Needham's cavalry—They defeat the yeomen cavalry at Ballyrakeen ——— ——— ——— 772

Lord Cornwallis's proclamation—An act of amneſty publiſhed ——— 773

A meſſage from his excellency to the Houſe of Commons—A copy of the certificate of protection and oath, *Note*—The rebels fix their ſtation near Wicklow Gap—Are ſurrounded under favor of a fog by the army under the command of Sir James Duff—They force their way through the cavalry in the direction of Carnew ——— ——— ——— 774

At Ballygullen make a moſt deſperate reſiſtance—Diſperſe, and after a few days break up—General Lake's order for proſecutions upon leaving Wexford—Several petition for tranſportation 775

Courts martial inſtituted in Roſs, Enniſcorthy, Gorey and Newton Barry—Among the reſt the Reverend John Redmond executed though apparently innocent, at the proſecution of Lord Mountnorris—The leading Orange junto of Wexford ——— ——— 776

The Rev. Mr. Gordon's account of the execution of Redmond ——— ——— 777

The remainder of the rebels of Wexford and Wicklow move on to form a junction with thoſe of Kildare, headed by Mr. Aylmer, and after various rencontres are totally routed at Ballyboghill, near Swords—Aylmer and ſeveral other chiefs negociate with General Dundas—General Moore grants terms to Garrett Byrne, &c. ——— ——— ——— 778

Arthur O'Connor, and ſeventy three ſtate priſoners propoſe, through Mr. Dobbs, a member of parliament, terms and confeſſions to government to ſave the lives of Oliver Bond and Byrne, then under ſentence—The confeſſion propoſed, *Note*—Reference to Arthur O'Connor's letter to Lord Caſtlereagh, *Note* ——— ——— ——— ——— 779

O'Connor, Emmett, M'Nevin, and Neilſon examined upon oath before the ſecret committee of both houſes of parliament—Miniſters notwithſtanding keep the fifteen principal priſoners in confinement during the war—Byrne executed—Bond reſpited—Dies of an apoplexy in priſon—The peace of the metropolis maintained by the yeomanry ——— ——— 780

The remnant of the rebel army with deſerters from the regiments remain in the faſtneſſes of the Wicklow mountains, and in the woods—They make a depredatory war, Holt and Hacket their commanders ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— 781

Retaliation of Proteſtants upon Catholics for the murders committed by this banditti—Hacket killed near Arklow—Holt ſurrenders to Lord Powerſcourt on condition of being tranſported—The lord lieutenant's meſſage to parliament ——— ——— ——— 782

The lord lieutenant preſents papers mentioned in his meſſage all ſealed up in a box—On the 27th of July the attorney general moves an act for attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey—A bill of general amneſty followed ſome time after 783

Napper Tandy and about thirty other fugitives in France excepted from bill of general amneſty—Humane conduct of General Hunter and his brigade major Captain Fitzgerald in Wexford—The general ſtops the deſpotic cruelty of the Orangemen by threatening to get the refractory tied to a cart's tail and whipped ——— ——— ——— ——— 784

His remarkable anſwer to a curate reporting falſe alarms ——— ——— 785

Mr. Hawtrey White's falſe alarms—Cruelty execiſed upon the miſerable peaſantry—General Hunter proves Hawtrey White a perjured and falſe alarmiſt ——— ——— 786

Several

Several acquitted by the court martial of Wexford prefided at by Lord Ancram, and after his departure by Sir James Fowlis—Major Fitzgerald's letter to Mr. Hay, vouching for the authenticity of his hiſtory, *Note* —— —— —— —— —— 787
The execution of Mr. Walter Devereux notwithſtanding protections—The weakneſs of French politics ſaves Ireland —— —— —— —— —— 788
Landing of Humbert's forces at Killala —— —— —— 789
Good conduct and diſcipline of the French general and his troops —— —— 790
The French take poſſeſſion of Ballina —— —— —— 791
The royal army defeated ſhamefully at Caſtlebar—Rev. Mr. Gordon's obſervations upon this affair *Note* —— —— —— —— —— 792
The Marquis Cornwallis heads the army in perſon, and moves forward to ſtop the career of the enemy—The progreſs of the French retarded by the brave reſiſtance of the Limerick militia near Coloony —— —— —— —— —— 793
The French abandon their plan againſt Sligo, and direct their march towards Granard in Longford 794
The French army ſurrender at Ballynamuck—The whole march of the French 122 Iriſh miles—The French loſe after their landing about 200 men —— —— —— 795
Lord Cornwallis's plan prevents an inſurrection in Granard and Cavan—Major General Trench with a large body of troops arrives at Killala—The rebels diſperſe after a ſevere conflict 796
Great expedition of the Kerry militia to relieve the town—Raſhneſs and temerity of the rebels 797
A narration of this ſad ſcene by the Biſhop of Killala—The French keep the town thirty-two days 793
Great contempt of the French for the Catholic prieſts and Catholic populace—Deſcription of their appearance and diſcipline —— —— —— —— 799
Their police in Killala and environs —— —— —— 800
The example of Killala followed by their other conqueſts—Queſtion of legality in ſubmitting to an invading enemy, and acting under him—General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke condemned by court-martial and hanged —— —— —— 801
Roger Mac Guire after a long impriſonment at Caſtlebar tranſported to Botany Bay—Mac Guire the father hanged—Returns of the army's loſs during the rebellion, and that of the rebels 803

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Union with Great Britain.

OF the principle object of the Union—Parliament remains ſitting throughout the rebellion—The chiefs of the rebellion examined before the ſecret committees of both houſes—Their confeſſions publiſhed—The publication charged with miſ-repreſentation in the popular prints 803
The lord chancellor reports from the committee—Examination of the chief rebels 804
Lord Cornwallis publiſhes a proclamation —— —— 806

Mr.

Mr. Ogle's ſpeech in the courſe of the debates on the attainder bill, *Note*—Mr. Grattan's letter from Twickenham 9th November, 1798, *Note* ——— ——— 807
Parliament prorogued on 6th November, 1798—The lord lieutenant's ſpeech 808
The Earl of Enniſkillen diſgraced for his conduct on the trial of Wollaghan —— 809
The lord lieutenant's orders to General Craig, in conſequence of the conduct of the court-martial preſided by Lord Enniſkillen ——— ——— ——— 812
The lamentable fate of Theobald Wolfe Tone, founder of the Iriſh Union ——— 813
Tried by a court-martial, pleads guilty, but aſks for military execution, being denied which, he cut his throat the night before the execution—Opinion of the court of King's Bench on his trial by court-martial, ſitting the King's Bench ——— ——— 814
The Orange ſocieties multiplied upon the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion—Caſe of the king againſt White and Goring, magiſtrates of the county of Tipperary, *Note* ——— 815
Crimes fabricated by, and infamous conduct of ſome yeomen and magiſtrates—Inhumanity of Mr. T. Judkin Fitzgerald, ſheriff of Tipperary ——— ——— 816
Incorporate union can alone releaſe Ireland from the miſchiefs of Orangiſm—Difference of opinions upon the queſtion of *Union* ——— ——— ——— 817
Proſtitution of votes upon the occaſion—Mr. Cooke's pamphlet circulated with great zeal and induſtry by miniſters ——— ——— ——— 818
A liſt of the principal writings for and againſt the meaſure, *Note* ——— 819
The Earl of Clare at the head of the Unioniſts, the Right Hon. Mr. Foſter leader of the Anti-unioniſts—Several diſmiſſals from office—Meeting of the bar, Ambroſe Smith in the chair—A reſolution moved againſt an Union—Adjournment moved by St. George Daly —— 820
Upon a diviſion, for the adjournment 32 againſt it 166—The city of Dublin oppoſes the meaſure —— —— —— —— 821
Reſolutions of Dublin, the lord mayor in the chair—Caſe of George Sparks, Eſq. oppreſſed by Wexford Orangemen, *Note* —— —— —— —— 822
The political war, for and againſt an Union, rages throughout the country —— 823
Meetings all over Ireland, even of the fellows and ſcholars of Trinity college—Parliament meets 22d January 1799—The viceroy's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament —— 824
An addreſs moved from the lords—An amendment moved by Lord Powerſcourt—Rejected by a ſtrong majority, 49 againſt 16—Lord Tyrone moves the addreſs in the commons—Oppoſed by Sir John Parnell —— —— —— —— 827
After a debate of twenty-two hours the houſe divided, ayes for the amendment 105, noes 106—Adjourned till the 24th, when Sir Lawrence Parſons objects to the paragraph concerning the *Union*, ſaying, the queſtion of an Union revives all the old political jealouſies —— 852-3
Anſwer of the Iriſh parliament to King Edward, when ſummoned by him to England—Various other reaſons againſt the meaſure alleged by Sir Lawrence Parſons —— 854
Lord Caſtlereagh diſclaims any thought of re-arguing the queſtion —— —— 855
On a diviſion upon omitting or expunging the paragraph relative to an Union in the addreſs, for the rejection of the paragraph 111, for its continuance 106; majority for the anti-unioniſts 5—A meſſage from the king to the Houſe of Lords in England, on the ſame day as in Ireland, propoſing Union —— —— —— —— —— 875
A like meſſage to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons—Mr. Sheridan oppoſes bringing ſuch a meaſure forward

forward in the then ſtate of affairs---Mr. Pitt replies, and the motion for taking his majeſty's meſſage, &c. is carried for the day following —— —— —— 876
Lord Grenville in the Houſe of Peers moves for taking his majeſty's meſſage, &c.—Mr. Sheridan in the Commons oppoſes the meaſure as an infringement upon the rights of that nation declared in the Iriſh parliament in 1782, &c.—The declaration of the parliament of Ireland, *Note* 877
Mr. Sheridan concludes his ſpeech by moving an amendment, expreſſing the ſurprize and deep regret with which the houſe, &c. —— —— —— 881
Mr. Canning anſwers Mr. Sheridan, and ſays the French revolution made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of the Iriſh —— —— —— —— 882
The advantages of a cloſer connexion with England demonſtrated—Mr. Canning concludes by recommending the meaſure —— —— —— —— 884
Mr. Pitt at length ſupports the meaſure, and offers various reaſons which induce him thereto 885
The amendment rejected, and addreſs voted —— —— —— 888
Mr. Pitt in a long ſpeech enumerates the great advantages of the meaſure of an incorporate Union, acknowledging the competency of the Iriſh parliament to diſpoſe for itſelf —— 889-90
The emancipation of Catholics conſidered as dangerous to the ſtate in the then ſtate of affairs, but practicable upon an Union —— —— —— 891
Want of capital and induſtry in Ireland —— —— —— 892
The loſs of national independence of no weight when conſidered with regard to Ireland 893
The weakneſs of Ireland againſt an enemy —— —— 894
Advantages of the Union for Ireland by a compariſon with Scotland —— 895
He concludes by preſenting eight reſolutions—The reſolutions reported at full length 896
Mr. Pitt concludes by moving an addreſs, &c.—Mr. Sheridan oppoſes the plan as productive of diſcord and animoſity —— —— —— —— 898
Mr. Sheridan concludes by preſenting two reſolutions—The reſolutions at full length—Lord Hawkeſbury in ſupport of the meaſure, and Dr. Lawrence againſt it —— 900
The houſe divides, 140 againſt 15—Mr. Pitt propoſes a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject—Mr. Sheridan renews his oppoſition to the ſcheme —— —— —— 901
Mr. Pitt proteſts againſt Mr. Sheridan's reſolutions—Mr. Grey contends for his friend's propoſitions, &c.—Diviſion for the previous queſtion, 141 againſt 25—Upon the formation of a committee for the diſcuſſion, the honorable Mr. St. John moves to have the queſtion diſmiſſed for the preſent —— —— —— —— 902
Meſſrs. Grey, Secretary Dundas, Sheridan, Wyndham, Tierney, Grant, and Smith, ſpeak for and againſt the ſpeaker's leaving the chair—Diviſion, 149 againſt 24—The order of the day moved for a committee on the meſſage—Mr. Sheridan recommends as a ſubſtitution for a legiſlative Union Catholic emancipation, which had been heretofore promiſed, and moves that it be an inſtruction to the committee to examine how far it would be conducive to the intereſts of Ireland to aboliſh all religious inabilities, &c. —— —— 906
This propoſal upon the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Pitt rejected without a diviſion—General Fitzpatrick, honorable Mr. Dudley Rider, Meſſrs. Tierney, Dundas, the ſolicitor general, the honorable Mr. Percival, Mr. Sylveſter Douglas, and Dr. Lawrence, ſeverally ſpeak on the ſubject, as bearing a connexion with the arrangement in 1782 —— —— —— 907-8
Upon a diviſion, for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair 131, againſt it 19—The opinion upon *an union* of

of Lewins and Dr. M'Nevin at the meeting in Dublin, *Note*—The houſe in committee, Mr. Douglas takes the chair—Mr. Hobhouſe recommends deferring the meaſure for the preſent, as obnoxious to the people of Ireland—Mr. Addington, the ſpeaker, takes a general review of the relative ſituation of both countries in politics, commerce, and religion ——— 909

Mr. Addington concludes by giving his full approbation to the meaſure—The five firſt reſolutions of Mr. Pitt read and agreed to; the ſixth, granting free trade, oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce Bird —The remaining reſolutions carried—Mr. Hobhouſe ſtates his reaſons for oppoſing the meaſure—Lord Leviſon Gower is a friend to an union—Sir Robert Peele, though an enemy to the commercial propoſitions in 1785, approves of union—Lord Temple of the ſame opinion 912

Various other members ſpeak for and againſt the propoſed plan, which on a diviſion is adopted, ayes for bringing up the report 120, noes 16—On the 18th February a conference between the lords and commons of the Britiſh parliament—Mr. Foſter's great popularity in Ireland—Addreſſed by the city of Dublin, guild of merchants, &c. —— —— 913–14

Lord Caſtlereagh moves for an adjournment of the Iriſh parliament to 7th Feb.—Sir John Parnell oppoſes the adjournment, and urges the neceſſity of vigilance againſt the wiles of miniſtry 915

Mr. Barrington cenſures Mr. Pitt's ſpeech—Sir Henry Cavendiſh ſupports the adjournment, and aſſerts, that the whole county of Cork deſire an *Union*—Sir John Freke contradicts the report of the wiſhes of Cork —— —— —— —— 916

The queſtion is carried in the affirmative—Colonel Maxwell Barry moves for a call of the houſe on the 8th Feb. ——— ——— ——— ——— 917

The motion amended for the 11th Feb.—Sir Henry Cavendiſh, after prefacing upon the unruly conduct of people without doors, moves three reſolutions—A report that the parliament was to be removed to Cork ——— ——— —— ——— 918

A paragraph read from the Dublin Evening Poſt by the right honorable Denis Browne againſt the *corruption of miniſtry*, &c.—Meetings in the different counties of Anti-unioniſts—The addreſs of the city of Galway remarkable for its conciſeneſs and perſpicuity ——— 919

Great diſunion in the city of Cork—Mr. Pitt's ſpeech of the 23d January circulated throughout the empire in great profuſion—A complaint carried to the Iriſh commons againſt a London News-Paper, called *The Sun* —— —— —— —— 920

A vote of the houſe to get the ſaid paper burnt on College Green by the common hangman, and that the ſheriffs of Dublin do attend, &c.—The county of Galway proclaimed in a ſtate of diſturbance—A liſt of the Britiſh troops in Ireland at this period —— —— 921

Perſonal applications of the viceroy in favor of the union—Speech of Lord Lanſdowne upon the ſubject of union in the Engliſh lords 19th March, *Note*—Lord Rokeby's letter to the Marquis Cornwallis againſt union, *Note* —— ——— —— 922

Lord Grenville opens the buſineſs in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers 19th March, 1800 —— 923

His lordſhip after a long ſpeech, illuſtrative of the advantages of an union to both countries, and in particular to the Catholics of Ireland, moves the firſt reſolution, &c.—Earl Fitzwilliam deems the queſtion unſeaſonable —— ——— —— —— 926

Catholic officers admitted in Ireland—Excluded in England, &c. &c. —— 927

Lord Fitzwilliam's declaration reſpecting Catholic emancipation —— —— 928

Reply of Lord Grenville—Explanation of Lord Fitzwilliam—Marquis of Lanſdowne's obſervations upon the queſtion in its full extent —— —— ——— 929

The marquis's eulogium of Dean Tucker, and of Mr. Dobbs, a member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons —— —— —— —— 931

Earl Camden's defence of his own adminiſtration---The Marquis of Townſend for the meaſure---Lord Clifton declares for a legiſlative union, but declares how ignorant the Engliſh are of the real ſtate of Ireland —— —— —— 932

Lords Hobart and Moira ſpeak ſeverally on the meaſure —— —— 933

Lord Moira animadverts upon ſeveral parts of Lord Grenville's ſpeech, and aſſerts, that a man may be a brave and gallant ſoldier, a lover of the king and his country, though a believer in ſeven ſacraments —— —— —— —— 934

Lords Holland, Mulgrave, Carliſle, Weſtmoreland, and the Duke of Portland, ſpeak on the queſtion—The houſe after a long debate agrees to the reſolutions, and a day fixed for an addreſs on the ſubject—Lord Grenville moves the addreſs—Lord Auckland riſes to diſcuſs the ſubject upon other grounds than thoſe already gone over, to wit, upon the commercial advantages 936

The Biſhop of Llandaff argues for an union —— —— 937

Lord Minto ſucceeds the prelate in an elaborate ſpeech to recommend an union —— 940

Adviſes a clauſe in the treaty of union, expreſſive of the juſt claims of the Catholics 948

The Britiſh miniſters reſolve to emancipate the Catholics by an act of the imperial parliament, *Note*—Declarations of miniſters communicated to Dr. Troy by the Marquis Cornwallis, *Note* —— —— —— —— —— 944

The King of Great Britain King of Ireland, the viceroy of Ireland amenable to a Britiſh tribunal; hence in ſome meaſure Ireland is ſubordinate to England —— —— 945

Lord Minto concludes by praying for a ſpeedy union—Lords Holland, King, and Thanet proteſt—The addreſs voted—A conference with the commons to have the addreſs preſented by both houſes—The plan of union brought in the commons to a freſh diſcuſſion before they joined to preſent the addreſs —— —— —— —— 947

After a long debate, in which ſeveral members take a part for and againſt the queſtion, the addreſs adopted—The addreſs, *Note* —— —— —— 948

Mr. Dobbs's motion in the Iriſh parliament for a commutation of tithes—The loyaliſts claim bill—The rebel diſqualification bill brought in by the members for Dublin city —— 949

After ſome debate, upon the motion of Sir Hercules Langriſhe and attorney general, is loſt—Lord Matthew preſents a petition of Judkin Fitzgerald, late high ſheriff of the county of Tipperary, praying for indemnity for certain acts, &c. to put down rebellion—The ſubſtance of the petition —— —— —— —— 950

Meſſrs. Holmes, Secretary Cooke, and the attorney general, bear teſtimony of the ſheriff's ſervices —— —— —— —— 952

The honorable Mr. Yelverton ſtates to the houſe the cruelty and injuſtice of the ſheriff's conduct towards Mr. White, and oppoſes the petition —— —— 953 to 955

Colonel Bagwell, member for the county of Tipperary, joins Mr. Yelverton, and gives an excellent character of the victim of the ſheriff's cruelty —— —— 957

The ſheriff obtains a conſiderable penſion —— —— —— 958

Mr. Dawſon's amendment in the rebellion bill rejected —— —— 959

The regency bill propoſed by the late prime ſerjeant---The bill at length, *Note*---Lord Caſtlereagh objects —— —— —— —— 960

Mr.

Mr. Fitzgerald concludes by moving an amendment---Mr. Foſter delivers his ſentiments at conſiderable length—Cenſures Mr. Pitt's ſpeech—10,000 copies of Mr. Pitt's ſpeech circulated gratis, *Note*—Modification of Poyning's law ſecures the connection between the kingdoms 962

The meaſure of 1782 all conſtitutional—That of 1785 all commercial—The preſent ſyſtem a meaſure of utter annihilation—The union propoſed is compared by Mr. Foſter to the union of both houſes of parliament—The Iriſh parliament as competent to adjuſt the differences between Catholics and Proteſtants as an imperial legiſlature could be —— —— 963

Mr. Foſter concludes by addreſſing his countrymen —— —— 965

Lord Caſtlereagh replies —— —— —— 966

Mr. George Ponſonby concurs with Mr. Foſter—Mr. Fitzgerald's amendment carried unanimouſly—The regency bill poſtponed to the 1ſt of Auguſt—The union meaſure deferred alſo, by miniſters, to the following ſeſſions—The whole power of government employed in making proſelytes for the *Union* —— —— —— —— 967

Lord Caſtlereagh moves for an adjournment to 1ſt June—Mr. Maſon moves the ſpeaker to iſſue his writ for the borough of Kilmalloe, in room of Mr. Oliver, who accepted the eſcheatorſhip of Munſter—Mr. Dawſon aſks why Mr. Oliver ſhould be preferred to Col. Cole, &c.—A long altercation upon the abuſe of the government patronage of eſcheatorſhip, &c. —— 968

Mr. Martin praiſes the adminiſtration of Lord Cornwallis —— —— 973

The debate finiſhes by the queſtion of adjournment, which paſſes by 47 againſt 33—The viceroy's ſpeech from the throne —— —— —— —— 974

The ſeſſion of the Britiſh parliament cloſed the 12th July—An extract from the king's ſpeech relative to Ireland, *Note*—Intrigues and practices of both parties in Ireland—The influence of government encreaſed by the lord lieutenant's progreſs through the kingdom —— 977

The Britiſh parliament aſſembles on 24th September—The Marquis of Buckingham moves the addreſs, and marks his opinion of great benefits accruing to the empire at large from an incorporate union—Marquis Downſhire, Earl Charlemont and W. Brab. Ponſonby ſend circular letters to invite the different counties, &c. to petition againſt the *Union* —— —— 978

The Downſhire regiment taken from the Marquis of Donegal, and his name eraſed from the liſt of the privy counſel—The Roman Catholics, as a body, remain ſilent upon the queſtion—They coaleſce in ſome meaſures with the Unioniſts from their averſion to Orangemen—The Catholics attached to Lord Cornwallis—Difference of opinion among the Catholics of Dublin—Addreſs of the Grand Orange Lodge Dublin, *Note* —— —— —— —— 979—80

The anti-unioniſt Catholics of Dublin hold a meeting at the Royal Exchange, Mr. Moore in the chair —— —— —— —— —— —— 981

Counſellor O'Connell's ſpeech, and reſolutions, *Note* —— —— —— 982

The Parliament meets 15th January, 1800—Mr. Grattan elected for the borough of Wicklow on the death of its member —— —— —— —— 983

The lord lieutenant's ſpeech from the throne—No mention of the Union in the ſpeech 984

Lord Viſcount Loftus moves the addreſs—Seconded by Col. Croſbie —— 985

Sir Lawrence Parſons deſires the lord lieutenant's ſpeech at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion to be read, which being done he loudly animadverts upon the conduct of miniſters in the wilful omiſſion of a mention of the Union in the preſent ſpeech, and moves an amendment —— 986

Lord Caſtlereagh anſwers the arguments of Sir Lawrence Parſons, and is ſupported by Mr. La Touche —— —— —— —— —— 987

Among

Among the various aſſertions during this violent and long debate thoſe of Mr. Buſhe the boldeſt, *Note* —— —— —— —— —— —— 989
Mr. Grattan enters the houſe between Mr. W. B. Ponſonby and Mr. Moore—His ſpeech againſt the meaſure —— —— —— —— —— —— 993
Mr. Corry replies to Mr. Grattan —— —— —— —— 998
On the diviſion at ten o'clock in the morning the amendment was rejected by 138 againſt 96—An aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin is convened, in which ſtrong reſolutions againſt an Union are voted —— —— —— 999
The tenth reſolution concludes with addreſſes to Meſſrs. Grattan, Foſter, and Ogle 1000
Their anſwers to ſaid addreſſes, *Note*—Petitions preſented againſt the Union —— 1001
Mr. Bagwell member for the county of Tipperary, declares he has changed his mind and will vote againſt an Union with his conſtituents —— —— —— 1002
Sir Lawrence Parſons ſtates to the houſe the conduct of Sheriff Derby and Col. Rogers in intimidating Anti-Unioniſts from petitioning—And moves reſolutions againſt them—Oppoſed by Lord Caſtlereagh—A meſſage from the lord lieutenant laying before the houſe the plan of the Union —— —— —— —— —— 1003
Lord Caſtlereagh comments upon the obſtacles to, as well as encouragement given by the country to the meaſure —— —— —— —— 1004
The wiſh of the projectors of the Union to follow the modes employed for that of Scotland, &c. 1005
Complete identity of power, neceſſary in caſes of war and peace—Abdication of the crown of one realm. Reſponſibility of miniſters, &c. —— —— —— 1006
The financial proportions of the two countries eſtabliſhed upon an average, &c. —— 1007
The revenues and ſtanding debts of both countries—Scale of preſent and future taxation 1009
Peace and war eſtabliſhment of Ireland and Great Britain —— —— 1010
The commercial intereſts of both countries —— —— —— 1011
Manufactures, duties, premiums, and drawbacks —— —— —— 1012
Great Britain favoring the Iriſh linen manufactory —— —— 1013
Countervailing duties and charges upon re-exportation of native, foreign, and colonial goods conſidered—The proſpect of a great woollen and ſail cloth trade preſented to Ireland by an Union —— —— —— —— —— 1014
The intereſts of the Proteſtant with the natural rights of the Catholic ſecured by Union 1015
The Catholic clergy free from any imputation of bribery —— —— 1016
The parliamentary repreſentation in proportion to wealth and population—The appointment of peers, and number —— —— —— —— 1017
Future repreſentation of the commons—Compenſation for boroughs disfranchiſed —— 1018
Proviſion for the continuance of the exiſting laws and law courts —— —— 1019
And concludes by a general outline of the meaſure, and a warm panegyric on the Britiſh miniſter, Mr. George Ponſonby repreſents the foregoing advantages as merely viſionary, and oppoſes the ſcheme —— —— —— —— —— 1020
Mr. Grattan's remarkable queſtions to the houſe in concluding his ſpeech againſt the meaſure 1023
The houſe divides—For the miniſter 158—Againſt him 115 —— —— 1034
The Earl of Clare, upon the order of the day being read in the Houſe of Lords, calls their lordſhips attention to the Union —— —— —— —— 1025

And

And concludes an able ſpeech by aſſerting his moſt ardent wiſhes would be for the meaſure—Earl of Clare's ſpeech in the Engliſh Houſe of Lords—After Union injurious to his country—Report that he repented ſorely his conduct, *Note* —— —— —— 1032

The Marquis of Downſhire oppoſes the meaſure—After a long debate the firſt reſolution paſſed by 75 againſt 26 —— —— —— —— 1033

The Houſe of Lords put into a committee to take the meſſage into further conſideration the 11th March—A committee moved for in the commons to take into conſideration the particular terms of the Union—A very warm debate upon the ſubject, in which Colonel Vereker and the Hon. George Knox take part—Counſellor Goold enters at large into the ſubject, and concludes by aſſerting the novelty of a parliament annihilating itſelf by the weight of its crimes or its legiſlative impotency—The motion of adjournment though negatived by a majority of 47, is aſſented to by the miniſter —— —— —— —— 1034

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry, beſtows much abuſe upon Mr. Grattan—Mr. Grattan replies—General Hutchinſon ſpeaks in favor of the meaſure—The duel between Meſſrs. Grattan and Corry, *Note* —— —— —— —— 1035

Mr. Foſter repreſents the degradation of the peerage of Ireland, enters largely upon the plan propoſed of future finance, of the peerages for life, &c. —— —— 1037

After ſeveral intereſting ſpeeches for and againſt the queſtion, it is carried in favor of the miniſter by a majority of 46—Lord Caſtlereagh moves for aſſent of the committee to the firſt articles of the plan—Meſſrs. O'Hara, O'Donnel, Tighe, Lord Corry, W. Brab. Ponſonby, and J. C. Beresford declare againſt the terms as well as the principle—Mr. Saurin calls the attention of the committee to the modes made uſe of to gain a parliamentary majority, and concludes by diſclaiming any reſponſibility in the calamitous conſequences —— —— 1039

The attorney general, Meſſrs. Monk Maſon, Ormſby and Serjeant Stanley approve of the meaſure and praiſe miniſters for planning it—The firſt day of the following January is fixed upon for the commencement of the Union of the two kingdoms—The article for the ſettlement of the crown votes by the committee—4 March, Mr. George Ponſonby propoſes an addreſs to the king, ſtating petitions from twenty-ſix counties and various cities and towns were preſented to parliament conformable to the conſtitutional rights of the people againſt a legiſlative Union—Lord Caſtlereagh oppoſes the motion as encouraging a popular interference in queſtions of ſuch moment and in ſuch critical times —— —— —— —— 1040

After a long debate the queſtion is diſpoſed of by a motion for adjournment, ayes 155, noes 107—10th March, the ſubject of parliamentary repreſentation ſettled—Upon the queſtion moved to fix the compenſation for the annihilated boroughs, Meſſrs. Plunket and Goold ſpeak ſeverally and vehemently againſt ſuch corruption—Sir John Freke preſents a petition with 1800 ſignatures from Cork, againſt an union—General Hutchinſon aſſerts, that the real ſenſe of the people was not conveyed through ſaid petition—Sir John Parnell moves an addreſs to the king to convoke a new parliament—Mr. Alexander oppoſes the motion —— —— 1041

Mr. Saurin maintains the neceſſity of appealing to their conſtituents—The ſolicitor general reprobates Mr. Saurin's doctrine—Mr. Grattan vindicates the barriſter—On a diviſion, for the addreſs 104—Againſt it 150—The article concerning the identity of churches, parliaments, &c. of the two kingdoms—paſſed—The ſixth article paſſed the 19th March—Upon the houſe reſuming for receiving the report, Mr. O'Hara objects to the ratio of contribution for Ireland as being too high

Mr.

—Mr. Grattan expatiates anew upon the impolicy of an union—Mr. Foſter, Meſſrs. George Ponſonby and Saurin oppoſe the report of the reſolutions—The report carried by the uſual majority—Sir Lawrence Parſons expreſſes ſtill a hope that gentlemen would ſtand forward in defence of the country —— —— —— —— —— 1042

The reſolutions are ſanctioned—The articles at length, No. CXIX. Appendix—A meſſage informing the lords that the commons had agreed to the articles of the union—The peers announce to the Houſe of Commons their approbation with the reſerve of a few amendments—Lord Caſtlereagh moves for an addreſs, &c.—In the Iriſh peers Lord Farnham oppoſes the 4th article, alleging, that the Iriſh peerage was not repreſented, &c.—Lord Chief Baron Yelverton ſupports the contrary opinion, arguing from the arrangement in 1782 —— —— 1043

Two amendments propoſed by the Earl of Clare reſpecting the extinction and creations of Iriſh peerages—All the articles agreed to and the report confirmed—The Earl of Bellamont renews his oppoſition to the general meaſure—A motion for delay—Negatived by 47 againſt 18 1044

The original motion of a meſſage carried, 72 againſt 22—The articles of union paſs as dictated by the Britiſh miniſter—The Duke of Portland on the 2d of April communicates a meſſage to the Britiſh Houſe of Lords from the king—The meſſage, *Note* —— —— 1045

In the Britiſh peers Lord Grenville moves the addreſs—Lord Holland oppoſes—A motion for a committee—Lord Grenville replies —— —— —— —— 1046

Upon a diviſion the addreſs carried with only three diſſentient peers, viz. Earl Derby, Lords Holland and King—Mr. Pitt moves in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, the order of the day to conſider the King's meſſage—Mr. Jones oppoſes —— —— —— 1047

Refers to the ſpeech of Mr. Foſter, *Note* —— —— —— 1048

The motion for the committee agreed to —— —— —— 1049

Mr. Pitt diſcuſſes the mode of carrying the union into effect; goes over the ſame grounds and ſame arguments as made uſe of in the Iriſh parliament, and concludes by ſubmitting the manner of accompliſhing it to the wiſdom of the committee—Mr. Grey againſt the meaſure of union 1052

Mr. Grey enters into a narrative of the union with Scotland, and concludes his ſpeech by moving for an addreſs to his majeſty, praying to ſuſpend for ſome time the zeal of his miniſters—Mr. Johnſtone in a maiden ſpeech, Meſſrs. Gregory Page, Turner, and General Loftus approve of the meaſure—Dr. Lawrence oppoſes it as unjuſt and impolitic—Mr. Sheridan oppoſes it upon a conviction, that it was not reliſhed by the Iriſh people, &c. —— —— 1056

Mr. Grey's motion is negatived by 236 againſt 30—The three firſt articles voted—The majorities upon the other articles in the like proportion—Lord Hawkeſbury's ſpeech upon the general nature of repreſentation in parliament —— —— —— —— 1057

Difference between the Scotch and Iriſh peers as ſtated by Lord Grenville—Lord Mulgrave objects to the Iriſh peers eligibility for ſitting in the commons—The chancellor of the exchequer ſupports the original clauſe—Lord Mulgrave's motion negatived by 50 againſt 7—Lord Holland moves, that ſome pledge be given to the Catholics, promiſing relief from the diſabilities under which that reſpectable body laboured —— —— —— —— 1058

Lord Borrington oppoſes the motion as unſeaſonable—The Marquis of Lanſdowne is convinced of the wiſdom of the meaſure at large and not inimical to the motion —— 1059

Lord Fitzwilliam thought the motion conciliatory and expedient—Lord Hobart and the Earl of Liverpool moved the previous queſtion—The Earl of Moira wiſhed the previous queſtion might be

be withdrawn—Lord Grenville thought that the queſtion of Catholic emancipation would be beſt treated by an united parliament—The previous queſtion ſuperſeded the motion—Several petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Great Britain preſented to the Houſe of Commons againſt the free exportation of raw materials, &c.—Witneſſes examined at the bar—The commercial article paſſed the 1ſt May, 1800 —— —— —— —— 1060

Mr. Bankes in the courſe of the debates was of opinion, that the ſcheme was hazardous from the diſcontent of the Catholics—Sir William Young declares the union very much approved of by the Catholics, from the report of Lord Kenmare—The ſecond reading of the reſolutions ordered, —For the ſecond reading, 208, againſt it, 26—On the 5th May the commercial article with its clauſes, agreed to —— —— —— —— 1061

Various motions in the Houſe of Commons by Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Grey, Sir William Dolben, and Mr. Tierney—All negatived—An addreſs voted, importing, that the Houſe of Commons obſerved with ſatisfaction, that the articles tranſmitted from Ireland were conformable to thoſe voted in that houſe laſt ſeſſion—The addreſs communicated to the peers—On the 7th permiſſion granted to Iriſh peers to repreſent Britiſh counties or boroughs —— —— 1062

Upon the peers being moved to join in the addreſs, Lord Bolton ſpeaks in favor of union, recurring to the commercial propoſitions, 1785; on the houſe dividing, after a long and animated debate, on the merits and demerits of the union, and the lords joining in the addreſs, the motion for the addreſs is carried by 54 againſt 7—Lord Caſtlereagh moves in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons for a bill to regulate the election of members for the Imperial parliament—He ſtates the leading principles, and nominates the towns or cities moſt entitled from wealth and population to be repreſented in the imperial parliament —— —— —— 1063

The motion oppoſed as premature, but carried by a majority of 55—The bill paſſes the houſe the 20th May, 1800—This bill compriſed the mode of electing the commons and peers, ſpiritual and temporal, for the Imperial parliament, as well then, as hereafter—The reſolutions ſent back from England referred by the Iriſh commons to a private committee —— 1064

Sir Lawrence Parſons moves for a conſideration in a general committee—The motion loſt—The reſolutions formed into a bill and leave to introduce it—*A bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, carried by 160 againſt 100—Mr. Grattan moves to put off the bill till the 1ſt of Auguſt, branding it with conſtitutional murder carried through by force of martial law and corruption—Lord Caſtlereagh defends the bill, and cenſures Mr. Grattan's language as inflammatory—Sir John Parnell repels any traiterous diſpoſition in the Anti-unioniſts—A violent debate 1065

Mr. Grattan's motion loſt by 124 againſt 87—Lord Corry moves a long addreſs to the king againſt the bill—Seconded by Meſſrs. Saurin, Goold, Egan, and J. C. Beresford—Oppoſed by the attorney general. The addreſs negatived by 135 againſt 77—Addreſs compriſing the arguments of the Anti-unioniſts in the appendix, No. CXX—Many Anti-unioniſts retire from the houſe—The bill carried up to the peers—On its ſecond reading the Earls Farnham and Bellamont offer ſome clauſes, which are negatived—The bill paſſes the committee without amendment, and read a third time 13th of June—A proteſt entered by the Duke of Leinſter and the other diſſenting peers 1066

The miniſter's plan of indemnity for the extinction of boroughs at the rate of 15,000*l.* each borough expoſes a neceſſary demand by way of grant upon the public, of 1,260,000*l.*—Mr. Saurin, C. Beresford, and Mr. Dawſon maintain, that they had no right to indemnity—Mr. Prendergaſt maintains the juſtice of the plan, which was adopted—The ſame plan preſented to the lords

and only oppoſed by the Earl of Farnham—The Anti-unioniſts give up the queſtion for loſt—A liſt of the members who voted for and againſt this great queſtion, and the parliamentary arrangements preparatory therefore, appendix, No. CXXII.—After the bill paſſed the Iriſh parliament, Mr. Pitt introduces a ſimilar bill in the Britiſh Commons—Sent on the 24th June to the Britiſh Peers—The Britiſh bill receives the royal aſſent, 2d July, 1800—The Britiſh parliament prorogued—His majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes ——— ——— 1067

The royal aſſent given in Ireland to the Union bill on the anniverſary of the acceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick to the thrones of Great Britain and Ireland, 1ſt Auguſt, 1800—The act at length in the Appendix, No. CXXIII.—The lord lieutenant's ſpeech to both houſes of the Iriſh parliament ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— 1068

The example of the Scotch Union followed upon the elections of members for the united parliament —Not one of the peers who voted againſt the union are to be found in the number of the elected, *Note* ——— ——— ——— ——— 1069

A liſt of the members drawn by ballot for the Imperial parliament ——— 1070

His majeſty enters the Houſe of Lords 31 Dec. 1800—The Commons commanded to attend—The ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons addreſſes his majeſty—His majeſty's ſpeech from the throne to both houſes of parliament ——— ——— ——— ——— 1071

The Lord Chancellor ſignifies his majeſty's commands, that the proclamation be read, &c.—The proclamation at length ——— ——— ——— ——— 1072

Other proclamations read, declaring what enſigns and colours ſhould be borne by ſea 1076

THE

THE CONTENTS

OF THE

APPENDIX to the SECOND VOLUME.

No.

LXX. THE difference between Meſſrs. Flood and Grattan; from the debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons —— —— —— 1 to 19

LXXI. Mr. Monck Maſon's ſpeech againſt parliamentary reform —— 19 to 30

LXXII. The ſpeeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Beresford on the revenues of Ireland 30 to 41

LXXIII. The ſpeech of Mr. Gardner on Iriſh commerce —— —— 41 to 51

LXXIV. Paſtoral exhortation of the Right Rev. Doctor Troy, the Catholic Biſhop of Oſſory, to his flock —— —— —— —— 51 to 52

LXXV. Addreſs preſented to his majeſty, at St. James's, by the lords and Commons on the 29th of July 1785, and his majeſty's anſwer —— —— 52 to 55

LXXVI. Speech of Mr. Grattan on the Eaſt India trade —— 55 to 73

LXXVII. The reſolutions of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, relating to the treaty of navigation and commerce with the French king —— —— 73 to 76

LXXVIII. Mr. Grattan's ſpeech upon tithes —— —— 76 to 122

LXXIX. Correct liſt of the majority and minority on the queſtions reſpecting the regency, with a liſt of thoſe members who did not vote on thoſe queſtions —— 122 to 130

LXXX. Proteſts upon the regency —— —— —— 130 to 132

LXXXI. Diviſion of the Houſe of Lords on a motion for adjourning the conſideration of the addreſs to the Prince of Wales, to a diſtant day —— 132 to 137

LXXXII. Report of the commiſſioners on the police bill —— —— 137 to 141

LXXXIII. Mr. Grattan's ſecond ſpeech upon tithes —— —— 141 to 165

LXXXIV. Declaration of the Catholic ſociety of Dublin —— 165 to 171

LXXXV. The conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen in 1791 —— 171 to 173

LXXXVI. The addreſs that was preſented to his Excellency John, Earl of Weſtmorland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland —— 173 to 175

LXXXVII. Declaration of the ſociety of the United Iriſhmen —— 175 to 179

LXXXVIII. Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland —— —— 179 to 182

LXXXIX. Proceedings of the ſub-committee of Roman Catholics —— 182 to 187

XC. Reſo-

XC. Reſolutions relative to the Catholic admiſſion to the elective franchiſe 187 to 199
XCI. Queries to foreign univerſities, with their anſwers —— 199 to 204
XCII. Opinions of Meſſrs. Butler and Burſton upon the Catholic delegation 204 to 209
XCIII. Circular letter addreſſed to the Catholic gentlemen of the kingdom of Ireland, with a plan for electing delegates —— —— 209 to 211
XCIV. Declaration —— —— —— 211 to 215
XCV. Petition of the Catholics of Ireland —— —— 215 to 224
XCVI. A liſt of all the boroughs in Ireland, and their reſpective patrons 224 to 228
XCVII. A bill for amending and improving the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament —— —— —— —— 228 to 235
XCVIII. Kildare reſolutions againſt the Defenders —— —— 235 to 239
XCIX. Lord Viſcount Gosford's addreſs to the grand jury of Armagh 239 to 242
C. Mr. Arthur O'Connor's addreſs to his fellow citizens, for which he was confined by an order of the privy council —— —— 242 to 251
CI. By the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, a proclamation 251 to 252
CII. Doctor Francis Moylan to his beloved flock, the Roman Catholics of the dioceſe of Corke —— —— —— 252 to 254
CIII. The appeal of the people of Ulſter to their countrymen, and to the empire at large 254 to 262
CIV. Mr. Pelham's letter to General Lake, 3d March —— 262 to 265
CV. By the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, a proclamation 265 to 269
CVI. Proceedings of the freemen and freeholders of Dublin and of Corke 269 to 275
CVII. Loyal declarations of Catholics and of Orangemen —— 275 to 280
CVIII. To the meeting of freemen and freeholders, aſſembled at the Exchange, on Saturday, the 29th of July —— —— 280 to 284
CIX. A paſtoral letter to the Catholic clergy of the united dioceſes of Waterford and Liſmore, by the Right Reverend Doctor Huſſey, and two letters of Mr. Burke to Doctor Huſſey —— —— —— 284 to 294
CX. Addreſs of the Roman Catholics of Ireland —— 294 to 297
CXI. Addreſſes of the Diſſenters and Catholics —— 297 to 298
CXII. Roman Catholic chapels deſtroyed or damaged during the late rebellion 299 to 300
CXIII. Mr. Hay's letter to the Rev. Mr. Gordon —— 300 to 303
CXIV. Reſolutions of the united army of Wexford —— 303 to 305
CXV. Refutation of the charges againſt Dr. Caulfield and the Catholic clergy of Wexford 306 to 309
CXVI*a*. A liſt of the members who voted againſt and for an Union with Great Britain on the 24th of January, 1799 —— —— 309 to 312
CXVI. Copy of a letter from Dr. Caulfield to James Boyd, Eſq. —— 312 to 313
CXVII. Reſolutions in favor of Mr. Foſter, and the addreſs of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin in common council aſſembled 313 to 318
CXVIII. Addreſſes of Roman Catholics upon the Union —— 318 to 323
CXIX. The articles of Union —— —— 323 to 333

CXX. The

CXX. The Houſe of Commons was moved, that the following addreſs be preſented to his majeſty ——— ——— ——— 333 to 348
CXXI. Proteſt of the Iriſh peers againſt the Union ——— 348 to 359
CXXII. A correct liſt of all the writs iſſued with a view to parliamentary arrangements in Ireland, in the year 1800 ——— ——— ——— 359 to 366
CXXIII. An act for the Union of Great Britain with Ireland, the 2d of July, 1800 366 to 399
CXXIV. Proclamation reſpecting the arms or enſigns armorial of the united kingdom 399 to 400

ERRATA

ERRATA TO PART II. VOL. II.

Page 722, Line 27, third word, for *of* read *off*.
786, line 28, for *far ſo* read *ſo far*.
848, line 25, for *againſt* read *for*.
969, line 33, for *is* read *was*.
1043, line 2, for *no* read *ſo*.
1059, line 6, for *its* read *his*.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REBELLION IN 1798.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diſcoveries made by Reynolds and Armſtrong, and the conſequent arreſts of the principal conſpirators with their papers, from which circumſtance the rebels were left without heads to plan, or officers to execute their deſigns, yet ſo deeply and widely was the flame of rebellion ſpread, that it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs the volcano from the eruption, which had been long ſettled for the 23d of May. It appears, that the plan of attack formed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been communicated to moſt of the rebels; for their firſt open acts of hoſtility, though apparently fortuitous, irregular, and confuſed, bore evident marks of a deep laid ſcheme for ſurprizing the military by ſeparate, though ſimultaneous attacks, to ſurround in a cordon the city of Dublin, and cut off all ſuccours and reſources from without. On that day Mr. Neilſon* and ſome other of the leading conſpirators were arreſted; and the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord lieutenant and council in a ſtate of inſurrection; the guards at the caſtle, and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and in fact the whole city was converted into a beſieged garriſon. Thus the rebels were unable to effect any thing by ſurpriſe. Without leaders, and almoſt without arms or ammunition, the infatuated multitude ventured on the bloody conteſt. Notwithſtanding the apparent forwardneſs of the north, the firſt commotions appeared in different parts of Leinſter. The northern and Connaught mail coaches were ſtopped by parties of the inſurgents on the night of the 23d of May; and, at about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a large body of rebels attacked the town and gaol of Naas, about

* Mr. Neilſon was ſeized between nine and ten in the evening, by Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, as he was reconnoitring the priſon: a ſcuffle enſued, and Neilſon ſnapped a piſtol at him: by the intervention of two yeomen, he was ſecured and committed. It is reported, and appears probable, that a large number of the conſpirators who were awaiting his orders, having loſt their leader, diſperſed for that night.

fourteen

fourteen miles from Dublin, where Lord Gosford commanded.* As the guard had been ſeaſonably increaſed, in expectation of ſuch an attack, the aſſailants were repulſed, and driven into a narrow avenue, where, without order or diſcipline, they ſuſtained for ſome time the attack of the Armagh militia, and of the fencible corps raiſed by Sir Watkins William Wynne, and known by the name of the Ancient Britons. The king's troops loſt two officers, and about thirty men; and the rebels, as was reported, loſt 140 in the conteſt and their flight. They were completely diſperſed, and ſeveral of them taken priſoners. On the ſame day, a ſmall diviſion of his majeſty's forces were ſurprized at the town of Proſperous; and a detachment at the village of Clane cut their way through to Naas, with conſiderable loſs. About the ſame time, General Dundas encountered a large body of inſurgents on the hills near Kilcullin, and 130 of theſe miſguided perſons were left dead upon the field.

On the following day, a body of about 400 rebels, under the command of two gentlemen of the names of Ledwich and Keough, marched from Rathfarnham, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, along the foot of the mountain towards Belgatt and Cloudalkin: in their progreſs, they were met by a party of thirty-five dragoons, under the command of Lord Roden. After ſome reſiſtance, the rebels were defeated, great numbers were killed and wounded, and their leaders Ledwich and Keough were taken. They were immediately tried by a court martial, and executed, having pleaded in vain, that they had been forced into the ſervice.

Although the firſt effort of the rebels had been thus defeated, ſtill they entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceeding in another attempt. Ge-

* The preparation to receive the rebels at Naas proceeded from the following circumſtance: Lord Gosford, who commanded the Armagh militia, a part of which was quartered at Naas, was on that day in Dublin, and whilſt he was converſing with Mr. Cook, in the caſtle, an anonymous letter was received, announcing the intended attack of Naas on that night by a numerous band of rebels, who were then hovering about that town. Lord Gosford was more ſtricken with the letter than the under ſecretary; he took it with him, and inſtantly ſet out for Naas. On his arrival there, his ſon, who commanded the regiment in his abſence, ſhewed him a ſimilar letter, in the ſame hand-writing, which he had that day received at Naas. Upon this double information, the ſincerity of the anonymous informer ſeemed no longer queſtionable, and the garriſon was immediately prepared for defence, which the rebels, who lay concealed at the backs of the houſes, did not expect: this fortunate preparation ſaved the garriſon from ſurprize. This diſcomfiture of the rebels in their firſt attack, gave cōnfidence and ſpirit to the army, and by ſeveral of the rebels was conſidered as ominous.

neral

neral Lake, who, upon the reſignation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been appointed commander in chief, publiſhed the following notice on the morning of the 24th of May:

" Lieutenant General Lake, commanding his majeſty's forces in this king-
" dom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant, full powers
" to put down the rebellion, and to puniſh rebels in the moſt ſummary man-
" ner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his majeſty's
" ſubjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entruſted to him in the
" moſt vigorous manner, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of the ſame; and
" that all perſons acting in the preſent rebellion, or in any wiſe aiding or
" aſſiſting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and puniſhed accord-
" ingly."

" And Lieutenant General Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of
" the city of Dublin (the great officers of ſtate, members of the houſes of
" parliament, privy counſellors, magiſtrates, and military perſons, in uniform,
" excepted), to remain within their reſpective dwellings from nine o'clock at
" night till five in the morning, under pain of puniſhment."

On the ſame morning alſo, for better ſecuring the peace of the city, the lord mayor publiſhed the following proclamation:

" THOMAS FLEMING.

" WHEREAS the circumſtances of the preſent criſis de-
" mand every poſſible precaution, theſe are therefore to deſire all perſons
" who have regiſtered arms, forthwith to give in (in writing) an exact liſt or
" inventory of ſuch arms at the town clerk's office, who will file and enter
" the ſame in a book to be kept for that purpoſe; and all perſons who have
" not regiſtered their arms, are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to
" me, or ſome other of the magiſtrates of this city, all arms and ammunition
" of every kind in their poſſeſſion: And if, after this proclamation, any per-
" ſon having regiſtered their arms ſhall be found not to have given in a true
" liſt or inventory of ſuch arms; or if any perſon who has not regiſtered,
" ſhall be found to have in their power or poſſeſſion any arms or ammunition
" whatever, ſuch perſon or perſons will, on ſuch arms being diſcovered, be
" forthwith ſent on board his majeſty's navy, as by law directed.

" And I do hereby deſire, that all houſekeepers do place upon the outſide
" of their doors a liſt of all perſons in their reſpective houſes, diſtinguiſhing
" ſuch as are ſtrangers from thoſe who actually make part of their family:

" but as there may happen to be perſons who, from pecuniary embarraſſ-
" ments, are obliged to conceal themſelves, I do not require ſuch names to
" be placed on the outſide of the door, provided their names are ſent to me.
" And I hereby call upon all his majeſty's ſubjects within the county of the
" city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated
" for the public ſecurity; as thoſe perſons who ſhall wilfully neglect a regu-
" lation ſo eaſy and ſalutary, as well as perſons giving falſe ſtatements of the
" inmates of their houſes, muſt, in the preſent criſis, abide the conſequences
" of ſuch neglect."

Theſe meaſures of government ſo far appeaſed the turbulency of the inſurgents, and tranquillized the metropolis, that the Houſe of Commons met amidſt the ſurrounding din of arms, and uninterruptedly went through the buſineſs of the day. Lord Caſtlereagh preſented to them a meſſage from the lord lieutenant, that he thought it his indiſpenſable duty, with the advice of the privy council, under the preſent circumſtances of the kingdom, to iſſue a proclamation,* which he had ordered to be laid before the Houſe of Commons,

* The following is the form of that proclamation.

" By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland—A Proclamation.

" CAMDEN.

" HIS excellency the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy
" council, has iſſued orders to all the general officers, commanding his majeſty's forces, to puniſh
" all perſons acting, aiding, or in any manner aſſiſting in the rebellion, which now exiſts, within
" this kingdom, and has broken out in the moſt daring and violent attacks upon his majeſty's
" forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwiſe, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient,
" for the puniſhment and ſuppreſſion of all rebels in their ſeveral diſtricts, of which all his majeſty's
" ſubjects are hereby required to take notice.

" Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 24th day of May, 1798.

" W. Armagh,	Ely,	J. Beresford,
" Clare, C.	Dillon,	J. Parnell,
" Charles Caſhell,	Perry,	H. Cavendiſh,
" W. Tuam,	O'Neill,	J. Blaquiere,
" Waterford,	Carleton,	H. Langriſhe,
" Drogheda,	Caſtlereagh,	Theo. Jones,
" Ormond and Oſſory,	H. Meath,	Joſ. Cooper,
" Weſtmeath,	G. L. Kildare,	D. Latouche,
" Shannon,	Muſkerry,	J. Monck Maſon,
" Bellamont,	Glintworth,	Arthur Wolfe,
		" Roden,

Commons, to whom he remarked, the time for ſpeaking was now gone by, and that period at laſt come, when deeds and not words were to ſhew the diſpoſitions of members of that houſe, and of every man who truly valued the conſtitution of the land, or wiſhed to maintain the laws, and protect the lives and properties of his majeſty's ſubjects. Every thing which courage, honor, fortune, could offer in the common cauſe, was now called for. The rebels had openly thrown off the maſk, and avowed themſelves in open arms; and notwithſtanding their numbers and deſperation, he found no reaſon to tremble for the iſſue of the conteſt, but expected that in a few days it would be decided, to their utter diſcomfiture and deſtruction.

Afterwards the chancellor of the exchequer roſe and ſaid, that the events which had ſo recently occurred had fully proved the meaſures taken by government were right, and fully juſtified the houſe in the ſupport which it had already given with ſo much ſpirit and promptitude to his excellency on the occaſion. He then moved the following reſolution: "That an humble "addreſs be preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to expreſs our "cordial acknowledgment for the meſſage ſent this day by his excellency "to the houſe. We entirely approve the deciſive meaſure his excellency has "taken by the advice of the privy council, however we may lament its ne-"ceſſity. We renew our engagement of ſupport, we reflect on the general "firmneſs and vigor which are manifeſted, we feel the fulleſt aſſurance, that "the rebellion will be ſpeedily cruſhed."

Colonel Maxwell roſe to expreſs his hearty aſſent to the addreſs, and to ſecond the motion. He ſincerely gave great credit to the government for the meaſures they had adopted through the whole of that buſineſs. He obſerved, the rebels were now in open arms againſt his majeſty's forces, and againſt them the proclamation of that day was directed. The principal fomenters and leaders of the rebellion were in priſon, and as the object of veſting confidentially an abſolute authority in the executive, was for the purpoſe of cruſhing rebellion as ſpeedily as poſſible, and inſuring the ſecurity of the ſtate, he would ſubmit to the wiſdom of the houſe, whether it would not be

"Roden,	Roſſmore,	Robert Roſs,
"Altamont,	Tyrawley,	Iſaac Corry,
"Glandore,	John Foſter,	Lodge Morres.
"Farnham,		

"GOD ſave the KING."

right and neceſſary, that military executions ſhould have retroſpect to thoſe perſons that were then confined, and that they ſhould be diſpoſed of as expeditiouſly as poſſible, in order that the rebels, who looked up to them as leaders, might no longer derive any encouragement from the expectation of reſcuing them at a future day from their captivity.

Lord Caſtlereagh moſt earneſtly beſought gentlemen, that they would not ſuffer the zeal and warmth of their feelings on this occaſion to run away with their good ſenſe; that they would not proceed to that which would be unconſtitutional indeed; but above all, he conjured them not to preſs a meaſure upon his excellency, which muſt brand his adminiſtration with the imputation of cruelty, and ſink it to the ſame degraded and ſanguinary level with that government, which fought to deſtroy the happieſt conſtitution. For Heaven's ſake, let not gentlemen preſs a general and indiſcriminating ſyſtem of unneceſſary vengeance, nor call upon his excellency to violate the great duty of the executive, that of adminiſtering juſtice in mercy. He moſt earneſtly conjured them not to think of clogging the addreſs by any ſuch amendment as that ſuggeſted, nor in their laudable zeal for the repreſſion of rebellion to cloſe the door of mercy againſt the deluded inhabitants of Ireland, diſpoſed to return to their allegiance, and whom the ſtate was anxious once more to embrace in its parental arms.

The queſtion being put, was carried *nem. con.* and on the motion of Lord Caſtlereagh, ordered to be preſented as expeditiouſly as poſſible to his excellency, by ſuch members as were of his majeſty's privy council.

The houſe on the motion of Lord Caſtlereagh adjourned to that day ſe'nnight.

The rigorous vigilance of government within the capital kept ſuch of the conſpirators from riſing, who remained in the city for the purpoſes of internal inſurrection: but the ſeizure of ſo many of their leaders prevented any concert or command, and conſequently effect in their movements. The country was in the mean time beſet in every direction for twenty or thirty miles around with different corps of this undiſciplined and ferocious rabble, acting for the moſt part half armed, and without plan or command. They generally awaited the ſignal, which they expected, of the caſtle, the barracks, and the whole city of Dublin, being in their poſſeſſion. It was a moſt melancholy proof of the progreſs of rebellion, that every perſon almoſt without diſtinction, in and about Dublin, whoſe ſituation in life put him him in the

occaſion

occaſion of retaining any number of men either as ſervants, artificers, workmen, or labourers, was ſuddenly left and abandoned by thoſe perſons attending their reſpective poſts for the general riſing. Theſe are awful leſſons of the powerful force of ſecret combinations, in a people linked together at firſt upon fair principles, cemented by a common cauſe of unqueſtionable grievance, at laſt goaded into revenge and deſpair by cruelty. The determined ſecreſy, and ſilence, and energy, and confidence, and boldneſs of ſome hundred thouſands of every deſcription, moſtly in the loweſt orders of ſociety, fill the mind with the moſt alarming gloom, that the roots of ſuch an inveterate hold of the paſſions may be ſtill gaining ſtrength in the ground, above which they have for a ſeaſon ceaſed to ſend forth any ſhoots. Future prevention and remedy muſt be radical, if unfortunately again theſe evils ſhould return. The pruning knife in lopping off a ſingle twig gives germination to a little foreſt. This cautious reſerve or malignant check upon the paſſions of a ferocious multitude, whilſt it fills the mind with dread, loudly acquits the body of the baſe charge of ſyſtematic aſſaſſination. Had ſuch been their deſign, the admiſſion into families muſt have been their firſt object: and yet it is lamentably true, that ſcarcely was there a family of conſequence throughout the nation, in which ſeveral ſworn members of the union were not to be found. War having now been openly commenced by the rebels, government proceeded to the ſtrongeſt meaſures of coercion. Although by no public official act were the picketings, ſtranglings, floggings, and torturings to extort confeſſions, juſtified or ſanctioned, yet it is univerſally known, that under the very eye of government, and with more than their tacit permiſſion, were theſe outrages practiſed, in defiance of the conſtitution as admitted by all, in defiance of humanity and policy as maintained by moſt men. In mentioning the Iriſh government, it is not meant, that this ſyſtem proceeded from its chief governor: it was boaſted to have been extorted from him. And to this hour it is not only defended and juſtified, but panegyrized by the advocates and creatures of the infuriate drivers of that ſyſtem of terroriſm.

So far from there being any doubt of the exiſtence of any ſuch practices a ſhort time previous to and during the rebellion, that Sir Richard Muſgrave has, in an additional appendix to his memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, given to the public his obſervations upon whipping and free quarters. He admits indeed, that whoſoever conſiders it abſtractedly, muſt of courſe condemn

condemn it as obviouſly repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our conſtitution, and thoſe of juſtice and humanity; but he was convinced, that ſuch perſons as diſpaſſionately conſidered the exiſting circumſtances, and the preſſure of the occaſion under which it was adopted, would readily admit them to be, if not an excuſe, at leaſt an ample extenuation of that practice. "Suppoſe," ſays he, "the fulleſt information could "have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been "impracticable to arreſt and commit the multitude. Some men of diſcern-"ment and fortitude perceived, that ſome new expedient muſt be adopted "to prevent the ſubverſion of government, and the deſtruction of ſociety; "and whipping was reſorted to.

"As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it ſhould be "recollected, the law of nature, which ſuggeſted the neceſſity of it, ſuper-"ſedes all poſitive inſtitutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the "preſervation of his creatures, as it ſpeaks ſtrongly and inſtinctively, and as "its end will be baffled by the ſlowneſs of deliberation.

"When the ſword of civil war is drawn, the laws are ſilent. As to the "violation of humanity, it ſhould be recollected, that nothing could exceed "the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the "loyaliſts; that of the whippers, the preſervation of the community at large.

"This practice was never ſanctioned by government, as they, on the con-"trary, uſed their utmoſt exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted "from the perſon whipped never was uſed to convict any perſon, and was "employed for no other perſon but to diſcover concealed arms, and to de-"feat the deleterious ſchemes of the traitors. Free quarter was confined "merely to the province of Leinſter.

"When government were poſſeſſed of the evidence, that the inhabitants "of a village or a town, who had taken the uſual oaths to lull and deceive "the magiſtrates, were poſſeſſed of concealed arms, and meditated an inſur-"rection and maſſacre, they ſent amongſt them a certain number of troops, "whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions levied on them-"ſelves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

"It has been univerſally allowed, that the military ſeverities practiſed in "the county of Kildare occaſioned a premature exploſion of the plot, which "the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing; "and one of them, Mr. Emmet, declared, in his evidence upon oath, be-

fore

" fore the ſecret committee of the lords, that, but for the ſalutary effects " of thoſe military ſeverities, there would have been a very general and for- " midable inſurrection in every part of the country:"

This warm advocate for the torture has not with his uſual minuteneſs favoured his reader with any inſtances of innocent perſons having undergone this ſevere trial from wanton ſuſpicion, perſonal revenge, or malevolent cruelty. Yet many ſuch there were; as muſt neceſſarily be the caſe, where the very caſt of a countenance that diſpleaſed a corporal or common yeoman ſufficed to ſubject the unfortunate paſſenger to this military ordeal. No man can give credit to the aſſertion, that *government uſed their utmoſt exertions to prevent it*, who knows any thing of the ſtate of Ireland at that diſaſtrous period. In Beresford's Riding Houſe, Sandy's-Prevot, the Old Cuſtom Houſe, the Royal Exchange, ſome of the barracks, and other places in Dublin, there were daily, hourly notorious exhibitions of theſe torturings, as there alſo were in almoſt every town, village, or hamlet throughout the kingdom, in which troops were quartered.*

Many attacks were made by the rebels on the ſecond day of the rebellion (the 24th of May), generally with ill ſucceſs; the chief of which were thoſe of Carlow, Hacketſtown, and Monaſtereven. There were alſo ſeveral ſkirmiſhes near Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Luſke, Dunboyne, Barretſtown, Collon, and Baltinglaſs. At Dunboyne and Barretſtown the inſurgents are allowed to have had the advantage. But in all the other rencontres, though greatly ſuperior in numbers, they were eaſily defeated with incredible loſs of their men.

The non-arrival of the mail coach at the uſual hour of eight o'clock in the morning at Carlow, was to be the ſignal for riſing there and in its vicinity. This town lies about forty miles ſouth-weſt of Dublin. Of the intended attack, the garriſon was appriſed by an intercepted letter, and from Lieutenant Roe, of the North Cork militia, who had obſerved the peaſants aſſembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garriſon conſiſted in the whole of about four hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Mahon, of the ninth dragoons, and they were very judiciouſly poſted for the

* It is too large a credit to be allowed to this author's aſſertion, that *the evidence extorted from the perſon whipped never was uſed to convict any perſon*. If the ſecurity of the monarch be to be found in the affectionate hearts of his people, it is matter of important conſideration how far theſe practices tended more to unite or ſeparate the two kingdoms.

recep-

reception of the aſſailants. A body, perhaps amounting to a thouſand or fifteen hundred, having aſſembled before the houſe of Sir Edward Croſbie, a mile and a half diſtant from Carlow, marched into the town at two o'clock in the morning on the 25th of May, in a very unguarded and tumultuary manner, ſhouting as they ruſhed into Tullow Street, with vain confidence, that the town was their own, they received ſo deſtructive a fire from the garriſon, that they recoiled and endeavoured to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houſes, which were immediately fired by the ſoldiery. About eighty houſes, with ſome hundred men, were conſumed in this conflagration. As about half this column of aſſailants had arrived within the town, and few eſcaped from that ſituation, their loſs can hardly be eſtimated at leſs than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the ſide of the loyaliſts.

After the defeat, executions commenced here, as they did elſewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred in a ſhort time were hanged or ſhot, according to martial law. Among the earlieſt victims was Sir Edward Croſbie, before whoſe houſe the rebel column had aſſembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march; he was condemned and ſhot as an United Iriſhman; his friends affirm, with apparent truth, that he fell a ſacrifice to the confuſion, which neceſſarily attends a trial by military law, in the rage of a rebellion, and that his innocence would have been manifeſted, if certain circumſtances had been made public, which were ſuppreſſed from delicacy to adminiſtration, then ſuppoſed to be dangerouſly ſituated.* It is reported, that Sir Edward Croſbie had no further connection with the re-

* Sometimes apparently trifling incidents diſcloſe points of the higheſt importance to the ſtate. Mr. Elliot, going from Carlow, after the repulſe of the rebels, to viſit his houſe, three miles from the town, ſaw a group of peaſants, his neighbours, aſſembled in the road at the end of his avenue, whom he ſuppoſed to have met for the mutual enquiries about the news. He was advancing without apprehenſion of danger, when obſerving two guns levelled at him, he galloped off, and fortunately eſcaped both ſhots. Hearing a ſhout from them, with a declaration that he might come to them with confidence of ſafety, he returned, and called to them to meet him without arms. Finding that they declined this proof of pacific intention, he again galloped away, and eſcaped ſome more ſhots. When he returned ſoon after with a body of yeomanry, the peaſants, expecting no mercy, fled to places of concealment; but perceiving that, quite contrary to their expectations, their cabins were not burned, nor any ſevere puniſhment intended, they returned to their occupations, and remained perfectly quiet. A contrary conduct in this gentleman would have ſent thoſe and others to augment the rebel forces.

bels,

bels, than that they exerciſed on a lawn before the houſe, which of courſe Sir Edward could not prevent.

In the attack upon Slane, a mere handful of troops about ſeventeen yeomen and forty of the Armagh militia, although ſurprized in the houſes on which they were billetted, fought their way ſeparately to their rallying poſt, and then made ſo vigorous a ſtand, that ſome hundreds of the rebels were with conſiderable ſlaughter repulſed, and put to a moſt daſtardly flight. Several of the aſſailants of this ſmall town appeared dreſſed in the uniforms of the Cork militia and Ancient Britons; which appearance, in this and ſeveral other inſtances, proved a fatal deceit to the king's troops. They were the ſpoils taken at Proſperous; at which place the ſucceſs of the rebels, amongſt other cauſes, was owing to their having been headed or led on to the attack by an officer; as their defeats in moſt other places, with immenſe ſuperiority of numbers, were to be attributed to the want of ſome intelligent perſon to controul and direct them. Their diſcomfitures in general were not the effect of fear or cowardice, but of want of diſcipline and organization. The unfortunate Dr. Eſmond, a Roman Catholic gentleman of good family, independent fortune, and uncommon accompliſhments, had drank ſo deeply of the intoxicating poiſon of this rebellious union, that in him it had extinguiſhed all religious and moral rectitude, ſo that to the high crime of treaſon he ſuperadded the turpitude of the rankeſt duplicity and deceit. He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry commanded by Captain Griffiths, and on the 23d of May ſpent ſome hours over the bottle with Captain Swayne of the North Cork militia, who commanded at Proſperous. They parted but a very ſhort time before Eſmond ſet out for his traitorous attack upon Proſperous: he had ſeduced ſeveral of the corps to attend him on that fatal occaſion.

After the repulſe of the rebels at Clane, Captain Griffiths had orders to march with his corps to Naas; but at the moment before he ſet out he received from one of his corps (named Mite), who had been missing the preceding night, a letter informing him of the conduct of Eſmond, who, he ſaid, had commanded at the attack of Proſperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his eſcape. He had ſcarcely received the letter when Eſmond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dreſſed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully

accoutred. The captain prudently ſuppreſſed his indignant emotions till he arrived at Naas.

As the rebellion may be properly ſaid to have broken out at Naas, it will be proper to be more particular in the detail of that tranſaction, than of others, in order to put the reader into the fair poſſeſſion of the ſpirit, principles, and conduct, upon which the rebellion was begun and reſiſted, and how far they effected the progreſs of that dreadful warfare. It is to be preſumed, as the rebels were uniform in their mode of attack on this firſt day, that the horrid plan had been long preconcerted by thoſe, who at a diſtance from the place of execution, had iſſued their inhuman mandates to imbrue their country in blood and ſlaughter. The chief part of the inhabitants of Naas were ſtrongly diſaffected, or the intended attack would have been otherwiſe communicated to Lord Gosford, who commanded three hundred of the Armagh militia in the town, than by the anonymous letters before mentioned. For numerous rebels were concealed during the greater part of the day in houſes and gardens of the town; ſo that on the firſt onſet the ſtreets were ſuddenly filled by their ruſhing out of the front doors of the houſes, in or behind which they had lain concealed. The alarm was given by a violent and barbarous ſhout, that the town was their own. Several ſhots were inſtantly fired into the apartments of Lord Gosford, before any thing elſe was attempted. It was afterwards acknowledged by priſoners, and it appeared by ſeveral written orders found in the pockets of the ſlain and wounded, that their orders were to put to death without quarter every officer, regular liſts of whom were written upon theſe papers; then to diſarm ſuch of the ſoldiery as would not inſtantly join them, and reſerve them for further deliberation, preſuming it is to be imagined, that their expected ſucceſs and cooler reflection would bring them over to their cauſe. The ſavage attempt to carry theſe ſanguinary orders into execution, although it providentially failed at Naas, too fatally ſucceeded at Proſperous and elſewhere, from want of timely information of the intent of the rebels. In the general confuſion, government had neglected to ſend to the different poſts (for they knew of each intended attack): this omiſſion was the cauſe of much blood having been ſpilled on the fatal night of the 23d of May, and tended to render the conteſt more ferocious and cruel on both ſides. Not only was quarter refuſed to all rebels, who had arms in their hands, but many others were put to death, who had given no ſymptoms of diſaffection; and after the heat of battle others were coolly executed

cuted without any form of trial whatever.* To the thinking mind it becomes a matter of moſt awful alarm, that ſuch ſanguinary plans ſhould have been ſo long kept ſecret by ſuch numbers of a promiſcuous multitude, and that ſo few efficient means were taken to eradicate and extinguiſh, that determined ſpirit of diſaffection, ſecrecy, and conſpiracy, with which there is but too fatal evidence, they were once poſſeſſed. The incorporate union

* The truth of this appears from the caſe of Dr. Eſmond, who eſcaped in this inſtance, and that of Walſh and others, who fell victims to theſe deliberate military executions. Lord Gosford, upon the repreſentations of Captain Griffith, who till the 24th of May, 1798, had been moſt groſly deceived by Dr. Eſmond's inſidious conduct and falſe appearances of loyalty, confirmed by written and oral evidence of his having headed the fatal attack on Proſperous, ordered him under arreſt; whither ſome time after his lordſhip went with Mr. Burgh, who reſided within a quarter of a mile of Naas, and was like moſt of his neighbours in habits of intimacy and friendſhip with Dr. Eſmond, whoſe private character was eminently engaging, to queſtion him as to the charges laid againſt him. Upon their arrival, Dr. Eſmond accoſted Mr. Burgh with great affability, and for ſome minutes obſerved a diſdainful reſerve towards Lord Gosford. He then rather ſternly interrogated his lordſhip, by what authority he had confined him. The anſwer was, that having received ſuch ſerious charges from ſo reſpectable a quarter, as the commanding officer then at Naas, he was called upon by his duty to act as he had done: at which Dr. Eſmond, ſnapping his fingers, replied with affected indifference, that if any one reſpectable man of the county could ſupport the charge, he was ready that hour to mount the ſcaffold. The arrival in the mean time of Generals Dundas and Wilford with the forces under their command, diſembarraſſed Lord Gosford of any further reſponſibility. General Dundas made ſome enquiries about Dr. Eſmond of ſome officers and gentlemen of the country, and upon the ſtrength of their opinions had inſtantly given orders for his execution within half an hour. Fifty men and an officer were actually under theſe orders at the door of the apartment where he was confined, when Lord Gosford and Mr. Burgh were with him. Lord Gosford, who though he had found it his duty to put Dr. Eſmond under arreſt, never conceived the idea of his being executed without a trial, undertook to take with him to General Dundas the officer (by name Robinſon) who had received the order to ſee to the execution of Dr. Eſmond. His lordſhip ſubmitted to the General the propriety of not proceeding to thoſe lengths without putting the priſoner on his trial: that it would otherwiſe be direct murder: to which the General readily aſſented, but feared it was too late, and that his firſt haſty commands had been obeyed. Upon aſſurance to the contrary, they were inſtantly countermanded, and Dr. Eſmond was ſent up to Dublin under an eſcort in Lord Gosford's carriage, where under a fair trial he met the fate, which his aggravated guilt deſerved. On the next morning, upon Lord Gosford's attending General Dundas for orders, he was aſked whether the perſons, who were then hanging in the ſight of the general's window, had been executed by his lordſhip's orders. Lord Gosford obſerved, that his command having ceaſed upon the arrival of the general, he had given no order, and knew nothing about the execution. General Dundas obſerved, that it had been very regularly and coolly done, for he had with his glaſs been watching the whole progreſs. No further notice was taken of the affair.

of the two countries affords the ready and ſure means: but the non-application of them may be irretrievably fatal to the Britiſh empire.

On the very day, on which the unfortunate Eſmond was diſgracing the cauſe of his king, country, and religion, the chief of the Catholics in and about Dublin,* were exerting their utmoſt endeavours to aſſert the unſhaken loyalty of themſelves and the reſpectable part of their body, againſt the malevolent attempts of their enemies to affix the guilt of rebellion upon the whole Catholic body, and to render the preſent diſaſtrous conteſt the more bloody and ferocious by throwing in the deadly venom of religious acrimony.

In the raging violence of open hoſtilities between a powerful army and an incenſed, licentious, and vindictive populace, without diſcipline or command, many of them unprovided with arms, and more unaccuſtomed to uſe them, it was to be expected, that every latent ſpark of diffidence, animoſity, or hatred ſhould be mutually blown into a flame, and rendered as malevolently active againſt the adverſe party as the vindictive ingenuity of depraved ferocity could deviſe. The original founders, the chief promoters and conductors of the rebellious union were all Proteſtants (except Eſmond, M'Nevin, and ſome few others) but the great maſs of the unfortunate and wretched peaſants, who had been ſeduced or goaded into inſurgency, undoubtedly were moſtly Roman Catholics. There were ſome corps of Catholic yeomanry, as Lord Fingal's; there were ſeveral Catholics in ſome of the Proteſtant corps of yeomen; moſt of the Iriſh militia-men were Catholic, but the reſt of the army were to a man Proteſtant. Unfortunately the virulency of the conteſt was ſharpened by the infuſion of all the embittered rancour and opprobrium reſpectively attached to the terms *Papiſt* and *Heretic*. Theſe antiquated flambeaux of religious bigottry were lighted up anew by both

* On the 24th of May the following notice was given in the Dublin Journal and other papers. "*Roman Catholics*. An addreſs to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately preſented, and "containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumſtances of the preſent mo- "ment, lies, for ſignature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookſeller, Ormond-quay; at the Earl of Fingal's, "Great George's-ſtreet, Rutland's-ſquare; Lord Viſcount Kenmare's, Great George's-ſtreet; Ma- "lachy Donelan's, Eſq. Mountjoy's-ſquare; and Counſellor Bellew's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's- "ſtreet, Mountjoy's-ſquare. All ſignatures muſt be given in on or before Saturday next."

Two addreſſes to the lord lieutenant from the Roman Catholics, are to be ſeen in Appendix, No. CX.

parties,

parties, and uſed by them mutually as the moſt deſtructive weapons of their warfare. Without alluding to any juſtification or even palliation for treaſon, it falls to the duty of the faithful annaliſt to detail the real cauſes of that irritation, which on either ſide led to cruelties and outrages, which no circumſtances whatever could countenance or attenuate. No nation feels more keenly and reſents more highly than the Iriſh the ſufferings and oppreſſions of their anceſtors: none ſo perſonally make a common cauſe with them; becauſe none hold them in ſo much reſpect and veneration. Their own ſufferings under the penal code for a length of time, and the recent provocations which they had received from the picketings, whippings, half hangings, burnings, raviſhings, and free-quarters of the army, all operated to enflame the Iriſh againſt thoſe, whom they in their native language called Saſanagh, which* meant indifferently Engliſh or Proteſtants, and to which idea it was lamentably true, that recent circumſtances prompted them to annex the moſt odious and ſanguinary epithets. On the other hand every fiction, exaggeration, and obloquy of Popiſh ſuperſtition, Popiſh maſſacre, and Popiſh cruelty, perfidy, and inhumanity were eagerly collected, improved upon, and circulated through the ranks to deaden humanity and irritate the ferocity of the troops.

The misfortune of civil war and rebellion is, that whilſt the loyaliſts command the ſuperiority, they are too apt to follow up the rigor of the law, with more atrocity, than conſiderateneſs. It follows not, that becauſe the law

* The anſwer of Doctor M'Nevin to the Archbiſhop of Caſhel in the ſecret committee of the lords, elucidates and confirms this Statement. *Mem. p.* 71.

" *Archbiſhop of Caſhel.* Can you account for the maſſacres committed upon the Proteſtants by " the Papiſts in the county of Wexford?

" *M'Nevin.* My lord, I am far from being the apologiſt of maſſacres, however provoked: but " if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magiſtrates of that county, the maſſacres you " allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies, much more than fanaticiſm: moreover, my " lord, it has been the misfortune of this country, ſcarcely ever to have known the Engliſh na- " tives or ſettlers, otherwiſe than enemies; and in his language the Iriſh peaſant has but one name " for Proteſtant and Engliſhman, and confounds them; he calls both by the name of Saſanagh; " his converſation therefore is leſs againſt a religioniſt than againſt a foe, his prejudice is the ef- " fect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives; how can we be ſurprized at " it, when ſo much pains are taken to brutalize him?

" *Lord Chancellor.* I agree with Doctor M'Nevin; the Iriſh peaſant conſiders the two words " as ſynonimous, he calls Proteſtant and Engliſhman, indifferently, Saſanagh."

may

may juſtify the killing of a traitor with arms in his hands, that it is wiſe to carry on a war *ad internecionem* without quarter. Retaliation in ſuch caſes muſt be expected: and nothing ſo effectually blunts the edge of cruelty as retaliation. It is a truth beyond queſtion, that the military executions, which generally took place immediately after theſe engagements greatly irritated, and neceſſarily therefore increaſed the ferocity of the rebels. The bulletins, which daily announced the engagements with the rebels, ſeldom, if ever, repreſented the true numbers of the forces, or of the ſlain. Theſe miſrepreſentations might have been well intended to inſpire the loyaliſts with confidence in themſelves and a contempt of the enemy. It is a ſerious evil, when the people becomes convinced of the inſincerity of government. On the 25th of May, a letter from General Dundas to Lord Caſtlereagh was publiſhed, in which it was aſſerted, that in an attack made upon a very large body of the rebels near Kilcullen Bridge, 130 of the rebels were ſlain, and not one of his majeſty's troops was either killed or wounded. A like account was publiſhed from Hacketſtown, received at the caſtle from the Reverend James M'Ghee on the ſame day. In conſequence of an information, that a large body of rebels were marching to attack the town, Lieutenant Gardiner, with men under his command, and a party of yeomanry commanded by Captain Hardy, went out to meet them. Having reconnoitred their force, which amounted to between three and four hundred, they took poſt on the hill under the church, and when the rebels came tolerably near, the officers and men made a feint, and retreated into the barracks. The rebels ſeeing this, came on with a great ſhout, imagining the day to be their own. In few minutes Captain Hume came up with about thirty of his troop, and inſtantly charged them, on which the rebels retreated. A general purſuit took place, and ſo complete was the rout, that above three hundred of the miſcreants then lay dead on the field of battle. And not a man (Mr. Gardiner excepted, and one ſoldier who received a contuſion in his arm) was in the leaſt injured.

Wherever any rebels appeared in arms, an immediate attack and general purſuit uſually enſued: in which none was ſpared. The armed rebels generally eſcaped, and the ſlaughter fell on the diſarmed multitude, who fled from fear and conſternation. On the 26th of May, ſome blood was really ſpilled in the field of battle. A body of about 4000 rebels which had taken poſt on the hill of Tarah in the county of Meath, was attacked by about 400 loyaliſts

loyaliſts and completely routed, with the ſlaughter of three hundred and fifty of their men,* who according to the government account were found dead on the field of battle, together with their leader, in his uniform; but only with the loſs of nine killed and ſixteen wounded of the victorious party, which was compoſed of three companies of the regiment of Reay fencibles; Lord Fingal's troop of yeoman cavalry; thoſe of Captain Preſton and Lower Kells; and Captain Molloy's company of yeoman infantry. The army is alſo reported to have taken 300 horſes, and all the ammunition, arms, proviſions, and baggage of the rebels, together with eight of the Reay fencibles whom they had taken priſoners. This defeat of the rebels at Tarah diſconcerted their deſign of falling upon Trim and Naas, and laying open the communication of the metropolis with the northern parts of the kingdom, as other ſucceſsful movements produced the like effect in the weſt.

On the 26th of the month, in order to prevent a riſing within the city, the lord mayor of Dublin publiſhed in the newſpapers and hand bills the following notice.

" A CAUTION

" *Leſt the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the guilty.*

" The lord mayor requeſts his fellow citizens to keep within their houſes as " much as poſſible they can, ſuitable to their convenience, after ſun-ſet, in " this time of peril, as the ſtreets ſhould be kept as clear as poſſible, ſhould " any tumult or riſing to ſupport rebellion be attempted, in order that the " troops and artillery may act with full effect in caſe of any diſturbance."

And the lord lieutenant in an official letter to the Duke of Portland on the ſame day, aſſured his grace, that the city of Dublin had been perfectly tran-

* Muſg. p. 297. This author alſo reports, that the king's troops would have remained on the field all night, " but that they had not a ſingle cartridge left either for the gun or the ſmall arms." The inference is then a moſt incredible panic in the rebels to flee from ſuch inferiority of numbers, being ten to one, when the fire upon them had wholly ceaſed: to abandon their arms which could not have much encumbered a flight, made without purſuit, and to leave behind them their horſes, which muſt have aided their eſcape, as it was frequent for two or three rebels to mount one horſe for the ſake of celerity. The ſame author informs us alſo, that the rebels " made three deſperate " obſets, and in the laſt laid hold of the cannon." Theſe accounts will be marvellous to poſterity, when ocular evidence will exiſt no more. Either the rebels had no ammunition, or the king's troops were not, according to this author, prevented from the want of it from keeping the field.

quil,

quil, owing to the precautions which had been taken. It was impoſſible to deſcribe, in terms ſufficiently ſtrong, the indefatigable zeal, patience, and ſpirit, of the yeomanry corps. Too much praiſe could not be given to his majeſty's regular and militia forces; and the latter had had opportunities of evincing their ſteadineſs, diſcipline, and bravery, which muſt give the higheſt ſatisfaction to his majeſty, and inſpire the beſt grounded confidence in their exertion, ſhould they have a more formidable enemy to contend with.

The ſame letter alſo ſtated, that a party of the rebels, to the amount of ſeveral hundreds, were attacked by a detachment of the Antrim militia, a ſmall party of cavalry, and Captain Stratford's yeomanry; and that being driven into the town of Baltinglas, they loſt about 150 men. And that on the ſame morning an account had been received from Major Hardy, that the day before a body of three or four thouſand had collected near Dunlavin, where they were entirely defeated, with the loſs of 500 men, by Lieutenant Gardner, at the head of a detachment of the Antrim militia, and Captain Hardy's and Captain Hume's yeomanry. That Lieutenant General Craig had left Dublin, in the hopes of meeting the body of rebels which had collected near Dunboyne, and parties were ſent in different directions to ſurround them. They, however, fled in the night, on hearing the approach of the troops. That the general came up, with a party conſiſting of about 500, ſome of whom were put to the ſword. And that by accounts from the north, it appeared that the province of Ulſter was quiet.

So beſet were all the roads and communications to and with the metropolis by the rebels, that it had the appearance of a beſieged city. The mail coaches had ceaſed to run, and nothing could move with ſafety on the road without a ſtrong military eſcort.* It would be painful to the reader to wade through the particular inſtances of outrage and barbarity committed during this rebellion, both by the ſoldiery and the inſurgents, in burning, plundering, maiming, torturing, raviſhing, and murdering. Theſe barbarities were practiſed reciprocally: and it is allowed by the beſt informed and moſt impartial perſons, that infinitely more cold blood was ſhed, more property deſtroyed,

* The author of the Memoirs (Muſg. 288) gives us here alſo ſome more incredible inſtances of the extreme ſtupidity and cowardice of the inſurgents: who having been informed of the intention of ſending four waggons of ammunition to Naas, which were eſcorted by 24 men of the merchants corps, permitted them to proceed, although there were 1400 rebels in the woods ready to cut them off.

more

more houſes burned, and more women abuſed* by the troops, than by the inſurgents: and it muſt be noted, that whatever gloſs, palliation, or juſtification we may derive from the law to throw over the conduct of the military, that ſame law would work but faintly upon the paſſions of a lawleſs multitude in open rebellion, towards the prevention of retaliation. *Inter arma ſilent leges.*

Diſcouraged by defeats, ſome of the rebels began to wiſh for leave to retire in ſafety to their homes, and reſume their peaceful occupations. Of this a remarkable inſtance occurred on the 28th, and another on the 31ſt of May: Lieut. General Dundas, who had, in the afternoon of the 24th, defeated a rebel force near Kilcullen, and relieved that little town, received on the 28th, at his quarters at Naas, by Thomas Kelly, Eſq. a magiſtrate, a meſſage from a rebel chief named Perkins, who was then at the head of about 2000 men, poſted on an eminence called Knockawlwin-hill, on the borders of the Curragh of Kildare, a beautiful plain, uſed as a race-courſe, twenty-two miles ſouth-weſtward of the metropolis. The purport of this meſſage was, that Perkins' men ſhould ſurrender their arms, on condition of their being permitted to return unmoleſted to their habitations, and of the liberation of Perkins' brother from the jail of Naas. The general having ſent a meſſenger for advice to Dublin Caſtle, and received permiſſion, aſſented to the terms, and approaching the poſt of Knockawlin on the 31ſt, received the perſonal ſurrender of Perkins, and a few of his aſſociates, the reſt diſperſing homeward

* As to this ſpecies of outrage, which reſts not in proof, it is univerſally allowed to have been excluſively on the ſide of the military: it produced an indignant horror in the country, which went beyond, but prevented retaliation. It is a characteriſtic mark of the Iriſh nation, neither to forget nor forgive an inſult or injury done to the honor of their female relatives. It has been boaſted of by officers of rank, that within certain large diſtricts a woman had not been left undefiled: and upon obſervation in anſwer, that the ſex muſt then have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all ſqueamiſhneſs. A lady of faſhion, having in converſation been queſtioned as to this difference of conduct towards the ſex, in the military and the rebels, attributed it in diſguſt to a want of gallantry in the croppies. By theſe general remarks, it is not meant to verify or juſtify the ſaying of a field officer, or a lady of quality, both of whom could be named: but merely to ſhew the prevalence of the general feelings and prepoſſeſſions at that time upon theſe horrid ſubjects: and conſequently what effects muſt naturally have flowed from them. In all matters of irritation and revenge, it is the conviction that the injury exiſts which produces the bad effect. Even Sir Richard Muſgrave admits, (p. 429) that " on moſt occaſions they did not offer any violence to the " tender ſex."

in all directions with ſhouts of joy, and leaving thirteen cart-loads of pikes behind.

This diſpoſition to ſurrender, which good policy would have encouraged among the inſurgents, was blaſted three days after by military ardor, which, when it eludes the ſalutary reſtraints of diſcipline, and is exerted againſt an unreſiſting object, ceaſes to be laudable. Major General Sir James Duffe, who had made a rapid march from Limerick with ſix hundred men, to open the communication of the metropolis with that quarter, received intelligence that a large body of men, aſſembled at a place called Gibbet-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpoſe of ſurrender, to which they had been admitted by General Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced near the inſurgents to receive their ſurrendered weapons, one of the latter fooliſhly ſwearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwiſe than empty, diſcharged it with the muzzle upwards. The ſoldiers inſtantly conſidering this as an act of hoſtility, fired on the unreſiſting multitude, who fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and were purſued with ſlaughter by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox hunters. Above two hundred of the inſurgents fell upon this occaſion; and a far greater number would have ſhared their fate, if a retreat had not been ſounded with all poſſible diſpatch, agreeably to the inſtructions of General Dundas, who had ſent an expreſs from his quarters at Kilcullen to prevent ſuch an accident. In the public prints, this body of inſurgents is aſſerted to have aſſembled for the purpoſe of battle, and to have actually fired on the troops; but the truth ought to be related without reſpect of perſons or party. The affair is well known to have been otherwiſe, and the rebels were crowded in a place neither fit for defence nor eſcape, a wide plain, without hedge, ditch, or bog, quite contrary to their conſtantly practiſed modes of warfare.

This eagerneſs of the ſoldiery for the ſlaughter of unreſiſting rebels, was often fatal to the loyaliſts; for frequently ſome of the latter were priſoners with the former; and being bound among them by the troops, were not always diſtinguiſhed from them. A remarkable inſtance, in the march of this army, was on the point of having taken place in the melancholy catalogue which might be authentically formed. A Proteſtant clergyman of an amiable character, Mr. Williamſon, of Kildare, who had fallen into the hands of the inſurgents, and been ſaved from ſlaughter by the humanity of a Roman Catholic prieſt, was, as having been ſpared by the rebels, deemed a rebel by the ſoldiery,

foldiery, who were proceeding inſtantly to hang him, when they were in a critical moment prevented, by the interference of his brother-in-law, Colonel Sankey.*

All meaſures during ſuch an infuriate conteſt, whether in the field or in the cabinet, will ever partake of the violence, with which it is carried forward. The miſrepreſentation† of this ſlaughter of the rebels, after they had ſurrendered,

* The foregoing impartial account is taken from the Rev. James Gordon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 101: and melancholy is it to obſerve how widely it differs from the official account publiſhed by government of that affair.

" DUBLIN CASTLE, *May* 29, 1798, *half paſt Nine, P. M.*

" Extract of a Letter from Major General Sir JAMES DUFFE, to Lieutenant General LAKE, dated " Monaſterevan.

" I MARCHED from Limerick on Sunday morning with ſixty dragoons, Dublin militia, " three field pieces, and two curricle guns, to open the communication with Dublin, which I judged " of the utmoſt importance to government. By means of cars for the infantry, I reached this " place in 48 hours. I am now, at ſeven o'clock, this morning (Tueſday) marching to ſurround " the town of Kildare, the head quarters of the rebels, with ſeven pieces of artillery, 150 dragoons, " and 350 infantry, determined to make a dreadful example of the rebels. I have left the whole " country behind me perfectly quiet, and well protected by means of the troops and yeomanry corps.

" I hope to be able to forward this to you by the mail coach, which I will eſcort to Naas. I am " ſufficiently ſtrong. You may depend on my prudence and ſucceſs. My guns are well manned, " and the troops in high ſpirits. The cruelties the rebels have committed on ſome of the officers " and men, have exaſperated them to a great degree. Of my future operations, I will endeavour " to inform you."

" *PS. Two o'Clock, P. M. Kildare.*

" WE found the rebels retiring from the town on our arrival, armed; we followed them with " the dragoons. I ſent on ſome of the yeomen to tell them, on laying down their arms, they " ſhould not be hurt. Unfortunately, ſome of them fired on the troops; from that moment they " were attacked on all ſides—nothing could ſtop the rage of the troops. I believe from two to three " hundred of the rebels were killed. We have three men killed, and ſeveral wounded. I am too " much fatigued to enlarge."

† It is far from the author's intentions, and ſtill further from his wiſhes, to enter into a ſcrutiny of the truth of all the facts related by cotemporary annaliſts. He feels it his duty to notice the falſity of ſome, and to ſubmit in return to his reader the beſt evidence that he has been able to procure for other facts, which are material to develope the truth, and to render hiſtorical juſtice to the Iriſh nation. With this view he ſubmits to the reader a letter written by an eye witneſs of the affair at Naas on the 24th, by a clergyman of reſpectability and credit, to his biſhop, from whoſe hand writing the following copy is taken.

" NAAS,

dered, and had been received into protection by General Dundas, was deeply lamented by many conſiderate and loyal ſubjects, as a great diſcouragement to

" NAAS, *June* 25, 1801.

" MY LORD,

" I HAVE remarked, in the account which Sir Richard Muſgrave has given in his book " on the late rebellion, that he has in the article regarding Naas, made very great mis-ſtatements. " He ſays, there was a Captain Davis wounded, &c. not one word regarding that fact is true. " There was no Captain Davis in the garriſon at that time. Captain Davis came in a ſhort time " after, and is yet alive. All the officers then in the garriſon of Naas know this to be the fact. Sir " Richard alſo ſtates, that two hundred rebels were killed in the attack on Naas. The officers " alluded to can give teſtimony, as they were witneſſes that more than nine or ten rebels did not fall " on the occaſion; but in the courſe of three or four hours after, fifty-ſeven of a crowd in the " ſtreet were killed. Many of theſe were ſhot when eſcaping from their huts, which were ſet on " fire: others were taken out of their houſes, from off their gardens, and brought to the ſhip, as the " expreſſion was, and hanged in the ſtreet. I know two men, Coſtelloe and Card, ſon and ſon-in- " law of William Coſtelloe, who lives near Cruddoxtown, on the Ballimore road, who were called " out of their field when they were at work, by a horſeman, who getting ill on the road, was not " able to go forward with his party to Ballimore. They relying on their innocence, and thinking " they were only going to gaol, walked on quietly with this ſingle dragoon. When they were " brought to the inn at Naas, they were inſtantly conducted acroſs the ſtreet to the ſhip, and hanged. " The ſame day a young man of the name of Walſh, was brought into Naas, who was ſaid by a " female to be the perſon, who ſhot Captain Swaine, in the action at Proſperous. It is now well " known that he was not within ſixteen miles of Proſperous, when the action took place there: ne- " verthelefs, he was taken without any form of trial to the ſhip, and there hanged, dragged naked " through the ſtreet to the lower end of the town, and there ſet fire to; and when half burned, his " body opened, his heart taken out and put on the point of a wattle, which was inſtantly placed on " the top of a houſe, where it remained until taken down by one of the military, who marched into " town about nine weeks after. When the body had been almoſt conſumed, a large piece of it " was brought into the next houſe, where the miſtreſs of it, Mrs. Nowland, was obliged to furniſh " a knife, fork, and plate, and an old woman of the name of Daniel was obliged to bring them ſalt. " Theſe two women heard them ſay, ' that Paddy ate ſweet,' and confirmed with a ' d—n their " eyes.' Theſe women are living, and worthy of credit, being judged honeſt and reſpectable in " their line and ſituation of life. Another fact mis-ſtated, or rather falſely aſſerted by Sir Richard: " he ſays, there was one Cullen charged with firing three ſhots at a yeoman; and that a perſon called " Kennedy, who was to proſecute ſaid Cullen, was ſeen ſpeaking to a prieſt by Mr. Kemmis the " crown ſolicitor, through the bar of the gaol; and that in conſequence of this converſation, ſaid Ken- " nedy denied what he had ſaid before regarding Cullen. A more hardy falſehood than this could " not be aſſerted. Mr. Kemmis, whoſe character entitles him to credit, will, I dare ſay, if aſked, " declare, that not one word of the aſſertion, ſo far as it regards him, Kennedy, or the prieſt, is " true. Neither is it poſſible it could be true, as no one of the name of Kennedy was in gaol to

proſecute

to ſuch ſurrender in future. Even the well intended propagation of notorious falſehood, under the ſanction of authority, muſt neceſſarily ulcerate thoſe, whom that ſame authority prevents from publiſhing the reality in juſtification. The Iriſh preſs had been for ſome time under that imperious control, that no printer dared to publiſh any thing not perfectly agreeable to the higher powers. In fact, the licentiouſneſs of the preſs had effectually deſtroyed its liberty; as every exceſs produces its oppoſite extreme.

The rebellion, notwithſtanding the many and ſevere defeats of the inſurgents, ſpread itſelf in all directions, and particularly to the ſouth. Almoſt the whole of the county of Kildare was in open rebellion. Hitherto, notwithſtanding the malevolent attempts of too many perſons in high ſituations to identify the terms rebel and papiſt, it had not yet become abſolutely a war of religious difference. Almoſt all the chiefs and leaders of the rebels were Proteſtants, though the greater part of the individuals concerned in it were Catholics, that being the religion of the lower orders of the people. The great and prevailing diſtinction, which was acted upon, was that of Orange men and United Iriſhmen: the external emblems of which were orange and green cockades.* Throughout the rebellion, and ever ſince, it has been unwiſe policy

" proſecute Cullen. The only proſecutor was Serjeant James Talland, who ſaid, that Cullen " charged and fired three ſhots at him. But when aſked by counſel, why he did not fire at Cullen " whilſt he (Cullen) was charging and firing three ſhots at him, he anſwered, that Cullen was in " a ſand pit. The court, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, further aſked the proſecutor, whether the " ſame view which enabled him to ſee Cullen charge and diſcharge ſeveral ſhots, did not allow him " alſo an opportunity to fire at leaſt one ſhot at Cullen. It is perhaps to the unſatisfactory manner " in which the proſecutor anſwered this queſtion, that Cullen partly owes his life. This, when it " could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, excited additional zeal in his counſel, who peti- " tioned the court to ſave a point of law. The court humanely extended the royal clemency, un- " der the amneſty act, with reference to the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the " following aſſize and acquitted. Thus the crown ſolicitor, Mr. Kemmis, Cullen's advocate, " counſellors Charles Ball and R. Eſpinaſſe, Baron Smith, his judge, the grand and petty juries " of ſucceſſive aſſizes at Naas, and others, bear teſtimony that Cullen's life was ſaved in this man- " ner, and not by the pretended ſolicitation or interference of any prieſt.

" NAAS, *June* 25, 1801. Signed DUNNE, R. P.

" Rev. Doctor TROY, Dublin."

* Thus at Enniſcorthy on the 28th of May, ſo fluctuating for ſome time was the ſucceſs of the day, that to avoid the fury of each prevailing party in turn, perſons alternately hoiſted the orange and the green ribbon. (Gordon 94) Credit cannot be given to the numberleſs aſſertions of Sir Richard

licy to reſort to falſehood, in exaggerating the numbers of the rebels, in ſinking thoſe of the loyaliſts, in blackening the atrocities of the former, in ſoftening thoſe of the latter; If however any ſtate reaſon could have been ſuppoſed to exiſt by the moſt alarmed, agitated and impaſſioned loyaliſt, for thus reſorting to fiction, falſity, or miſrepreſentation, that time is gone by, and it is neceſſary, that the light of truth, like the meridian ſun, ſhould ſhine equally upon Ireland, as upon the reſt of the globe.

It has been obſerved, that whilſt rebellion raged about the metropolis and to the Southward, the North, which had heretofore been conſidered the hotbed of diſaffection and treaſon, was perfectly quiet: there both Diſſenters and Catholics were prominent in conveying to government the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of loyalty and zeal for preſerving the conſtitution againſt external and internal foes.* The ill ſucceſs of the rebels in moſt rencounters had partly opened the communication with the capital, which in the firſt days of the rebellion had been kept in a ſpecies of blockade. But inſurrection burſt out in a part† where it was leaſt expected, and was growing into ſo formidable a force, as to occaſion the moſt ſerious alarms for the ſafety of government. The County of Wexford had been but very recently and but partially organized, and many of it's Roman Catholic inhabitants had addreſſed the lord lieutenant through the medium of the Earl of Mountnorris, proteſting their loyalty, and pledging themſelves to arm, if permitted, in defence of govern-

Richard Muſgrave, that the rebels ſpared Catholics houſes, property, and perſons, and confined their outrages to Proteſtants. On the contrary they were furious againſt ſome Catholic clergymen, who ſtrongly oppoſed their principles and reprobated their conduct: they termed them Orange prieſts. It is not true, as Sir R. Muſgrave ſtates, (p. 315,) that "all the Proteſtant houſes from "Baltinglaſs to Hacketſtown, Rathdrum and Bleſſington were burned; but that the property of a "Roman Catholic did not receive the ſmalleſt injury in that extenſive tract." The property of Proteſtants and Catholics was plundered indiſcriminately by the rebels. They took away all the ſheep of the Rev. Mr. Devoy, Popiſh prieſt of Ballymore Euſtace, and bullocks and ſheep to a large amount from the Rev. Richard Doyle of Welfield, which he claimed and received compenſation for from the commiſſioners of ſuffering loyaliſts. The rebels burnt all Hacketſtown (except that ſtation defended by the military) and a great part of it was inhabited by the Catholics. Mr. Cullen, a reſpectable old gentlemen of that town and a Roman Catholic, recovered compenſation for his houſe and property deſtroyed on that occaſion by the rebels. The rebels plundered and ſeized all property indiſcriminately for ſupport of their camp at Blackamore Hill. Many other Catholics in different parts of the kingdom ſuffered, and received compenſation from the commiſſioners.

* Amongſt many ſuch addreſſes a ſample is given of both in the Appendix, No. CXI.

† Gordon, p. 86.

ment,

ment, whenever there ſhould be occaſion. Not above ſix hundred men, at moſt, of the regular army or militia were ſtationed in the county, the defence of which was almoſt abandoned to the troops of yeomen and their ſupplementaries, while the magiſtrates in the ſeveral diſtricts were employed in ordering the ſeizure, impriſonment, and whipping of numbers of ſuſpected perſons: theſe yeomen, being proteſtants, and moſtly Orangemen, acted with a ſpirit ill fitted to allay religious hatred, or to prevent a proneneſs to rebel. To excite ſo violent an irritation by floggings, impriſonments, and a variety of inſults, without ſufficient means to enforce obedience, appears to have been an unfortunate miſtake, as was alſo, that of the inſtitution of yeomen cavalry inſtead of infantry.

Whether any inſurrection would in the then exiſting ſtate of the kingdom have taken place in the county of Wexford, or, in caſe of its eruption, how much leſs formidable and ſanguinary it would have been, if no acts of ſeverity had been committed by the ſoldiery, the yeomen, or their ſupplementary aſſociates, though without the direct authority of their ſuperiors, or command of the magiſtrates, is a queſtion which no man can poſitively anſwer. In the neighbourhood of Gorey,* the terror of the whippings was in particular ſo great,

* The reverend author here, with manly and honorable candor, gives an inſtance of the violent effect which this ſyſtem of terroriſm produced under his own eye. The phyſical effects of extreme fear and horror are often different, always violent. *(Gordon,* p. 88.) "As an inſtance of this "terror I ſhall relate the following fact. On the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, "named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my houſe, with looks of the utmoſt conſternation and "diſmay, and confeſſed to me that he had taken the United Iriſhmen's oath, and had paid "for a pike with which he had not yet been furniſhed, nineteen-pence halfpenny, to one "Kilty, a ſmith, who had adminiſtered the oath to him and many others. While I ſent my eldeſt "ſon, who was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arreſt Kilty, I exhorted M'Daniel to ſurrender himſelf "to a magiſtrate, and make his confeſſion, but this he poſitively refuſed, ſaying, that he ſhould in "that caſe be laſhed to make him produce a pike which he had not, and to confeſs what he knew "not. I then adviſed him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promiſing, that, if "he ſhould be arreſted on the information of others, I would repreſent his caſe to the magiſtrates. "He took my advice, but the fear of arreſt and laſhing had ſo taken poſſeſſion of his thoughts, that "he could neither eat nor ſleep, and on the morning of the 25th he fell on his face and expired in "a little grove near my houſe." The ſame author (2d edition, p. 105) adds in a note, "That "ſome magiſtrates of the county of Wexford, affirm, that not more than one man was flogged "in all the county before the inſurrection. I wiſh theſe gentlemen would publiſh their affirmation "or negation in print. They muſt admit that ſeveral were flogged in the town of Gorey alone. Of "theſe

great, that the people would have been extremely glad to renounce for ever all notions of oppoſition to government, if they could have been aſſured of permiſſion to remain in a ſtate of quietneſs.

The inſurrection in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford aſſumed an appearance unuſually ferocious. In the county of Wexford there had long ſubſiſted a rivalry bordering on rancour, between the Proteſtants and Catholics. The public peace in that country had notwithſtanding often been interrupted by thoſe mobbiſh riſings which will ſometimes take place even where the conduct of their ſuperiors is perfectly free from harſhneſs. The county of Wicklow was one of the moſt thriving diſtricts in the kingdom. There were perſons of the different religions, in all the middle and inferior ranks, and they lived together in habits of great cordiality and good neighbourhood. The landed intereſt of the county of Wexford had always been prominent in their antipathy to the Catholics, and their repreſentatives in parliament had uniformly oppoſed every mitigation of the popery laws. In theſe circumſtances may be traced ſomething of a prediſpoſing cauſe to the inſurrection of the county of Wexford; but there exiſted no ſuch circumſtance with reſpect to the county of Wicklow. Other ſpecial circumſtances affected the county of Wexford, which tended to bring forward the inſurgency in that county. *After the proclamation of the 30th of March, the Orange ſyſtem made no public appearance in the county of Wexford, until the beginning of April, on the arrival there of the North Cork militia, commanded by Lord Kingsborough. In this regiment, there were a great number of Orangemen, who were zealous in making proſelytes, and diſplaying their devices; having medals and orange ribbons triumphantly pendant from their boſoms. It is believed, that previous to this period, there were but few actual Orangemen in the county; but ſoon after, thoſe whoſe principles inclined that way, finding themſelves ſupported by the military, joined the aſſociation, and publicly avowed themſelves, by aſſuming the devices of the fraternity.

" theſe I knew three: Anthony Bolger, Michael Davies, and one Howlet; and they muſt admit, " that at leaſt one flagellation, if not more, was exacted in the town of Little Limerick, near " Gorey. I have not at preſent ſufficient ground to ſuſpect that any of theſe were flogged without " proper cauſe; but half hangings enough were committed by others without any conſultation of " magiſtrates. The floggings, however, in the county of Wexford, were almoſt nothing com- " paratively with other counties; and the terror of people of this county aroſe chiefly from floggings " inflicted elſewhere; and the incipiency of floggings among themſelves, houſe burnings, &c."

* Hay's Hiſtory of the Inſurrection of the County of Wexford, p. 57.

It

*It is ſaid, that the North Cork regiment were alſo the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers of the pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any perſon having their hair cut ſhort, (and therefore called a croppy, by which appellation the ſoldiery deſignated an United Iriſhman, on being pointed out by ſome loyal neighbour, was immediately ſeized and brought into a guard-houſe, were caps either of coarſe linen or ſtrong brown paper, beſmeared inſide with pitch, were always kept ready for ſervice. The unfortunate victim had one of theſe well heated, compreſſed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolneſs, ſo that it could not be eaſily pulled off, the ſufferer was turned out amidſt the horrid acclamations of the mercileſs torturers: and to the view of vaſt numbers of people, who generally crowded about the guard-houſe door, attracted by the afflicted cries of the tormented. Many of thoſe perſecuted in this manner, experienced additional anguiſh from the melted pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to theſe keen ſportſmen, who reiterated their horrid yells of exultation, on the repetition of the ſeveral accidents to which their game was liable upon being turned out; for in the confuſion and hurry of eſcaping from the ferocious hands of theſe more than ſavage tormentors, the blinded victims frequently fell or inadvertently daſhed their heads againſt the walls in their way. The pain of diſengaging the pitched cap from the head muſt have been next to intolerable. The hair was often torn out by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the ſkin were ſo ſcalded or bliſtered as to adhere and come off along with it. The terror and diſmay that theſe outrages occaſioned are inconceivable. A ſerjeant of the North Cork, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, was moſt ingenious in deviſing new modes of torture. Moiſtened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut cloſe and then ſet on fire; ſome, while ſhearing for this purpoſe, had the tips of their ears ſnipt off; ſometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off; and many loſt part of their noſes during the like preparation. But, ſtrange to tell, theſe atrocities were publicly practiſed without the leaſt reſerve in open day, and no magiſtrate or officer ever interfered, but ſhamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people! Some of the miſerable ſufferers on theſe ſhocking occaſions, or ſome of their relations or friends actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut ſhort the hair of ſeveral perſons whom they either conſidered as enemies or ſuſpected of having pointed them

* Hay, (p. 57,) who was on the ſpot and vouches for the truth of this narration.

out as objects for ſuch deſperate treatment. This was done with a view, that thoſe active citizens ſhould fall in for a little experience of the like diſcipline, or to make the faſhion of ſhort hair ſo general that it might no longer be a mark of party diſtinction. Females were alſo expoſed to the groſſeſt inſults from theſe military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dreſs that exhibited a ſhade of green (conſidered the national colour of Ireland) torn off, and their ears aſſailed by the moſt vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumſtance ſo unforeſeen, and of courſe ſo little provided againſt, that many women of enthuſiaſtic loyalty ſuffered outrage in this manner. Some of theſe ladies would not on any account have worn any thing, which they could even imagine partook in any degree of *croppyiſm*. They were, however, unwarily involved until undeceived by the gentle hints from theſe kind guardians of allegiance.

Great as the apprehenſions from Orangemen had been before among the people, they were now multiplied ten-fold, and aggravated terror led them in numbers to be ſworn United Iriſhmen, in order to counteract the ſuppoſed plan of their rumoured exterminators. The fears of the people became ſo great at length, that they forſook their houſes in the night and ſlept, (if under ſuch circumſtances they could ſleep) in the ditches. Theſe facts were notorious at the time, and had the magiſtrates, and gentlemen of the country been actuated by the feelings that humanity naturally excites on ſuch occaſions, they might, with very little trouble have convinced the deluded populace of the fallacy of ſuch reports, and they ſhould have promiſed them public protection. In general, however, the fact was otherwiſe. The melancholy ſituation of the people was regarded with the utmoſt indifference; few individuals felt any concern or gave themſelves any trouble about what they thought: and no efforts whatever were made to allay their apprehenſions, or at all to undeceive them. Their minds were left to the operations of their fears, to diſſipate which if any pains had been taken, it is certain that theſe horrid conceptions entertained of Orangemen could never have taken ſuch ſtrong hold of their ſcared imaginations, and that violence would have been repreſſed in its origin.

The following circumſtance occaſioned the inſurgency in the county of Wicklow, to become ſo very much an affair of religion. Some perſons in Dublin, who had been very active in promoting the repeal of the popery laws, afterwards unfortunately entered into the projects of the revolution; theſe men made uſe of the influence they had thus acquired upon many of their brethren to prevent the Catholics from going into the yeomanry, they circulated among

among that people an opinion which readily gained ground, that their co-operation was very eſſential to government, and, that by holding back on that occaſion they would procure all the advantages, which had been promiſed and were expected under Lord Fitzwilliam; their ſuggeſtions were attended to more in the county of Wicklow than elſewhere. The conſequent backwardneſs of the Catholics to join the armed corps threw a ſuſpicion on that people, but created a neceſſity of filling up the numbers neceſſary for the defence of the country with the loweſt caſt of proteſtants, who afterwards, when the heat of party ran high, made a very bad uſe of their arms and of their power.

By theſe means the diviſion of the county of Wicklow into theſe parties firſt took place, and that diviſion prepared the way for the revolutionary miſſionaries, who came afterwards to tamper with the people and diſpoſe them for inſurrection. The introduction of the united buſineſs crowned the whole, many were drawn into it from reports artfully circulated, that the Britiſh empire was on the eve of diſſolution, that the armed Proteſtants intended to maſſacre and expel them from Wicklow, as they had from Armagh. This alarm was ſo prevalent, that on many occaſions all the inhabitants for an extent of thirty miles deſerted their houſes, and ſlept in the open fields; this fact was proved on a trial before Lord Yelverton, at the ſummer aſſizes of Wicklow, 1798. Many joined the aſſociation, becauſe they had no other alternative; the armed corps generally conſidered every Catholic a rebel; they received no credit much leſs merit for any act of loyalty. After the corps were put on permanent duty, and the officers and magiſtrates began to torture and burn houſes, multitudes of theſe people became fugitives from fear or actual want of dwellings: many from being exaſperated at the ſufferings of their acquaintance, friends and kindred; common ſufferings brought theſe perſons together and formed the rebellion of Wicklow and Wexford: many atrocious acts were committed in that rebellion, but they were acts of retaliation. The armed corps in the firſt days of the rebellion, and even in the two or three weeks preceding it, had ſhot many perſons who were merely paſſing quietly through the county; the relatives of theſe murdered victims became furious for revenge, and murdered madly thoſe of the oppoſite party, who fell into their poſſeſſion.

Whatever effects different management might have produced in the county of Wexford, the ebullition of the rebellion in that county ſeems to have been more a ſudden guſt of revenge, than a preconcerted deſign. The inſurgents

were more numerous and ferocious than elſewhere; and in many inſtances they were headed by perſons, who never had been members of the aſſociation of United Iriſhmen; but whom the ſudden preſſure of circumſtances had ſeduced or driven into that unfortunate rebellion. The general inſurrection in that county did not take place till Whitſunday, which fell on the 27th of May. But the zeal, ſays Sir Richard Muſgrave, of Father John Murphy of Boolavogue chappel, in the pariſh of Kilcormick, was ſo intemperate, that he began his military career at ſix o'clock on Saturday evening the 26th of May.* It is a fact neceſſary to be known, that before the breaking out of the rebellion in Wicklow and Wexford not one Roman Catholic clergyman ever entered into the united aſſociation, except one Roach, who was under eccleſiaſtic cenſures, and interdicted from the exerciſe of his ſpiritual functions. This Father Murphy was living quietly in his pariſh, when ſome yeomen entered it and burned his chapel. In a ſudden ſally of fury (for prieſts have their paſſions) he with a party of his pariſhioners fell upon them, and the two officers commanding the yeomen were killed. Imagining then that no retreat was left, the party encamped on the hill of Oularde, all the fugitives and exaſperated perſons about the country joined the camp, and this formed a commencement of the Wexford rebellion; in two days they were in ſufficient force to defeat ſome of the North Cork Militia, who attempted to diſperſe them. Murphy unqueſtionably after he had thus engaged in the rebellion employed all the influence which he derived from his character of a prieſt to encourage and ſupport his party, and omitted no art to animate and fortify them by religious bigotry and enthuſiaſm. He and the other prieſts † who were driven into the rebellion either

* The Biſhop of Kilala has in his narrative of what paſſed at Killala in the Summer of 1798, (p. 82,) given the following reaſon, why in every popular commotion in Ireland, ſome Roman Catholic prieſts will probably be found concerned in it. "The almoſt total dependance of the Romiſh "clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of ſubſiſtence is the cauſe, according to my beſt "judgment, why upon every popular commotion many prieſts of that communion have been, and "until meaſures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of ſedition and op-"poſition to the eſtabliſhed government. The peaſant will love a revolution, becauſe he feels the "weight of poverty, and has not often the ſenſe to perceive that a change of maſters may render "it heavier; the prieſt muſt follow the impulſe of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach, "to periſh."

† Widely as this unfortunate rebellion raged, it would have been truly ſtrange if not one of the Catholic prieſts had been ſeduced to join in it. Their number was, however, comparatively ſmall, and it will not be unintereſting to the public to learn, what manner of men thoſe, who gave into it generally

either by the intemperance of the loyaliſts or hurried away by the violence of their own people, celebrated maſs conſtantly, and prayed and preached in the camps;

generally were. The following account of moſt of them, who joined the rebellion at Wexford is extracted from a letter of Dr. Caulfield, the Roman Catholic Biſhop of Wexford, to Dr. Troy, the Roman Catholic archbiſhop of Dublin,—Dated from Wexford, September 2, 1798. The author has this in the hand writing of that prelate.

1. Thomas Dixon of Caſtle-bridge, had been curate at the Lady's Iſland for ſome years; but for drinking, dancing, and diſorderly conduct, was ſuſpended about four years ago. After ſome time of apparent amendment, he was ſent to aſſiſt Rev. David Cullen of Blackwater, where he relapſed into his former pranks, and was ſuſpected latterly of being active in the accurſed buſineſs of *uniting*, for which I interdicted and ſuſpended him above twelve months ago. He was afterwards apprehended, tried, and convicted here, and ſent on board the tender lying at Duncannon Fort, where he took a fever and died.

2. Rev. Thomas Clinch, native of Camolin, had been appointed curate to Rev. Thomas Rogers in Bantry; but turning out a moſt beaſtly drunkard and unfit for duty, was ſuſpended about two years ago, and remained ſo. He joined the rebels, and was killed in their retreat from Vinegar Hill.

3. Rev. Mogue Kearin or Kearns of the Duffry had been employed by Doctor Delany for ſome time, but latterly diſmiſſed. He was notorious for drinking and fighting; and joined the rebels, among whom he made a gigantic figure, and was hanged at Edenderry.

4. Rev. John Murphy, curate to Rev. Patt Cogly of Boolyvogue, ever giddy, but not noted for immorality, was the firſt to commence the rebellion and became a ſignal general in it. He had been apparently but not really dutiful to his ſuperior. He was whipped, hanged, beheaded, and his body burnt in the county Carlow, at Tullow.

5. Rev. Philip Roche, alias General Roache, had been curate to Rev. John Synnott of Gorey; had been a proper man and would be uſeful, but indulging in exceſs of drinking, and beginning to agitate, he became obnoxious and was removed. He was afterwards ſent curate, after reprehenſion, admonition, and inſtruction by his ſuperior, to Rev. Thomas Rogers in Bantry, the other extremity of the dioceſe, laſt winter: I heard nothing remarkable of him there, till he joined the rebels and ſoon became a leader. He was hanged here and his body thrown into the river the 22d of June.

6. There is another reptile, Rev. Bryan Murphy, who was very active in the rebellion. He had been *deprived* and ſuſpended about three years ago. Nevertheleſs he had addreſs enough to procure a protection when the rebels were routed, and remains undiſturbed.

7. There is a Rev. Mr. Byrne, a Carmelite, at Goff's Bridge, who ſhewed himſelf a very zealous, active rebel. He alſo got a protection. He was a drinking, giddy man. I adviſed him to quit the dioceſe and threatened ſuſpenſion.

N. B. From Dr. Troy. This Byrne was killed in the houſe of a Dr. Waddy, in the county of Wexford, when on a friendly viſit in the year 1800, by the fall of a port-cullis, whether by deſign or accident is not known. The circumſtance was mentioned in the public papers.

8. Rev. John Keane, under cenſures the greater part of his life for drunkenneſs and other irregularities. He is a weak poor fool. He has not been queſtioned, nor is he worth notice.

9. Rev.

camps; when once embarked in the cauſe they could not otherwiſe have given it the ſanction of plauſibility; and theſe circumſtances have been unwarrantably put forward in order to juſtify a charge, that the rebellion originated in a religious ſpirit, and was connected with the anxiety and the efforts uſed to extend the political privileges of the Roman Catholics.

From this commencement of open hoſtilities in the county of Wexford, the commotion ſpread rapidly on all ſides; and the collection of rebel parties was greatly promoted by the reports diſſeminated of numbers of people ſhot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houſes, unarmed and unoffending, by ſtraggling parties of yeomen. Influenced by theſe reports, which certainly were not without too much foundation, great numbers took refuge with their friends in arms, inſomuch, that on the following morning of Whit-Sunday, the 27th of May, two large bodies were collected, one on the Hill of Oulart, nearly midway between Gorey and Wexford, about eleven miles to the South of the former; the other on Kilthomas Hill, an inferior ridge of Slyceve Bwee mountain, about nine miles weſtward of Gorey. They formed a confuſed multitude of both ſexes and of all ages. Reports have varied their numbers from ſeven or eight to two or three thouſand men in arms: againſt theſe a body of about 200 yeomen, on the ſame morning, marched from the neighbouring town of Carnew, in the county of Wicklow. The rebels were ſtrucken with a panic, and fled, after a few diſcharges of muſketry from the yeomen, at too great a diſtance to make any conſiderable execution. About a hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed in the purſuit: the yeomen burned two Roman Catholic chapels, and about a hundred cabins and farm houſes of Catholics in the courſe of ſeven miles march.

The event of battle was very different, on the ſame day, on the hill of Oulart, where Father Murphy commanded. A detachment of a hundred and ten men of the North Cork Militia, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Foote, marched from Wexford, and attacked the rebels on the ſouthern ſide of the hill. The rebels fled at the firſt onſet and were purſued by the militia, without rank or order. Farther Murphy rallied again ſome hundreds of the rebels who by his encouragement charged their purſuers with ſo much fury, that with their pikes they killed, almoſt in an inſtant, the whole detach-

9. Rev. John Redmond, curate of Rev. Francis Kavanagh, a moſt regular, attentive, zealous prieſt without reproach ever until the accurſed rebellion; whether he joined them through terror, as was the caſe with ſome, or volunteer'd, I know not. He ſurprized me more than all the reſt. He was hanged near Gorey on the 21ſt or 22d of June laſt.

ment,

ment, except the lieutenant colonel, a ſerjeant, and three privates. If we may believe the accounts of ſome of the inſurgents, no more than about three hundred of their number ventured on this furious attack, of whom only ſix were armed with firelocks, the reſt with pikes, and that only three of them were killed, and ſix wounded, by the diſordered ſoldiery.

While the country exhibited a ſcene of diſtreſs and conſternation, houſes in flames, and families flying on all ſides for aſylum, the loyaliſts to the towns, others to the hills, the body of rebels, under Father Murphy, marched from Oulart, fluſhed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new acceſſions. They firſt took poſſeſſion of Camolin, a ſmall town ſix miles weſtward of Gorey, the loyal inhabitants of which had taken refuge in the latter; thence they advanced to Ferns two miles further, whence the loyaliſts had fled, ſix miles ſouthward to Enniſcorthy, whither they were followed by the rebels; who on their arrival before that town amounted to the number of 7000 men, 800 of whom were armed with guns, which they had ſeized at Camolin almoſt immediately after they had been ſent to that place by the Earl of Mountnorris. About one o'clock on the 28th of May, Enniſcorthy was attacked by this vaſt multitude, and after a vigorous defence by the comparatively ſmall garriſon, was left in poſſeſſion of the inſurgents. The garriſon retreated and fell back on Wexford: they loſt above ninety of their men, and the town was on fire in ſeveral places: they were attended by a confuſed number of unfortunate loyal inhabitants, but fortunately were not purſued by the rebels, who eaſily might have cut them off in their retreat. Having arrived at Wexford, they again retreated from that town on the 30th of May. The cutting off a company of the Meath militia coming to their relief on that morning; the taking of the two howitzers they had with them, and the Donegal detachment being obliged to fall back into Wexford, after an unſucceſsful conflict with the rebels, threw that whole garriſon into conſternation: the men of the North Cork, under the command of Captain Snowe, became extremely inſubordinate: they had been without food, except a very trifle, ſince their arrival from Enniſcorthy, and had been upon conſtant duty; except the night they marched in, no proviſions were to be bought. Although Captain Snowe and ſome other officers were againſt retreating, the Scarawalſh Yeomanry, with their officers, and the men of the North Cork, in ſpight of all the officer's endeavours marched out of the town; ſome ſcaled the breaſt work; Captain Snowe thought it his duty not to abandon ſuch a number of men, he therefore took the charge of them, and ſucceeded in keeping them together

ther on the retreat, and preventing every ſpecies of depredation and violence, not a ſingle inſtance of which occurred, except the taking ſome horſes from the adjacent fields to mount ſome of the fainting and worn out-ſoldiers.

The men were kept together till night fall, when upon an unexpected fire on them at Tailor's Town Bridge, they diſperſed notwithſtanding every thing were done to rally them, and Captain Snowe after experiencing much ſuffering during the night, did not arrive at Duncannon fort till ſeven o'clock the next morning.

*To diſperſe the inſurgents, if poſſible, without battle or conceſſion, or perhaps to divert their attention and retard their progreſs, an expedient was aſſayed by Captain Boyd of the Wexford cavalry. This officer had, in conſequence of a requiſition to that purpoſe of the ſheriff and other gentlemen, on the 25th and 27th, from information or ſuſpicion of treaſonable deſigns, arreſted Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey of Bargycaſtle, John Henry Colclough of Ballyteigh, and Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, all three reſpectable gentlemen of the county of Wexford. Viſiting them in priſon on the 29th, Captain Boyd agreed with theſe gentlemen, that one of them ſhould go to the rebels at Enniſcorthy, and endeavour to perſuade them to diſperſe and return to their homes; but would not give authority to promiſe any terms to the inſurgents in caſe of ſubmiſſion. Colclough at the requeſt of Mr. Harvey, agreed to go on condition of his being accompanied by Mr. Fitzgerald. On the arrival of theſe two gentlemen at Enniſcorthy, about four in the afternoon of the ſame day, they found the rebels in a ſtate of confuſion, diſtracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operation; ſome propoſing to attack Newtownbarry, others Roſs, others Wexford, others to remain in their preſent poſts: the greater number to march home for the defence of their houſes againſt Orangemen.†

* Gordon, 2d Edition, p. 117. Whenever I refer to the authority of the Reverend Mr. Gordon, I do it under a full conviction, that he has throughout his hiſtory meant and intended, as an upright and honorable man to repreſent facts as they really exiſted. I give him credit therefore for what he advances poſitively. The public is much indebted to a gentleman of his profeſſion, who nobly dares to ſupport the truth at the riſk of his own promotion in the church. There is unfortunately too much ground to preſume, that the contrary conduct would have rendered his preferment more ſure.

† The dread of *Orangemen* not of *Proteſtants* appears to have affected thoſe rebels throughout. Thus Sir Richard Muſgrave has perhaps unintentionally admitted (*p.* 335) "that on Whitſunday "they roſe in maſs, armed with pikes and guns, and vowed vengeance againſt the *Proteſtants as* "*Orangemen.*

It

*It was but the reſolution of a moment to march in a body to attack Wexford. Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they ſent back to announce their hoſtile intentions.

Mr. Colclough arrived in Wexford early in the evening, and waited in the bull ring (a ſmall ſquare in the town ſo denominated) until the officers and other gentlemen in the place had there aſſembled, when he informed them, in a very audible voice from on horſe-back, that having gone out, according to their directions, to the inſurgents on Vinegar hill, he found, as he had already ſuggeſted before his departure, that he poſſeſſed no influence with the people, who had ordered him to return and announce their determination of marching to the attack of Wexford; adding that they had detained Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Colclough then requeſted to be informed, if it were intended to make further trial of his ſervices, or to require his longer attendance, as otherwiſe they muſt be ſenſible how eager he muſt be to relieve the anxiety of his family by his preſence. He was then entreated to endeavour to maintain tranquillity in his own neighbourhood, which having promiſed to do as much as in his power, he called at the gaol to viſit Mr. Harvey, with whom he agreed, (according to the compact with Captain Boyd) to return next day and take his place in the gaol, and then ſet off through the barony of Forth, for his own dwelling at Ballyteigue, diſtant about ten miles from Wexford.

Early in the morning of the 29th, Colonel Maxwell, of the Donegal militia, with two hundred men of his regiment and a ſix pounder, arrived in Wexford from Duncannon fort, diſpatched by General Fawcet, who had been apprized of the inſurrection on the 27th, by Captain Knox, an officer ſent to eſcort Serjeant Stanley, a judge of aſſize, on his way to Munſter. This reinforcement being inſufficient, an expreſs was ſent from the mayor of Wexford to the general, requeſting an additional force; he expeditiouſly returned with an exhilarating anſwer, that the general himſelf would commence his march for Wexford on the ſame evening from Dungannon, with the 13th regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the receipt of this intelligence, Colonel Maxwell, leaving the five paſſes into the town guarded by the yeoman and North Cork militia, took poſt with his men on the windmill hill above the town, at

* Hays, page 103.

day break on the following morning, the 30th, with reſolution to march againſt the enemy on the arrival of General Fawcett's army.

That general had marched according to his promiſe, on the evening of the 29th; but halting at Taghmon, ſeven miles from Wexford, he had ſent forward a detachment of 88 men, including 18 of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th, by the rebels under the Three Rocks, which they had occupied as a military ſtation, being about three miles from Wexford: the howitzers were taken, and almoſt the whole party ſlain.* The diſmay and confuſion that took place in Wexford is more eaſily imagined than deſcribed.

Colonel Maxwell, informed of the deſtruction of Captain Adams's detachment by two officers who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, advanced immediately with what forces he could collect towards the enemy with, deſign to retake the howitzers, and cooperate with General Fawcet, of whoſe retreat he had no ſuſpicion, but obſerving his left flank expoſed by the retreat of ſome of the Taghmon cavalry and the enemy, making a motion to ſurround him, he retired to Wexford, with the loſs of Lieutenant Colonel Watſon killed, and two privates wounded.

Every thing now wore the aſpect of a gloomy deſperate conſternation. Some yeomen and ſupplementaries poſted nearly oppoſite the gaol, were heard continually to threaten to put all the priſoners to death, which ſo rouſed the attention of the gaoler to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door, and delivered up the key to Mr. Harvey. This gentleman was, indeed, ſo apprehenſive of violence, that he had concealed himſelf in the chimney, and it was not without great difficulty that ſome magiſtrates were admitted to ſee Mr. Harvey in the gaol, and, at their moſt urgent entreaties, he wrote the following notice to the inſurgents.

" I have been treated in priſon with all poſſible humanity, and am now at " liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the priſoners. If you pretend

* The following official account was given of this affair.

" DUBLIN CASTLE, *June 2d*, 1798.

" ACCOUNTS have been received from Major General Euſtace at New Roſs, " ſtating that Major General Fawcett having marched with a company of the Meath regiment " from Duncannon fort, this ſmall force was ſurrounded by a very large body between Taghmon " and Wexford, and defeated; General Fawcett effected his retreat to Duncannon Fort."

" to

" to chriſtian charity, do not commit maſſacre, or burn the property of the " inhabitants, and ſpare your priſoners lives.

" *Wedneſday, 30th of May,* 1798. " B. B. HARVEY."

This note was undertaken to be forwarded by one Doyle, a yeoman of the Heathfield cavalry, who volunteered this hazardous ſervice in coloured clothes; but when ready to ſet off he was diſcovered to be a Roman Catholic, and therefore reflected upon, for ſo the whiſper went about, " how could a Papiſt " be truſted?" The yeoman, finding his zeal meet with a reception ſo contrary to his expectation, again put on his uniform, and retreated with his captain; Counſellor Richards with his brother, then undertook to announce the ſurrender of the town to the inſurgents, whoſe camp they reached in ſafety, though clad in full uniform. Scarcely had theſe deputies ſet out upon their miſſion, when all the military corps, a part of the Wexford infantry under Captain Hughes only excepted, made the beſt of their way out of town in whatever direction they imagined they could find ſafety, without acquainting their neighbours on duty of their intentions. The principal inhabitants, whoſe ſervices had been accepted of for the defence of the town were moſtly Catholics, and, according to the prevalent ſyſtem, were ſubject to the greateſt inſults and reflections. They were always placed in front of the poſts, and cautioned to behave well, or that death ſhould be conſequence. Accordingly perſons were placed behind them to keep them to their duty, and theſe were ſo watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn about their heads. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their poſt, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the ſoldiery, until all poſſible means of retreating were cut off. Upon the approach of the inſurgents, the confuſion and diſmay were exceſſive, the few remaining officers and privates ran confuſedly through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themſelves wherever their fears ſuggeſted. Some ran for boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. Some from an inſufficiency of men's clothes aſſumed female attire for the purpoſe of diſguiſe. Extreme confuſion, tumult, and panic were every where exhibited. The North Cork regiment on quitting the barracks had ſet them on fire, but it was ſoon after put out.

In the mean time Mr. Richards having arrived at the Three Rocks, made it known to the rebel chiefs, that they were deputed to inform the people, that the town would be ſurrendered to them, on condition of ſparing lives and pro-

perties; theſe terms, they were informed, would not be complied with, unleſs the arms and ammunition of the garriſon were alſo ſurrendered. Mr. Loftus Richards was therefore detained as a hoſtage, and Counſellor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were ſent back to the town, to ſettle and arrange the articles of capitulation; theſe gentlemen on their arrival, to their aſtoniſhment found the place abandoned by the military. A rebel multitude was juſt ready to pour in and take unconditional poſſeſſion of the town. It was therefore thought neceſſary to treat with them, in order to prevent the conſequences apprehended from ſuch a tumultuary influx of people. Doctor Jacob, then mayor of the town and captain of the Wexford infantry, entreated Mr. Fitzgerald to announce to the people ruſhing in, that the town was actually ſurrendered; and to uſe every argument, that his prudence might ſuggeſt, to make their entry as peaceable as poſſible. Mr. Fitzgerald complied, and inſtantly after this communication, thouſands of people poured into the town, over the wooden bridge, ſhouting and exhibiting all the marks of extravagant and victorious exultation. They firſt proceeded to the gaol, releaſed all the priſoners, and inſiſted that Mr. Harvey ſhould become their commander. All the houſes in town, not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, and other emblematic ſymbols of inſurgency. The doors were univerſally thrown open, and the moſt liberal offers made of ſpirits and drink, which however were not as freely accepted, until the perſons offering them had firſt drank themſelves, as a proof that the liquor was not poiſoned, a report having prevailed to that effect. This circumſtance prevented more rapid intoxication, and perhaps many lamentable exceſſes.

The inſurgents being in poſſeſſion of the town, ſeveral of the yeomen, having thrown of their uniforms, affected with all the ſigns and emblems of the United Iriſhmen, to convince them of their unfeigned cordiality and friendſhip; thoſe who did not throw open their doors with offers of refreſhment and accommodation to the inſurgents, ſuffered by plunder, their ſubſtance being conſidered as enemy's property. The houſe of Captain Boyd was a ſingular exception. It was, though not deſerted, pillaged, and underwent all the effects of popular hatred and revenge.

Theſe troops who had fled from Wexford, ſignalized themſelves in their retreat by plundering and devaſtating the country; by burning the cabins and ſhooting the peaſants in their progreſs; and thus they augmented the number

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and rage of the inſurgents. Theſe exceſſes were ſeen from the inſurgents' ſtation at the Three rocks, and it was with extreme difficulty, that the enraged multitude were hindered by their chiefs from ruſhing down upon Wexford and taking ſummary vengeance of the town and its inhabitants.

The turn of this rebellion now rendered both ſides ferocious, even to their aſſociates. When Gorey could be no longer defended by the ſmall garriſon of thirty of the North Cork militia and ſome undiſciplined yeomen, though reinforced by a detachment of the Antrim militia on the 27th of May, orders were given to evacuate the town on the next morning at five o'clock and retire to Arklow. This retreat was a melancholy ſcene of confuſion, fear, and deſperation: the reception the fugitives found at Arklow was ill ſuited to relieve their calamitous ſituation. Fainting with hunger, thirſt, fatigue, and the want of ſleep, they were denied admittance into the town, and forced to ſeek reſt and refuge under the neighbouring hedges; ſome of the better ſort were by favor admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. Thoſe that entered, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promiſed to reſtore them; inſtead of which, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. One man ſcrupling to ſurrender his arms, was ſhot by the guard. No refreſhment could be procured by money for man or horſe; the hearts of the inhabitants were hardened. As the rebels had bent their courſe to the ſouth, Gorey remained unmoleſted though deſtitute of defence, and filled with a variety of goods brought thither for ſafety; but the pilfering of the lower claſs of the towns-folk was prevented by the better ſort of Catholics, who formed themſelves into guards to protect the houſes of their Proteſtant neighbours. On the 30th and 31ſt of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from about Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry, who had abandoned Gorey, on the 28th reſumed their ſtation.

The town of Enniſcorthy is ſituated at the foot of a commanding eminence called Vinegar Hill: here the rebels formed, what they called a camp:* made entrenchments round it, and placed ſome batteries on them. They then ſtationed a large garriſon in the town, which was relieved every day by

* It is remarkable that the ſmall town of Clonnegall, under the command of Lieutenant Holmes, (a juſtice) of the North Cork, was kept under ſuch laudable diſcipline and firmneſs, that though in the neighbourhood of Carnew, it never fell into the hands of the rebels.

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an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower claſs of the people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it ſoon conſiſted of at leaſt ten thouſand men, women and children. They poſted ſtrong picquet guards, centinels, and videts in all the avenues leading to the town, and for ſome miles round it. They then proceeded to deſtroy, with wanton and bigotted ferocity, the interior of the church of Enniſcorthy.*

A body of more than 1000 rebels in advancing towards Gorey on the 1ſt of June, had taken poſſeſſion of a ſmall village called Ballycannoo, four miles to the ſouth of Gorey, and were proceeding to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt called Ballymanaann Hill, midway between the village and the town, when they were met by the whole of the ſmall garriſon of Gorey, and by a ſteady and well directed fire, the rebels were ſoon completely routed. The garriſon conſiſted only of twenty of the Antrim and twenty of the North Cork militia, with fifty yeoman infantry, and three troops of yeoman cavalry.† Had the cavalry purſued, they might have greatly annoyed the rebels. This victorious band on their return to Gorey fired moſt of the houſes at Ballicannoo, and entered the town in triumph with 100 horſes and other ſpoil, which they had taken. In this, as in every other engagement at the beginning of the rebellion, the inſurgents elevated their guns too much for execution; which accounts for the paucity of the ſlain on the part of the king's troops: on this occaſion three only were wounded and none killed. The rebels are ſaid to have loſt above threeſcore.

This ſucceſs, coupled with that at Newtonbarry, gave a momentary check to the ardor of the rebels. A party from Vinegar Hill ſurrounded this latter town

* This is the firſt outrage committed by the rebels on a Proteſtant church. They were afterwards repeated in ſome, though not very many inſtances. In order to avoid the odious detail of the wanton deſtruction of places of divine worſhip, a liſt may be ſeen of the Catholic chapels deſtroyed in time of and after the rebellion in Appendix, No. CXII.

† The Reverend Mr. Gordon recounts (p. 136.) an occurrence after the battle, of which his ſon was a witneſs, which greatly illuſtrates the ſtate of the country at that time: two yeomen "coming to a brake or clump of buſhes, and obſerving a ſmall motion, as if ſome perſons were "hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the ſhot was anſwered by a moſt piteous and loud "ſcreech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being "a gentleman, and leſs ferocious, inſtead of firing, commanded the concealed perſons to appear, "when a poor woman and eight children, almoſt naked, one of whom was ſeverely wounded, "came trembling from the brake, where they had ſecreted themſelves for ſafety."

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in ſuch a manner, that Colonel L'Eſtrange, more haſtily it appears, than neceſſarily, gave orders to abandon it, contrary to the earneſt remonſtrances of the officers of the yeomen and volunteers. After a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the ſolicitations of Lieutenant Colonel Weſtenra, and ſuffered the troops to be led back to the ſuccour of a few determined loyaliſts, who had remained in the town, and continued a fire on the enemy from ſome houſes. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted ſtratagem. The rebels, who had ruſhed into the ſtreet in a confuſed multitude, intent on plunder and devaſtation, and totally unapprehenſive of the return of the troops, were unprepared and driven out of the town with the loſs of about two hundred men.*

One of the great miſchiefs attendant upon the neceſſary diſperſion of our troops into ſmall detachments, was the multiplication of commands: which ſometimes neceſſarily fell upon perſons little qualified for that arduous charge, under the critical and delicate ſituation of the army. Whatever exceſſes and faults were unfortunately committed by them, caſt diſgrace and obloquy upon the ſervice in general. †On advice received at Newtonbarry of the attack intended by the rebels, an expreſs had been ſent to Clonnegall, two miles and a half diſtant, ordering the troops poſted there to march immediately to Newtonbarry. The commander of theſe troops, Lieutenant Young of the Donegal militia, inſtead of marching immediately, ſpent two hours in hanging four priſoners, in ſpite of the urgent remonſtrances of the gentlemen of the town, and an officer of the North Cork, who conſidered theſe men as not deſerving death: ſome of them having actually declined to join the rebels, when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march, three miles longer than the direct road, the troops arrived not at Newtonbarry till after the action was entirely over. Mr. Young, on his arrival in Clonnegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furniſh every individual of his ſoldiers with a feather-bed, and had, without the leaſt neceſſity, turned Mr. Derenzy, a brave and loyal gentlemen and his children, out of their beds. When remonſtrances were made to this officer for the inceſſant depredations of his men, his anſwer was, " I am the com- " manding officer, and damn the croppies."

* The light in which this conduct of the commanding officer at Newtonbarry was ſet forth in the official bulletin, was, *that he at firſt retreated in order to collect his force.*

† Gord. 2 edit. p. 151.

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The rebels having been foiled in their late efforts, and diſheartened at their recent defeats, had taken poſt on Corrigrua hill in great force, where they reſted on their arms till the 4th of June. Meantime, the long and anxiouſly expected army under General Loftus, arrived at Gorey. The ſight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breaſt with confidence, that the immediate and total diſperſion of the rebels was at hand. The plan was, to march the army in two diviſions, by different roads at Corrigrua, and attack the enemy in conjunction with other troops. The rebels were in the mean time preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey. Information had been received by the rebel chiefs, of the intended motions of the army, and they acted upon it. But when intelligence of the plan of the rebels march was brought to the army, by a reſpectable farmer, named Thomas Dowling, the officers deſpiſed his information, and even threatened him with impriſonment. Both armies marched about the ſame time: that of the rebels ſurpriſed a diviſion under Colonel Walpole*, at a place called Tubberneering. The rebels inſtantly poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both ſides of the road, and he received a bullet through the head from the firſt fire. His troops fled in the utmoſt diſorder, leaving their cannon, conſiſting of two ſix pounders, and a ſmaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. They were purſued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which, they were galled by the fire of ſome of the rebels who had taken ſtation in the houſes. The unfortunate loyaliſts of Gorey, once more fled to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

While Walpole's diviſion was attacked by the enemy, General Loftus, being within hearing of the muſquetry, detached ſeventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim militia, acroſs the fields to its aſſiſtance; but they were intercepted by the rebels, and almoſt all killed or taken. The general, ſtill ignorant of the fate of Colonel Walpole's diviſion, and unable to bring his artillery acroſs the fields, continued his march along the highway, by a long

* This gentleman was a relative and favorite of Lord Camden's. He was no ſoldier; but being ambitious of ſignalizing himſelf in the rebellion, had, through importunity at the caſtle, where favor had too frequently outweighed merit, procured the command of five hundred men. He had only one quality of a ſoldier—courage; which, without diſcretion in a commander, becomes raſhneſs. He refuſed to employ ſcouts or flanking parties; and was not aware of the enemy till they were within gun ſhot. He was conſpicuouſly mounted on a white charger, in full uniform and plumage.

circuit,

circuit, to the field of battle, where he was firſt acquainted with the melancholy event. For ſome way he followed the rebels toward Gorey, but finding them poſted on Gorey-hill, from which they fired upon him the cannon taken from Colonel Walpole, he retreated to Carnew; and ſtill contrary to the opinion of moſt of his officers, thinking Carnew an unſafe poſt, though at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow.

Whilſt one formidable body of the Wexford inſurgents was advancing toward the north, another ſtill more formidable was preparing to penetrate to the ſouth weſt. The conqueſt of New Roſs, which is ſituated on the river formed by the united ſtreams of the Nord and the Barrow, would have laid open a communication with the diſaffected in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, in which many thouſands were ſuppoſed ready to riſe in arms at the appearance of their ſucceſsful confederates. The poſſeſſion of that important poſt, when it might have been effected without oppoſition, immediately upon their ſucceſs at Enniſcorthy, had, fortunately for the royal cauſe, been abandoned on account of a perſonal difference amongſt their chiefs. The rebel army at Wexford choſe Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey,* as ſoon as he was liberated from priſon, for their generaliſſimo, and they divided into two main bodies: one of which directed its courſe northward to Gorey; the other, which was headed by Harvey in perſon, took poſt on Carrickburn mountain, within ſix miles of Roſs, where it was reviewed and organized till the 4th of June, when it marched to Corbet hill, within a mile of that town which it was intended to attack the next morning. Harvey, though neither

* The following was the form of their appointment.

"AT a meeting of the commanders of the united army, held at Carrickburn camp, "on the 1ſt of June, 1798, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey ſhould be "appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from "and after the firſt day of June, 1798.

"Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,

"NICHOLAS GRAY, Secretary."

"It was likewiſe agreed, that Edward Roche ſhould from and after the 1ſt day of June inſtant, "be elected, and is hereby elected a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

"Signed by the above authority,

"NICHOLAS GRAY."

 deſtitute

deſtitute of perſonal courage, nor of a good underſtanding, poſſeſſed no military experience, much leſs thoſe rare talents, by which an undiſciplined multitude may be directed and controled. He formed the plan of an attack on three different parts of the town at once, which would probably have ſucceeded had it been put in execution. Having ſent a ſummons to General Johnſon, the commander of the king's troops, with a flag of truce, to ſurrender the town, the bearer of it, one Furlong, was ſhot by a centinel of an out-poſt.* Whilſt Harvey was arranging his forces for the aſſault, they were galled by the fire of ſome out-poſts: he ordered a brave young man, of the name of Kelly, to put himſelf at the head of five hundred men, and drive in the out poſts. Kelly was followed confuſedly by a much greater number than he wiſhed: he executed his commiſſion; but could not bring back the men as ordered; they ruſhed impetuouſly into the town, drove back the cavalry with ſlaughter on the infantry, ſeized the cannon, and being followed in their ſucceſsful career by crouds from the hills, ſeemed ſome time nearly maſters of the town. From a full perſuaſion of a decided victory in favor of the rebel army, ſome officers of the garriſon fled to Waterford, twelve miles diſtant, with the alarming intelligence.

The original plan of attack was thus defeated by this premature, though ſucceſsful onſet, in one quarter; the Dublin and Donegal militia maintained their poſts at the market houſe, and at a ſtation called Fairgate, and prevented the rebels from penetrating into the centre of the town; while Major General Johnſon, aided by the extraordinary exertions of an inhabitant of Roſs,

* To ſhoot all perſons carrying flags of truce from the rebels, appears to have been a maxim with his majeſty's forces. This meaſure if wiſe, was certainly leſs productive of good, than evil conſequences. In Furlong's pocket was found the following letter of ſummons to General Johnſon.

" SIR,

" AS a friend to humanity, I requeſt you will ſurrender the town of Roſs to " the Wexford forces, now aſſembled againſt that town; your reſiſtance will but provoke rapine " and plunder, to the ruin of the moſt innocent. Fluſhed with victory, the Wexford forces, now " innumerable and irreſiſtible, will not be controlled, if they meet with reſiſtance. To prevent, " therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a ſpeedy ſurrender, which " you will be forced to in a few hours, with loſs and bloodſhed, as you are ſurrounded on all ſides. " Your anſwer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the " anſwer.

" I am, Sir,

" B. B. HARVEY,
General commanding, &c. &c. &c."

" *Camp at Corbet Hill, half paſt three o'clock*
" *in the morning, June* 5, 1798."

named

named M'Cormick, who had ſerved in the army, though not then in commiſſion, brought back to the charge the troops that had fled acroſs the river to the Kilkenny ſide; they preſently recovered their poſt, and drove the rebels from the town, the outſkirts of which were now in flames, fired by the aſſailants or diſaffected inhabitants, as Enniſcorthy had been. The rebels, in their turn, rallied by their chiefs, returned with fury to the aſſault, and regained ſome ground. Again diſlodged by the ſame exertions as before, and a third time rallied, they were at laſt finally repulſed, after an engagement of above ten hours, ending about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The official bulletin, publiſhed at Dublin on the 8th of June, ſtated, that on the 5th, about ſix in the morning, the rebels attacked the poſition of General Johnſon, at New Roſs, with a very large force and great impetuoſity; but that, after a conteſt of ſeveral hours, they were completely repulſed. The loſs of the rebels was very great, the ſtreets being literally ſtrewed with their carcaſſes. An iron gun upon a ſhip carriage had been taken; and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrickbyrne, leaving ſeveral iron ſhip guns not mounted.

General Johnſon ſtated, that too much praiſe could not be given to the forces under his command.

The general ſeverely regretted the loſs of that brave officer, Lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the conteſt. A return of the killed and wounded of his majeſty's forces had not then been received, but it appeared not to have been conſiderable. It was ſuppoſed to have been about 300, though the official detail afterwards made reduced them to about half that number.*

* The impetuoſity and ardor with which the rebels aſſailed the town of Roſs, and the prodigality with which they threw away their lives, ſurpaſſed belief. The troops did not ſtand it; and the difficulty, with which that able and meritorious officer, General Johnſon, rallied them, proves the terror, which this ferocious, though irregular charge of the rebels had created. The firſt aſſailants had no ſooner diſlodged the troops, than, inſtead of purſuing them on their retreat, they fell moſt voraciouſly to plunder, and became quickly diſabled to act from intoxication, whereby they were ſo eaſily repulſed on the return of the fugitive troops. Sir Richard Muſgrave ſays, (p. 410) "that ſuch was their enthuſiaſm, that though whole ranks of them were ſeen to fall, they were "ſucceeded by others, who ſeemed to court the fate of their companions, by ruſhing on our troops "with renovated ardor."

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticiſm and drunkenneſs, advanced before his comrades, ſeized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "come on, boys, her mouth is ſtopped." At that inſtant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate ſavage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a perſon who ſaw it from a window.

Bloody as was the carnage at New Roſs, where the rebels were ſaid to have loſt between two and three thouſand men, the horror of that ſcene vaniſhed before the inhuman maſſacre of a number of unfortunate priſoners,* men, women,

* Such inhuman maſſacres in cold blood are in their nature too horrible to find advocates, whether perpetrated under the brutal orders of a king's officer on avowed rebels, or of rebels in retaliation; by a Henry at Agincourt, a Suwarrow at Praga, or a Bonaparte in Paleſtine. To a deed ſo foul the groſſeſt miſinterpretation muſt be expected in the frantic rage of party to be ſuperadded to its own eſſential atrocity. Sir Richard Muſgrave (p. 426) has aſſerted, that "John Murphy, the rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman, and William Devereux, who both held the ſame rank, commanded a guard of 300 rebels, and that when the rebel army began to give way at Roſs, an expreſs was ſent to Murphy, to put the Proteſtant priſoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refuſed to comply without a direct order from the general: that he ſoon after received another meſſage to the ſame purpoſe, with this addition, that the priſoners, if releaſed, would become very furious and vindictive: that ſhortly a third expreſs arrived, ſaying the prieſt gave orders that the priſoners ſhould be put to death: that the rebels, on hearing the ſanction of the prieſt, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed."

There is no queſtion, but that the rebels were univerſally and unexceptionably determined upon the principle of retaliation and retribution: they conſidered every man that loſt his life under military execution, without trial, as a murdered victim whoſe blood was to be revenged: ſo ſanguinary and vindictive had this warfare fatally become. Beſides numerous inſtances of ſuch military executions, wherever the army had gained an advantage, they bore deeply in their minds the deliberate and brutal murder of thirty-eight priſoners, moſt of whom had not (at leaſt who were ſaid and believed not to have) committed any act of treaſon at Dunlavin on the 24th of May; and the like wanton and atrocious murder of thirty-nine priſoners of the like deſcription at Carnew, on the morning of Whitſun Monday, merely becauſe the party, which had them in cuſtody, had orders to march, and they were unwilling to diſcharge them, but wanted time to examine, much more to try them. A gentleman of punctilious veracity and retentive memory has aſſured me, that he was preſent in the Houſe of Commons at the examination of a Mr. Frizell, a perſon of reſpectability, at the bar of that houſe, in the ſummer of 1798, who was a priſoner in the houſe of Scullabogue on the 4th of June. He was aſked every queſtion that could be ſuggeſted relative to the maſſacre: to which his anſwers were ſubſtantially as follows: That having been taken priſoner by a party of the rebels, he was confined to a room on the ground floor in Scullabogue houſe, with twenty or thirty other perſons; that a rebel guard with a pike ſtood near the window, with whom he converſed: that perſons were frequently called out of the room in which he was by name, and he believes were ſoon after ſhot, as he heard the report of muſquets ſhortly after they had been ſo called out; that he underſtood that many were burned in the barn, the ſmoke of which he could diſcover from the window: that the centinel pikeman aſſured him, that they would not hurt a hair of his head, as he was always known to have behaved well to the poor: that he did not know of his own knowledge, but

women, and children, moſtly Proteſtants, burned to death in a barn at Scullabogue on the evening of that ſame day. Scullabogue houſe, which is the property of a Mr. King, was ſituated at the foot of Carrickburn mountain. When the rebel army marched to Corbet hill, theſe priſoners had been left under a guard, commanded by John Murphy, of Loghnaghur. The runaways declared, that the royal army in Roſs were ſhooting all the priſoners, and butchering the Catholics, who had fallen into their hands, feigned an order from Harvey for the execution of thoſe at Scullabogue. This order, which Harvey himſelf, a Proteſtant, and a man of humanity, was utterly incapable of giving, Murphy is ſaid to have reſiſted; but his reſiſtance was vain. Thirty-ſeven were ſhot and piked at the hall door; and the reſt, a hundred and eighty-four in number according to report, crammed into a barn, were burned alive, the roof being fired, and ſtraw thrown into the flames to feed the conflagration.

It appears upon the whole, that the burning of the priſoners at Scullabogue was not, as has been generally repreſented, the conſequence of any regular order or ſyſtem, but perpetrated by ſome runaway rebels from the aſſault on Roſs (the coward being ever cruel), who, to palliate their own flight, invented or magnified the cruelty of the king's troops. It is generally believed, that ſeveral perſons, who were on guard at Scullabogue, and ſuffered for the tranſaction, were in truth the moſt innocent of that inhuman and barbarous maſſacre.*

but only from the reports current amongſt the priſoners, what the particular cauſe was, for which the rebels had ſet fire to the barn. Upon which, Mr. Ogle roſe with precipitancy from his ſeat, and put this queſtion to him with great eagerneſs: Sir, tell us what the cauſe was. It having been ſuggeſted, that the queſtion would be more regularly put from the chair, it was repeated to him in form; and Mr. Frizell anſwered, that the only cauſe that he, or he believed the other priſoners ever underſtood, induced the rebels to this action, was, that they had received intelligence, that the military were again putting all the rebel priſoners to death in the town of Roſs, as they had done at Dunlavin and Carnew. Mr. Ogle aſked no more queſtions of Mr. Frizell, and he was ſoon after diſmiſſed from the bar. To thoſe gentlemen who were preſent at this examination, the truth of this ſtatement is ſubmitted.

* According to ſome accounts, about fifteen Catholics periſhed in this barn. But I find, in a letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, of the 29th of October, 1799; that he could "mention but "ſeven, viz. two men of the name of Neille, the clerk of Mr. Shalloe's chapel, Johnſton a piper, "Eleanor Ryan a ſervant maid, Edward Ryan her father, and Edward Killa a herd. The people at "Wexford (town) were not the authors of that maſſacre, nor had they any hand in it. We can-"not tell who commanded the guard that remained there."

On

On the day enſuing the rebels defeat at Roſs, they re-aſſumed their former poſition on Carrickburn hill. Great diſcontent pervaded the whole army from their failure on the preceding day. Loud murmurs were heard againſt their commander in chief, who in conſequence thereof reſigned his command, and retired to Wexford. He is ſaid to have been much diſguſted, not only at the turn of events in the field, but more particularly at the general inſubordination that prevailed throughout their ranks. Being a man of natural benevolence and humanity, he was ſhocked at the maſſacre at Scullabogue: and the laſt act of his power was, the iſſuing general orders denouncing the penalty of death againſt ſuch perſons, as ſhould murder the priſoners, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the commander in chief.*

The

* GENERAL ORDERS.

At a Meeting of the General and ſeveral Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford, the following Reſolutions were agreed upon:

Reſolved, That the commander in chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies for the purpoſe of bringing in all men they ſhall find loitering or delaying at home, or elſewhere; and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards ſo to be ſent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our deſire and orders, that ſuch perſons ſo giving reſiſtance, ſhall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe; and all ſuch perſons ſo to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and choſen from amongſt the commanders of all the different corps, and be puniſhed with death.

Reſolved, That all officers ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unleſs authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpoſe.

It is alſo ordered, that a guard ſhall be kept in rear of the different armies, with orders to ſhoot all perſons who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement, and that theſe orders ſhall be taken notice of by all officers commanding ſuch engagement.

All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

It is alſo ordered, that all men who ſhall attempt to leave their reſpective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they ſhall have leave from their officers for ſo doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all perſons who have ſtolen or taken away any horſe or horſes, ſhall immediately bring in all ſuch horſes to the camp, at head-quarters, otherwiſe every horſe that ſhall be ſeen or found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, ſhall be ſeized, and the perſon convicted of taking it ſhall ſuffer death.

And

The rebels remained only two days at Carrickburn; they took poſt on Sleeva Keelta, another hill which riſes over the river of Roſs, probably with deſign to intercept the navigation of the channel between Waterford, Roſs, and Duncannon Fort. In this they in ſome degree ſucceeded; for, though they failed in their attempts on ſome gun-boats, they obliged ſome ſmall veſſels to ſurrender, in one of which was a mail, from which they learned much concerning the ſtate of the kingdom in general from newſpapers and private letters. Here, by a tumultuous election, was choſen for general, in the room of Harvey, Father Philip Roche, who has been before mentioned to be a man of large ſtature and boiſterous manners, not ill adapted to direct by influence the diſorderly bands he had to deal with.

This choice of Father Roche ſhews how much the warfare had now altered its complexion, and began to aſſume the form of a fanatic and religious cruſade. The term *United Iriſhmen* had been deſignedly merged into that of *Popiſh Rebels* on one ſide, and the denomination of *Orangemen* into that of *Proteſtants and Heretics* on the other. It ſhews alſo how little guided the Wexford rebels were by any thing like a preconcerted plan from their firſt riſing. Of all men, the Roman Catholic prieſts were the leaſt qualified for feats of arms and military conduct. Yet they being the individuals, to whom the lower claſs of ſociety paid the moſt perſonal ſubſervience and obedience, it was perhaps conſidered prudent to confide the command of this indomitable rabble to perſons of that deſcription. The few of them* who had debaſed their mi-

And any goods that ſhall have been plundered from any houſe, if not brought in to head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houſes or owners, that all perſons ſo plundering as aforeſaid ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

It is alſo reſolved, that any perſon or perſons who ſhall take upon him or them to kill or murder any perſon or priſoner, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death.

By order of

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne camp, June 6, 1798.

B. B. Harvey, Commander in Chief.
Francis Breen, Secretary and Adjutant.

* From the moſt unbiaſſed accounts which I have ſeen, the number of Roman Catholic prieſts, who gave into the rebellion, fell conſiderably ſhort of a ſcore, which out of two thouſand and upwards in the kingdom is a very ſmall proportion. Amongſt thoſe few no prelate or eccleſiaſtic of conſequence and reſpectability was to be found. Some few of them appear to have been intimidated by their flock and forced into the cauſe under threats and menaces of their lives. Such were not prominently active in the field; but weak enough to ſanction by their authority and functions the execrable cauſe of rebellion.

niſtry

niſtry by giving into the rebellion were either ferociouſly fanatical, or profligately hypocritical: ſuch characters were ſupereminently adapted to control theſe licentious and ungovernable bands. Little is it to be wondered at, that men, who could ſo pollute the ſacred character, as to convert the mild and perſuaſive weapons of the Evangeliſt, into the exterminating ſword of blood and devaſtation, ſhould ſharpen the latter with every fraud, impoſition, and falſehood, which the innate reverence of the Iriſh at all times for the ſacred character of the prieſthood, enabled them to father upon them and thus miſlead and enflame the people.*

Quitting the poſt of Slyeeve Keelter in three days after their arrival, the troops of Philip Roche occupied the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Roſs, where they formed a leſs irregular encampment than uſual, many tents being erected for their officers. Here for ſome days they lay inactive, regaling themſelves on the ſlaughtered cattle and liquors, they had plundered, ſupinely negligent of their ſafety, and open to be ſurpriſed on any night by a ſortie from the garriſon of Roſs. Had the rebels, immediately after the rout of Walpole's army, advanced to Arklow, they could have taken poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance, for the garriſon fled from it before day break on the 5th of June, to Wicklow. The inſurgents of the county of Wicklow had with extreme difficulty been kept in check by Major Hardy, the commander of

* Thus it appears not improbable, that in this particular Sir Richard Muſgrave ſpeaks ſome truth (*p.* 482.) "A reſpectable Proteſtant who was taken priſoner by the rebels, and compelled to ſerve "in the camp at Carickbyrne, informed me, that Father Roche, in a public harangue, denounced all "Proteſtants as hereticks, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were per-"mitted to ſerve in their ranks: that on the ſame day he met Roche in a tent, and that he with ſin-"gular diſſimulation, aſſured him, that they made no religious diſtinction, and never regarded a "man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cauſe: that Bagenal Harvey on hearing "Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly turned out to be purely religious; "that the prieſts had got abſolute ſway: that he ſeemed quite diſtracted, and wiſhed he could make "his eſcape."

And Mr Gordon, (*p.* 157) ſpeaking of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed at the battle of Arklow ſays, "this prieſt had been ſuppoſed by the more ignorant of his followers to be invulner-"able by bullets or any other kind of weapon; to confirm them in which belief he had frequently "ſhewed them muſket balls, which he ſaid he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the "enemy. Though I was well acquainted with the extreme credulity of the lower claſſes of my "Romaniſt countrymen, I could not give credit to this account until I found it confirmed beyond a "doubt by various concurring teſtimonies. The ſame divine protection was believed to be poſſeſſ-"ed by father John, the famous fanatic already mentioned."

that

that diſtrict who had been very unaccountably repulſed in five different rencounters; which advantages though ſingly of no great importance, rendered the rebels in thoſe parts far more audacious, and eager to co-operate with the Wexford inſurgents. The officer who commanded in Arklow when the garriſon was preparing for flight, iſſued orders that no perſon ſhould be permitted to quit the town until the garriſon had marched; ſo that if the rebels had come, as they were every moment expected, the whole multitude of women and children of the loyaliſt's party muſt have fallen into their hands. This order was probably intended to prevent the intelligence of Walpole's defeat from being carried northward; it was quite nugatory, as that intelligence was conveyed by ſeveral different roads to the metropolis.*

As Major Hardy was ignorant of the great force of the rebels poſted at Gorey, he highly diſapproved of the evacuation of Arklow, and commanded the garriſon inſtantly to return from Wicklow to their poſt, without even permiſſion to taſte any refreſhment. It was augmented on the ſixth by the arrival of the Cavan regiment of militia, and at one o'clock on the morning of the ninth by that of the Durham fencibles. The arrival of this regiment, which was well diſciplined, moſt critically prevented the taking of Arklow, the conſequences of which might have been fatal to the cauſe. This regiment had been remarkably ſucceſsful in the preceding year, in the county of Down in diſarming the United Iriſhmen, and thereby preventing the breaking out of rebellion in that part. When ordered ſouthward, on account of the inſurrection in Leinſter, an ambuſcade of ſeven thouſand men was placed in the county of Meath, to the north of Balbriggen, to ſurround and cut it to pieces on its march; but by the excellent diſpoſitions made by its commander Colonel Skerret, it paſſed this formidable ambuſcade without loſs, and arrived ſafely in Dublin; whence, after much deliberation, and a delay dangerous at ſuch a criſis, it was ſent to Arklow; carriages having been procured for the men, that they might arrive freſh at the ſcene of action.

After the defeat of Walpole's army on the 4th of June, the rebels had waſted much time in burning the town of Carnew, in trials of priſoners for Orangiſm, the plundering of houſes, and other acts of like nature; at length however, they collected their force at Gorey, and advanced to attack Ark-

* An exaggerated account of this diſaſter was received by the diſaffected in Dublin, before it was known by the members of adminiſtration at the caſtle; for the ſocieties of the conſpiracy had an eſtabliſhed mode of ſpeedy conveyance by verbal meſſages from one ſecretary to another.

low on the ninth, the only day in which that poſt had fortunately been prepared for defence. Their number exceeded twenty thouſand, of whom near five thouſand were armed with guns, the reſt with pikes, and they were furniſhed with three ſerviceable pieces of artillery. The garriſon conſiſted of ſixteen hundred men including yeomen, ſupplementary men, and thoſe of the artillery. The rebels attacked the town on all ſides, except that which is waſhed by the river. The approach of that column, which advanced by the ſea ſhore, was rapid and impetuous: the picquet guard of yeoman cavalry, ſtationed in that quarter, inſtantly galloped off in ſuch terror, that moſt of them ſtopped not their flight till they had croſſed the Barrow which was very broad, ſwimming their horſes, in great peril of drowning. The farther progreſs of the aſſailants was prevented by the charge of the regular cavalry, ſupported by the fire of the infantry, who had been formed for the defence of the town, in a line compoſed of three regiments, with their battalion artillery, thoſe of the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham fencibles. The main effort of the rebels, who commenced the attack near four o'clock in the evening was directed againſt the ſtation of the Durham, whoſe line extended through the field in front of the town to the road leading from Gorey.

As the rebels poured their fire from the ſhelter of ditches, ſo that the oppoſite fire of the ſoldiery had no effect, Colonel Skerret, the ſecond in command, commanded his men to ſtand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breaſt work, and the right by a natural riſing of the ground, until the enemy leaving their cover ſhould advance to an open attack. This open attack was made three times in moſt formidable force, the aſſailants ruſhing within a few yards of the cannon mouths; but they were received with ſo cloſe and effective a fire, that they were repulſed with great ſlaughter in every attempt. The Durhams were not only expoſed to the fire of the enemy's ſmall arms, but were alſo galled by their cannon. General Needham who in riding from poſt to poſt expoſed himſelf to the enemy's fire, fearing to be overpowered by numbers began to talk of a retreat: to which Colonel Skerret ſpiritedly replied to the general, that they could not hope for victory otherwiſe than by preſerving their ranks: if they broke, all was loſt: he knew the ſpirit of his corps and could never bear the idea of its giving ground. By this magnanimous anſwer of the colonel the general was diverted ſome time from his ſcheme of a retreat, and in that time the buſineſs was decided by the retreat of the rebels, who retired in deſpair, when fruſtrated in their moſt furious

aſſault

aſſault and diſpirited by the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon ſhot, within thirty yards of the Durham line, while he was leading his people to the attack.

The battle of Arklow, though not altogether the moſt bloody, was perhaps the moſt important of this civil war, ſince it moſt probably decided the fate of Ireland. As the rebels were not purſued (purſuit would have been hazardous, at the cloſe of the evening), they carried away moſt of their wounded, ſo that their loſs could not be aſcertained, but is reported to have amounted to three or four hundred. The loſs of the Durham regiment, out of three hundred and ſixty men, of which it conſiſted, was twenty privates killed and wounded. The loſs of men ſuſtained by the reſt of the army never was accurately aſcertained, but was ſmaller than might have been expected: for though the weight of the combat lay on the Durhams, the action was every where warm, and the defence bravely maintained. The rebels' guns having been generally worked by the artillery men they had taken priſoners, were deſignedly pointed too high, which accounts for the paucity of the ſlain on the king's ſide.*

The town of Wexford was the prime ſeat or head quarters of the rebellion in the ſouth. It remained in the poſſeſſion of the rebel force about three weeks; namely, from the 30th of May to the 21ſt of June. During this ſpace of time it was the melancholy ſcene of much diſtreſs and cruelty: and afterwards became the object of much more obloquy and defamation than the real horrors, great as they were, would juſtify. The ſanguinary and vin-

* A very warm conteſt ſubſiſts between Sir Richard Muſgrave and the Rev. Mr. Gordon, relative to their reſpective repreſentations of the conduct of General Needham in this action: for the particulars of which, ſee the Appendix to the ſecond edition of Mr. Gordon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, No. IX. The following was the official account of this battle:

"*Dublin, 10th June*, 1798.

" ACCOUNTS were received early this morning by Lieutenant General Lake, " from Major General Needham, at Arklow, ſtating that the rebels had, in great force, attacked " his poſition in Arklow, at ſix o'clock yeſterday evening. They advanced in an irregular manner, " and extended themſelves for the purpoſe of turning his left flank, his rear and right flanks being " ſtrongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow. Upon their endeavouring to enter the " lower end of the town, they were charged by the 40th Dragoon Guards, 5th Dragoons, and " Ancient Britons, and completely routed. All round the other points of the poſition, they were " defeated with much ſlaughter. The loſs of his majeſty's troops was trifling, and their behaviour " highly gallant."

dictive turn the inſurgency had very early taken, rendered ſubmiſſion to either, alike dreadful to both parties reſpectively. On the evacuation of the town by the military, all the veſſels lying in the harbour were inſtantly crowded with fugitives, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to fall into the hands of the rebels. The quays and every avenue leading to the water ſide, were crowded with men, women, and children, begging in the moſt pitiable manner, to be admitted on board the veſſels. They were filled in every part. On ſeeing the flames of the toll-houſe and bridge, all the veſſels weighed and ſtood towards the mouth of the harbour, where they caſt anchor. About one o'clock, a white flag was ſeen flying in Wexford (a ſignal that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of the town); all the captains anſwered the ſignal, except two, who ſailed for Wales. They then again weighed anchor, and ſtood for the town, where they ſoon landed all their paſſengers to ſhare the fate of their neighbours.

The rebels who entered the town, were headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who had been permanent ſerjeant in Colonel Le Hunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, from which he had lately deſerted, and become a rebel general. They immediately by acclamation appointed Gen. Keugh governor and commandant of the town; and bore him on their ſhoulders to the court houſe. This extraordinary man, having been a private in his majeſty's ſervice, had riſen to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 6th regiment, in which he ſerved in America. He was a man of engaging addreſs, and of that competency of fortune, which enabled him to live comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he appreciated his own abilities too highly: and in clubs and coffee-houſes, he had long been in the habit of cenſuring the corruptions of government, and was ſo violent an advocate for reform, that the lord chancellor had deprived him of the commiſſion of the peace, in the year 1796. In order to introduce ſome order into the town, the rebels choſe certain perſons to diſtribute proviſions, and for that purpoſe to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable portion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each houſe. Many habitations of the Proteſtants who had made their eſcape were plundered, ſome of them were demoliſhed, and but few of thoſe who remained in the town were ſpared. Moſt of the Proteſtant men were committed to priſon, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cauſe, or who affected to be ſo to ſave their lives, or thoſe who concealed themſelves.

Although

Although ſeveral of the Proteſtant inhabitants of Wexford were impriſoned, they were thoſe only, whom the rebels conſidered the moſt obnoxious.* It has been aſſerted by one author, with a miſchievous mixture of truth and falſehood, that "thoſe who could obtain written protections from "the Popiſh clergy, whoſe influence was unbounded, or from the rebel "leaders, were not moleſted."† It is a moſt lamentable truth, that during the tumultuary rule of this ferocious and enflamed rabble, many partial, though premeditated and cruel murders without any form or pretence of trial, were perpetrated in Wexford, with a ſavage affectation of ſolemnity, in order to excite and extend the ſanguinary enthuſiaſm of this frantic multitude. An author of candor and credit has ſaid, that ‡he could not ſtate with accuracy, what number had been maſſacred during the whole time of the rebels' poſſeſſion; he believed it to have amounted to 101.

Moſt, if not all of the maſſacres perpetrated in Wexford were laid at the door of an infuriate ſanguinary monſter by the name of Dixon, a captain of a trading veſſel, who was on board his veſſel with a large number of fugitives in the harbour, and was the firſt to re-land them: he had alſo behaved towards ſome of the ladies in his ſhip with brutal ferocity. This man had acquired an unfortunate aſcendancy over the very worſt and moſt fanatical part of this wretched aſſemblage. After his return to ſhore he was made a captain in the rebel army; which increaſed his influence, and extended his means of

* The following rebel proclamation ſeems to juſtify the idea, that they had no intent or wiſh to ſpill the blood of any, who had not been guilty of acts of eruelty, violence, and oppreſſion againſt the people.

Proclamation of the People of the County of Wexford.

"WHEREAS it ſtands manifeſtly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowran, "and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magiſtrates of this county, have committed the moſt horrid "acts of cruelty, violence, and oppreſſion, againſt our peaceable and well-affected countrymen. "Now we, the people, aſſociated and united for the purpoſe of procuring our juſt rights, and being "determined to protect the perſons and properties of thoſe of all religious perſuaſions who have "not oppreſſed us, and are willing with heart and hand to join our glorious cauſe, as well as to ſhew "our marked diſapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our "countrymen at large to uſe every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforeſaid James Boyd, &c. &c. &c. and to ſecure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be "brought before the tribunal of the people.

"Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

"GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

† Muſgrave, p. 445. ‡ Gordon, ſecond edition, p. 190.

exciting

exciting the rabble, under the maſk of zeal for their cauſe, to thoſe inhuman atrocities, in which he appeared to delight. It happened, that ſome Orange furniture had been found by the wife of this man (an inhuman prototype of himſelf) in the drawing room of Mr. Le Hunte, four miles from Wexford, particularly two fire-ſcreens, with emblematical figures; Dixon informed the mob, that his room had been the meeting place of Orangemen, and that the figures denoted the manner, in which the Roman Catholics were to be put to death by theſe conſpirators; that they were to be firſt deprived of their ſight, and then burned alive, without the exception even of children; and particularly that the ſeamen of that communion were to be roaſted to death on red-hot anchors. Mr. Le Hunte, who had hitherto been permitted to remain with little moleſtation in a private houſe in the town, was inſtantly dragged into the ſtreet by the rabble, who would ſoon have torn him in pieces, if he had not been ſaved by the exertions of two Catholic gentlemen, who commanded an influence upon the people, named Edward Hay, and Robert Carty, who hurried him into the gaol, under pretence of bringing him to trial, and parried in the crowd the thruſts of the pikes, two of which, in ſpite of their endeavours, wounded him ſlightly in the back.*

The number of Proteſtants in the town of Wexford, when it fell into the hands of the rebels, did not merely conſiſt of the inhabitants of that town and its environs, but had been greatly encreaſed by the aſſemblage of refugees and priſoners from more diſtant parts of the country. Of theſe, about 260 were confined in the gaol and other places of impriſonment: ſeveral were confined in their own houſes: the dread of maſſacre fell indiſcriminately upon them all. In the perturbed ſtate of a tumultuary aſſemblage of individuals ſo credulous, ſo irritable, and ſo ferocious, it would be uſeleſs to inveſtigate the particular cauſe, motive, or incentive to each particular maſſacre. On the 6th day of June, under an order from Enniſcorthy, ten priſoners at Wexford were ſelected for execution, and ſuffered accordingly. Conjectures

* Gordon, ſecond edition, p. 178. This Mr. Hay, in 1802, wrote a very intereſting letter to Mr. Gordon on ſome mis-ſtatements in the firſt edition of his hiſtory, which the reverend author has had the candor to publiſh at full length in the Appendix to his ſecond edition, and is to be ſeen in Appendix, No. CXIII. This gentleman (ibid.) ſays he is convinced, that Mr. Hay had no command among the rebels, and exerted himſelf only to ſave lives and property. Mr. Edward Hay has, ſince the publication of the Rev. Mr. Gordon's ſecond edition, publiſhed a hiſtory of the inſurrection of Wexford.

have

have been hazarded, why ſuch orders emanated from Enniſcorthy rather than from Wexford. The natural inference from the limitation of the victims to half a ſcore, is that the rebels, who avowed to act upon the principles of retaliation, had received information that a ſimilar number of their people had ſuffered in like manner on the preceding day. Bloody as the rebels are repreſented to have been, there could have been no other reaſon for their limiting their luſt for murder to the particular number of ten. It has been ſaid,* that a general ſlaughter of the priſoners was twice in vain attempted by the ſanguinary Dixon, at the head of bands of peaſants. He was magnanimouſly oppoſed, firſt by one Hore, a butcher, and next by one Scallion, a nautical trader; the former with a ſword, the latter with a piſtol, defying him to ſingle combat, and inſiſting, that he muſt ſhew himſelf a man before he ſhould dare to put defenceleſs men to death. Whatever fatal influence was practiſed by ſome individuals over the moſt profligate and infuriated fanatics of the multitude, the leaders of the rebels moſt ſolemnly diſclaimed every idea of cruelty, and ſtrongly recommended brotherly love and affection towards their countrymen of every religious perſuaſion.† An influx of fugitive rebels from the northern parts of the county into Wexford, by retailing ſome facts, and exaggerating or inventing more tales of cruelties, horrors, and barbarities committed upon them by the ſoldiery, had excited an unaccountable degree of ferociouſneſs and revenge in the rebel multitude. The rage for retaliation which operated as ſtrongly from the repreſentation of falſe as of true facts, the barbarous Dixon enflamed by whiſkey, and ſupported by the moſt inhuman exhortations. This monſter had before aſſumed into his own hands a ſummary adminiſtration of juſtice, and by having exerciſed it upon an individual, whoſe character and conduct were odious to the multitude, had acquired from them a degree of credit in ſelecting the objects of his ſeverity.

The Rev. Mr. Dixon, his relative, a Roman Catholic clergyman, having been ſentenced to tranſportation, had been ſent off to Duncannon Fort the day preceding the inſurrection: he was found guilty on the teſtimony of one Francis Murphy, whoſe evidence was poſitively contradicted by three other witneſſes. Under theſe circumſtances, Dixon took a ſummary mode of

* Gordon, ſecond edition, p. 180.

† See the proclamations, ſigned B. B. Harvey, on the 6th of June, and by Edward Roche, on the 7th, in the Appendix, No. CXIV.

avenging

avenging the fate of his kinſman, who was generally beloved. He brought the man out of gaol, upon his own ſole authority, and conducted him down to the bull-ring, where he obliged three revenue officers, who were then priſoners, and whom he brought out along with him, to ſhoot him, and afterwards bear his body to the quay and throw it into the water. This execution took place, with all its ſhocking circumſtances, while moſt of the town's people were at prayers, and was utterly unknown to the principal inhabitants.

It has unaccountably been ſo keen a ſtudy of ſome hiſtoriographers of this period of Iriſh hiſtory to repreſent the Catholic clergy in general, and particularly Dr. Caulfield, the Catholic biſhop of Ferns, and others of his clergy in that dioceſe, as aiding and fomenting the rebellion, that it becomes neceſſary to notice the circumſtances, as a point intereſting and important to Iriſh hiſtory. Sir Richard Muſgrave has left no ſtone unturned, that he thought would affix blame and obloquy upon that prelate and the Catholic clergy of his dioceſe. Dr. Caulfield has truly obſerved in the Preface to his reply to the miſpreſentations of Sir Richard Muſgrave, "that if one tenth part of "what is aſſerted by Sir Richard Muſgrave were founded in fact, the parties "would not at this day be alive to refute his calumnies."*

From

* Waving every idea of controverſy about the conduct of Dr. Caulfield in theſe calamitous ſcenes it ſuffices to ſtate two letters written to Dr. Troy by Colonel Littlehales, ſecretary to Lord Cornwallis, after the heat of the ferment had ſubſided, after the publication of Sir Richard Muſgrave's Memoirs, and a ſtill more embittered pamphlet, moſt improperly called *Veridicus*, in which that baronet has employed his whole ſtore of bile and rancor to criminate the biſhop: theſe letters are vouchers, that government conſidered the ſubject of them in a light widely different from that, in which he has been attempted to be repreſented by Sir Richard Muſgrave. They are official teſtimonies of his loyalty, and ſanction the continuance of the fair hiſtorical narrative, regardleſs of the falſe ſtatements, judgments, and inferences of the baronet and his female aſſiſtants.

Dublin Caſtle, May 11th, 1800.

"Sir,

"IN anſwer to the honor of your letter of the 9th inſtant, which I have laid "before my lord lieutenant, I am to aſſure you, that government will give to Dr. Caulfield that "protection, which, from his conduct and character as a loyal ſubject, he appears juſtly to merit.

"I have the honor to be,

"Sir,

"Your moſt obedient and faithful ſervant,

"E. B. LITTLEHALES.

"*The moſt Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. &c. &c.*
North King Street."

Dublin

From the breaking out of the rebellion, the number of Catholic prieſts in the town of Wexford was greatly augmented beyond the reſident and officiating clergymen of that town. Many, who lived in the neighbourhood,* immediately fled into the town to avoid being dragged to the camps, or forced at the point of the pike, as they were often threatened by the rebels: ſome for a time lurked in the rocks on the coaſt, and others abandoned their dwellings, and ſlept (if they could ſleep) in ditches, hedges, or brakes of furze, to avoid the ſhame, the diſguſt, and the horrors of the camps, and the impious inſults of the parties, who were frequently ſent in ſearch of them. Theſe latterly alſo took refuge in the town. In defiance of a very ſtrong bias from a certain quarter to inculpate the Roman Catholic clergy in this unhappy conteſt, it is notorious, that in the dioceſe of Wexford not one of thoſe who had a flock, not one pariſh prieſt was implicated, or had any concern in fomenting, encouraging, or aiding the rebellion: but had they poſſeſſed that degree of authority or influence generally attributed to them, there would have been no rebellion in that county: or if they retained or obtained ſuch influence after the rebellion broke out, their reſpective flocks would have laid down their arms, and returned to their reſpective homes, and to their allegiance to their king. Whilſt Dr. Caulfield was endeavouring to prevail on a party of rebels, who were plundering the houſe of his next door neighbour, Mr. Matt. Kavannah, to deſiſt and retire, they told him in a moſt inſulting and menacing tone, that they had information againſt his houſe; they inſtantly ruſhed into it, and ſearched for what they called Orangemen, bad men, &c. In vain did the Rev. Mr. Corrin, who was then in the houſe, endeavour to remonſtrate and exhort them; they treated him with equal inſolence.

Dublin Caſtle, June 30th, 1800.

"SIR,

"YOUR letter of the 28th current having reached me, with its encloſure "from Dr. Caulfield, I have ſtated their contents to my lord lieutenant, who deſires me to ſay, "that his excellency has no cauſe whatſoever to alter the opinion he has imbibed of the loyalty "and proper deportment of Dr. Caulfield, whoſe letter I return.

"I have the honor to be,

"Sir,

"Your moſt obedient and faithful ſervant,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

"*The moſt Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. &c. &c.*
North King Street."

* Caulfield's Rep. p. 4.

So radically had the infernal ſpirit of rebellion extinguiſhed all ſenſe of duty in the miſguided wretches in this temporary phrenzy, that it became a ſervice of as much danger to dehort them from their wicked purpoſes, as to hoiſt an orange cockade, or to threaten to flog, ſtrangle, or picquet them.

Lord Kingſborough (now Earl of Kingſton), the colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, was in Dublin when the town was taken poſſeſſion of by the rebels: but diſbelieving the report of this diſaſter, he ſet out under that fatal incredulity to join his regiment: he travelled by land to Arklow, and thence proceeding by ſea to Wexford, was taken priſoner with two officers of his own regiment off the harbour of that town.* The capture of Lord Kingſborough was conſidered by the rebels as an incident of peculiar importance to them, not only on account of his ſituation in life, but more eſpecially as his lordſhip had ever been prominently forward in promoting the ſyſtem of rigor and coercion ſo obnoxious to the United Iriſhmen. They had alſo further views upon his importance as an hoſtage, in caſe of their being driven to any terms of capitulation.

The monſter Dixon, who retained with all his ſanguinary ferocity a ſur-

* Sir Richard Muſgrave gives the following account of his detention. "For two days his lordſhip was lodged at the houſe of General Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the priſon ſhip, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private houſe, where a guard was placed over him. Keugh aſked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingſborough replied, 'That they would hang every one of them.' On which Keugh obſerved, 'We know that we fight with halters round our necks.' The day of his lordſhip's arrival, Bagenal Harvey ſet out for the camp at Carrickbyrne, where the rebel army that attacked Roſs was ſtationed. Keugh told Lord Kingſborough, 'that he would permit him to write to Lord Caſtlereagh, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary; but he ſaid, he expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow priſoners were treated;' and he added, 'that he expected his friends Meſſrs. Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackſon, M'Cann, &c. would receive ſimilar treatment.' He informed Lord Kingſborough, that the members of the Iriſh Union had no confidence in the oppoſition party in the Iriſh parliament, becauſe they conſidered them as infincere, and that they had propounded Catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament, merely to promote their own ambitious deſigns.

"Mrs. Snowe, the wife of Captain Snowe, of the North Cork regiment, informed me, that Lord Kingſborough aſked her ſoon after his capture, 'whether ſhe thought the rebel chieftains would have put him to death?' ſhe replied, 'ſhe was ſure they would not, becauſe they regarded him as a very good hoſtage, ſhould they enter into any ſtipulations for their own ſafety; and that by preſerving his life they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and intereſt to ſecure their own."

priſing

priſing influence over the loweſt of that infuriate rabble, had amongſt other means of inflaming them, the opportunity of a public houſe or inferior inn in the town, where his bloody ſatellites held their orgies.

On the 19th of June, General Edward Roche, and ſuch of the inſurgents of his neighbourhood as were at Vinegar Hill, were ſent home to collect the whole maſs of the people for general defence. By the march of the royal army in all directions, towards Vinegar Hill and Wexford, a general flight of ſuch of the inhabitants as could get off took place.

The alarm was now general throughout the whole country; all men were called to attend the camps; and Wexford became the univerſal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumſtances of horror, the progreſs of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their movements with terrible devaſtation. Ships of war were alſo ſeen off the coaſt, and gun-boats blocked up the entrance of the harbour: and from the commanding ſituation of the camp at the Three Rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progreſſive as the march of the troops, was clearly perceivable. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen, with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could haſtily pack up, fled towards Wexford as to an aſylum, and deſcribed, according to their fears, the plunder and deſtruction of houſes, the murders and outrages of the ſoldiery let looſe and encouraged to range over and devaſtate the country. General Moore, who advanced with a part of the army, did all in his power to prevent theſe atrocities, and had ſome of thoſe outragers immediately put to death; but his humane and benevolent intentions were greatly baffled by the indomitable ferocity and revenge of the refugees returning home. Wexford regretted that general's being almoſt immediately ordered to Wicklow, where his conciliatory conduct and humanity were conſpicuous, and will ever be remembered with gratitude by the people, who moſt eagerly flocked to his ſtandard for protection.

While the principal inhabitants of Wexford were in conſultation, to which they were now ſummoned, upon the beſt mode of ſelf-preſervation and defence, the order for all the armed men to appear in camp by break of day became imperious; and the outcry was ſo loud againſt the backwardneſs of the Wexford men, that ſeveral ſet off immediately. Captain Dixon, although booted, ſpurred, equipped, and accoutred for battle, refuſed to obey the orders of the commander in chief to attend at the Three Rocks. He was at

the time in the act of ſending whiſkey to about 70 countrymen, whom he had poſted in the barrack, and there detained for his abominable purpoſe of a general maſſacre. Theſe he had alſo reinforced by ſome thouſands of the moſt daſtardly and unruly, and therefore the moſt ſavage and cruel of the mob, who refuſed to march to the camp. Theſe men he alſo rendered the more ſavage and ferocious with liquor, and with theſe auxiliaries he undertook the horrid work of blood.

The victims were conducted in ſucceſſive parcels, of from ten to twenty, with horrible ſolemnity, each parcel ſurrounded by its guard of butchers, and preceded by a black flag marked with a white croſs, to the place of execution, where they were variouſly put to death, one after another, but moſtly each by four men at once, who ſtanding two before and two behind the victim, thruſt their pikes into the body, and raiſing it from the ground, held it ſuſpended, writhing with pain, while any ſigns of life appeared. Some were ſlaughtered at the gaol, ſome at the market houſe, but the great butchery was on the bridge. A multitude of wretches, the greater part women, aſſembled to behold it, and rent the air with ſavage ſhouts of exultation at the arrival of each freſh parcel of victims at the fatal ſpot.

When 97 according to ſome or 35 according to other accounts had thus been butchered, the ſlaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, was ſtopped at ſeven by the interference of Father Corrin, and the annunciation of the alarming intelligence, that the poſt of Vinegar Hill was beſet by the king's troops, and that reinforcements were required in that quarter. Father Corrin having vainly ſupplicated the aſſaſſins to deſiſt, commanded them to pray before they ſhould proceed farther in the work of death, and having thus cauſed them to kneel, dictated a prayer, that God would ſhew the ſame mercy to them, which they ſhould ſhew to the ſurviving priſoners. The reſpite thus procured would probably have been ſhort, if the exhortations of the prieſt had not been aided by the news of danger, which was announced aloud by ſome perſon, ſaid to be Richard Monagan, or Monck, arriving haſtily in the town, and which cauſed the multitude of ſpectators immediately to diſperſe. The ſurviving captives at the bridge were after a ſhort pauſe reconducted to priſon by their guard, with denunciations of a general maſſacre of all the Proteſtants the next day. The atrocity of theſe inhuman butcheries was aggravated by the mockery of juſtice, with which the monſter Dixon attempted to ſanction them. By the exertions of Mr. Edward Hay and ſome others,

others, Dixon had been foiled in his particular vengeance againſt the life of Mr. Turner and Mr. Gainsford, whoſe blood the mob loudly called for, as they had led out the army againſt them on Whitſunday, and had burned ſeveral of their houſes. A ſummary court of ſeven ſat immediately upon thoſe two gentlemen, and four of them being for their acquittal, the impetuous Dixon was about to retire in diſguſt and indignation, at being thus thwarted in his career of blood. But unfortunately at that critical moment, one Jackſon, an Engliſhman, a carver and gilder, (the narrator of the Wexford cruelties) and one O'Connor, an organiſt, threw themſelves on their knees to Captain Dixon, acknowledged themſelves *Orangemen*, and ready to give every information, provided their lives might be ſpared. Dixon greedily availed himſelf of their propoſal, as it afforded a new proſpect of perpetrating his infernal deſigns. He inſtantly addreſſed the people aſſembled before the gaol, ſtating, that two Orangemen had become informers, and that proceeding to trial was therefore unneceſſary, as the evidence of theſe men muſt be concluſive. It may eaſily be conceived, that, on this communication, horribly vociferated by Dixon, and re-echoed by his wife, the populace became ungovernable. The people inſtantly approved of his plan, and demanded that all Orangemen ſhould be ſent out to them. Eighteen intended for execution were firſt conducted from the gaol, under a ſtrong guard, headed by Dixon, flanked by two Orange informers, whom he wiſhed to exhibit as the grand ſupport of his conduct. The fate of the priſoners was quickly decided, on their being conducted to the bridge. The proceedings concerning them were ſummary indeed. It was aſked, did any one know any good action of the intended victim ſufficient to ſave his life? If no anſwer were made, the aſſertion of an individual of ſome deed againſt the people, was concluſive evidence of guilt, and immediately death was the conſequence, on this primary denunciation by Captain Dixon.*

When

* The following letter of Dr. Caulfield, though not intended for publication, I have conſidered as too material to be ſuppreſſed from the public. It was written in the next month after the tragical ſcene at Wexford.

Wexford, July 31, 1798.

" To the Right Rev. Dr. TROY.

" IT is impoſſible for me to gratify your curioſity, as I cannot collect or recollect the particulars of our conduct, or the individuals we endeavoured to ſerve or ſave during three long weeks of tragical confuſion; and if I could, I really feel that modeſty and decency

would

We muſt leave the tumultuary horrors of Wexford to follow the movements of the army, which led to the final liberation of that town from the ruthleſs

would forbid me, becauſe it would appear, that we claimed gratitude from the individuals, and acknowledgments from the public, which as it ſtrikes me would appear oſtentatious and indecorous. Certain it is, we could name many, very many perſons, who, I aprehend, would not be pleaſed at ſeeing their names and religious profeſſions publiſhed by us. I can ſay, there is not a Proteſtant, Preſbyterian or Quaker in this town or adjoining baronies of Forth, Bargy, Keelmaler, Ballaghkeen, beſides many from Enniſcorthy, and other more remote parts, who fled and flocked in here, except ſuch as quitted the country, that did not call on us for protection, and that we were employed from morning till night writing, ſpeaking, and pleading for them, to procure protection from the leaders or chiefs of the inſurrection, and in general we ſucceeded for the firſt fortnight. After that, the evil ſanguinary ſpirit broke looſe, and no protection availed. Our houſes were conſtantly thronged, and every part, garrets, back houſes, yards, every place filled with the people, their furniture, goods of all kinds. But, it ſoon became treaſon to plead for protection, for they were all Orangemen, and would deſtroy us all. In vain did we urge humanity, charity, religion, mercy. I declared, if any of them had killed my friend, my brother, or father, that I would protect and ſave him, if he threw himſelf on my mercy; for it was by ſhewing mercy, that I could expect mercy myſelf. This conduct and language graduated me equal to an Orangeman; my houſe muſt be pulled down or burnt, and my head knocked off. This laſt ſentence was boldly pronounced to my face, ſurrounded as I was by four or five thouſand pikes, ſpears, or muſkets, when I was ſtriving to ſave Lord Kingſborough's life, which we providentially effected by gaining over a few of thoſe rebels, who had influence over the reſt. That taſk engaged me from nine o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, during which time I had not a moment's reſt, nor did I expect it in this wicked world, and I was alone, *i. e.* without any of the clergy with me the latter part of the day, except the Rev. James Roche, who moſtly remained within doors with Lord Kingſborough. There were other prieſts there too, from the country, but dared not ſhew themſelves or ſpeak, for fear of pikes, &c. I remained until the king's army began to come in (it was Thurſday the 21ſt of June), then I was in as perilous a ſituation as ever, not knowing but an indiſcriminate ſlaughter might be their firſt act. However, I ſat down with Lord Kingſborough and ſome others at his place of concealment to a bit of ſalt beef at the fall of night, and got a Captain Bourke of the North Cork militia, a worthy fellow, to eſcort me home. Two days before this the demon of murder broke out, and a banditti as if diſpatched from hell aſſailed the gaol and barrack, both crammed with priſoners, and called them out by dozens to be executed, and two priſon ſhips in the harbour, to be brought out, two others to be executed on the bridge. The Rev. Mr. Corrin dined with me, for my cry to the clergy was, that we ſhould keep together, living or dying; and at the cloſe of dinner a call for him came from Mr. Kellet, who was brought from the ſhip to the bridge for execution. He ran with all ſpeed, and found Kellett and ſeveral others waiting the awful moment. He addreſſed the wretches in the beſt manner he could, warned them, that the blood they were ſpilling and to ſpill muſt ſhortly appear againſt them at the awful tribunal of God, and conjured them to ſtop, &c. &c. They did ſo, Kellett and the reſt were allowed to live, and after that there was no maſſacre.

ruthleſs tyranny of the rebels. After the battle at Arklow the royal army remained ſome days cloſe within its quarters, ſending out patroles with great

maſſacre. Some days before there was a ſimilar attack on the gaol, when Rev. Meſſrs. Corrin and Broe happened to be there and prevented its intended effect. On the above mentioned day, Mr. Corrin went home with Mr. Kellett, and all I could do could not bring him to town for near a week, although I ſent him General Lake's protection. He had really pined away to a ſkeleton. My condition was, providentially for me, the reverſe; for I never felt myſelf more vigorous, and the more preſſing the difficulty and the more imminent the danger the firmer and the more ſteady was I. I had made up my mind to the worſt at the ſet out, and afterwards took every occurrence as preparatory to the fatal moment I apprehended, and thus continued in unimpaired health, till the week before the laſt, when I was viſited by a painful complaint for ſix days, but have got well rid of it, thank God. Indeed, the clergy of this town conducted themſelves with zeal and activity through the whole, except while on board the veſſel in harbour to which they occaſionally fled to eſcape the fire, fury, &c. of the pikemen. When the rebels were defeated every where, and the king's army was approaching, a gentleman, my cloſe neighbour, came to me and told me, he would go out to meet them at the riſk of his life and repreſent me to the commanders as the protector of the proteſtants, &c. I thanked him and ſaid, that government well knew my loyalty, and I was ſatisfied gave proper inſtructions to the commanders, that I had nothing to fear from the king's forces, except by a general conflagration, but, if neceſſary, I would avail myſelf of his kind offices, &c. I mentioned to you in a former letter my introduction to General Lake and his polite and kind attention to me, to the clergy, &c. His ſtay was ſhort; but General Hunter, the day after he came here, called on me. I can't ſay it was ſo much a viſit, as a confidential friendly conference. He has occaſionally called on me ſince in the ſame confidential way, nor can I determine whether he deſerves more credit for his ſound underſtanding and judgment, or for his humane, compaſſionate feelings. He knows the ſpirit of prejudice prevailing here, as if he had lived many years among us. He condemns it as inimical to peace, tranquillity, and the public good. In a word, Providence has ſent him a protecting angel to us. Now, my dear friend, do not call on me for further general detail; for I aſſure you, it ſickens me on recollection, more than in the actual ſuffering. *Infandum amice, jubes renovare dolorem.* Through the whole I appeared publicly and with every degree of confidence, and for ſeveral days was ſtopt in the ſtreet at every ſtep, to receive gratulations and thanks from the Proteſtants, for having ſaved them. Wiſhing you every happineſs, I remain, &c.

P. S. I did not go to the gaol or priſon ſhip at all, nor did I hear of the horrid murders committed there, till the bloody ſcene was over, and it was then too late. I could not find that there were more than two or three of this town engaged in the maſſacres; for the townſmen had been that morning ordered out to camp near Enniſcorthy, and a horde of miſcreants, like ſo many blood-hounds, ruſhed in from the country, and ſwore they would burn the town, if the priſoners were not given up to them; and, at the time there was not a force ſufficient to reſtrain them. Indeed, moſt of the United men themſelves ſhuddered at the horrid deeds. Lord Kingſborough, Meſſrs. Kellett and Bland, and many other Proteſtant gentlemen may be applied to for particular information concerning my conduct and that of the Catholic clergy of this town, on and previous to the 21ſt of June, when the king's army entered it.

caution,

caution, at firſt to a very ſmall diſtance, and afterwards gradually farther. At laſt a troop of yeomen cavalry ventured ſo far on the road toward Gorey as to approach near the rebel ſtation on Aſk Hill. This poſt had been ſo thinned by perpetual deſertions, that not more than a hundred men fit for action were then remaining in it, and theſe without a leader. About half of them fled with precipitation at the approach of the cavalry; the reſt ſtripping to their ſhirts that they might be more expedite for the buſineſs, ran full ſpeed to charge the cavalry with their pikes: but the latter avoided the attack, and retreated to Arklow with expedition. Immediately after, the country about Gorey was evacuated by the rebels, to the exceſſive joy of the loyaliſts, on whom they had been living at free quarter.

The army, at laſt, under Major General Needham, moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th of June, and thence towards Enniſcorthy on the 20th, according to a concerted plan, conducted by Lieutenant General Lake, that the great ſtation of the rebels at Vinegar Hill ſhould be ſurrounded by his majeſty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpoſe, different armies moved at the ſame time from different quarters; one under Lieutenant General Dundas; another under Major Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; that already mentioned from Arklow; and a fourth from Roſs, under Major Generals Johnſon and Euſtace, who were to make the attack on the town of Enniſcorthy. The march of the army from Roſs was a kind of ſurprize to the bands of Philip Roche, on Lacken Hill, who fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder behind; ſeparating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar Hill, where the Wexford inſurgents were concentrating their force. This eminence, with the town of Enniſcorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles round had been in poſſeſſion of the rebels from the 28th of May, during which time the face of affairs had been indeſcribably horrid. Of the hapleſs priſoners, who had fallen into the hands of the rebels, ſome were put to death when taken, but moſt were dragged to Vinegar Hill, where, after a ſham trial, often without any form of trial, many of them were ſhot, or tranſfixed with pikes; ſome laſhed, or otherwiſe barbarouſly treated before their final * execution. Reports have carried the numbers of men thus butchered on

* The rebel General Murphy experienced ſimilar treatment from the army. He was tauntingly deſired to work miracles, and otherwiſe ſcoffed at and inſulted by a young officer, who went the length

on this fatal ſpot to about four hundred in all. The Rev. Mr. Gordon gives a ſingular inſtance of his own pariſh of Killegny, five miles to the ſouth-weſt of Enniſcorthy, from the general ſlaughter; not one proteſtant of that pariſh having been killed in the rebellion, nor a houſe burned. Theſe people ſurrounded on all ſides before they were aware, found flight impracticable. Their preſervation he aſcribes to their temporiſing conformity with the Roman Catholic worſhip. The army employed to ſurround the rebel poſt of Vinegar Hill, conſtituted a force of about thirteen thouſand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With this force the whole inſurgent army at this poſt, in which lay the great ſtrength of the rebellion, might have been completely ſurrounded. The attack began at ſeven o'clock on the morning of the 21ſt, with a firing of cannon and mortars. All the diviſions were at their reſpective poſts, except that of General Needham, who either from neglect or accident arrived not at his appointed poſition till nine, when the buſineſs was over. The rebels, after ſuſtaining the fire of the artillery and ſmall arms for an hour and an half, abandoned their ſtation and fled where the paſſage lay open for them, which was the avenue intended to have been occupied by General Needham, moſt of them directing their courſe towards Wexford. Some hundreds were killed, who were found ſtraggling from the main body after the battle; but moſt of all the real rebels eſcaped, and thoſe who fell under the ſwords of the purſuers, were perſons who had been forced away contrary to their inclinations, or who took that opportunity of eſcaping from the rebel army, or loyal priſoners.* As the flight of the rebels was precipitate, they left behind them a great quantity of rich plunder, together with all their cannon, amounting to thirteen in number, of which three were ſix-pounders. The loſs on the ſide of the king's forces was very inconſiderable,

length of offering a moſt indecent inſult to his perſon, which ſo irritated his feelings, that, though on the very brink of eternity, he doubled his fiſt and knocked down the officer at a blow; upon which he was ummercifully flagellated and inſtantly hanged.

* Doctor Hill, of Saint John's, near Enniſcorthy, a gentleman highly eſteemed by all his acquaintance, was with his two brothers, within a hair's breath of augmenting the number of ſlaughtered loyaliſts on this occaſion. Theſe three gentlemen, who had been priſoners with the rebels, and in the moſt imminent danger of their lives, ran for protection to the firſt whom they ſaw of the royal troops, and theſe happened to be Heſſians. Three of theſe protectors immediately put their cocked piſtols to the heads of the three gentlemen, when a pikeman, running at full ſpeed paſt them to eſcape from other ſoldiers, diverted their attention for the moment: they thought proper to diſpatch him firſt, but he led them ſuch a chaſe as ſaved the gentlemen.

though one officer, Lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford Militia, was killed, and four others ſlightly wounded, Colonel King of the Sligo regiment, Colonel Veſey of the county of Dublin regiment, Lord Blaney, and Lieutenant Colonel Cole.*

Enniſcorthy being thus recovered after having been above three weeks in the hands of the rebels, many loyaliſts in it were relieved from a dreadful ſtate of terror. Exceſſes, as muſt be expected in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, were committed by the ſoldiery, particularly by the Heſſian troops, who made no diſtinction between loyaliſts and rebels. The moſt remarkable act of this kind was the firing of a houſe, which had been uſed as an hoſpital by the rebels, in which numbers of ſick and wounded who were unable to eſcape from the flames, were burned to aſhes.†

The town of Wexford was relieved on the ſame day with Enniſcorthy, Brigadier General Moore, according to the plan formed by General Lake, having made a movement towards that quarter from the ſide of Roſs on the 19th, with a body of twelve hundred troops, furniſhed with artillery; and having directed his march to Taghmon, in his intended way to Enniſcorthy, on the 20th, was, on his way thither, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by a large force of the enemy from Wexford, perhaps five or ſix thouſand, near a place called Goff's Bridge, not far from Hore Town. After an action, which continued till near eight, the rebels were repulſed with con-

* Great diſcontents prevailed in the army upon General Needham's conduct on this as on a former occaſion. *Non noſtrum eſt*, to inſtitute a court of enquiry upon thoſe, whoſe conduct has been commended by the commanding officer. It has raiſed a perſonal conteſt between Sir Richard Muſgrave and Mr. Gordon. The general has not a very powerful or perſuaſive advocate. The ſarcaſtical appellations which became general after the action of the *late General Needham* and *General Needham's gap*, ſhew on which ſide the maſs of inculpation lay. The following, however, is the official account given by General Lake, and publiſhed by government, of as much of that tranſaction as General Needham was or ought to have been engaged in. "Lieutenant General Dundas commanded the centre column, ſupported by a column upon the right under Major Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left, was commanded by the Honorable Major General Needham. To the determined ſpirit, with which theſe columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the ſhort reſiſtance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obſtinately for the time above mentioned, but on perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation.

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon ſays, he was informed by a ſurgeon, that the burning was accidental, the bed clothes having been ſet on fire by the wadding of the ſoldier's guns, who were ſhooting the patients in their beds.

ſiderable

ſiderable ſlaughter, and not without ſome loſs on the other ſide. By the evolutions of the ſoldiery, and the rebels want of ſubordination to their chiefs, their pikemen were prevented from coming into action; ſo that no more than five hundred and ſixty of their gun-men were really engaged. Yet the combat was long doubtful.

Joined by two regiments under Lord Dalhouſie, the army took poſt on the field of battle; and on the morning of the 21ſt was proceeding to Taghmon, when Captain M'Manus, of the Antrim, and Lieutenant Hay, of the North Cork militia, who had been priſoners with the rebels, arrived with propoſals from the inhabitants of Wexford to ſurrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided their lives and properties ſhould be guaranteed by the commanding officer. To theſe propoſals, which were forwarded to his ſuperior commander, no anſwer was returned by General Moore; but, inſtead of proceeding to Taghmon, he immediately directed his march to Wexford, and ſtationed his army within a mile of that town.

We left Wexford contaminated with the butchery of ſome unfortunate priſoners, to which Father Corrin had, by his exertions, put a ſtop for that day.* It has been the conſtant aſſertion or aſſumption of moſt writers upon theſe

* Mr. Edward Hay, who was an eye-witneſs and a principal actor in many of the moſt important tranſactions at Wexford, has given the following account of the extent of this bloody ſcene on the 20th of June (p. 220.)

"Dreadful and ſhocking events are moſt ſubject to miſrepreſentations, as individuals will imagine exceſſes according to their ſeveral feelings; and although it is confidently aſſerted, that ninety-ſeven were put to death on the bridge, I have good reaſon to believe that thirty-five was the number that ſuffered. Among the various occupations aſſumed by different perſons in the courſe of this melancholy cataſtrophe, one man, in a moſt audible voice, counted the victims one by one, as they were put to death; and I have further reaſon to believe, that thirty-five was the exact number of ſufferers on the bridge, and one at the gaol door; amounting in all, that day in Wexford, to thirty-ſix; as on moſt particular enquiry, even with the help of the liſts publiſhed, as well as from perſonal knowledge, I am enabled to know, that ſeveral who are ſtated to have been ſacrificed on the bridge that day, ſuffered not then, nor there, nor at all in Wexford; ſo that I hope humanity will induce a future retractation of the liſts alluded to, not only as the aſſertors have been evidently impoſed upon, but as alſo their publication muſt help to keep up thoſe animoſities, which they profeſs they do not wiſh to encourage. But, if writers will perſiſt in publiſhing thoſe liſts, why not, for the ſake of general and true information, publiſh the number of the killed and wounded, by whatever means, on both ſides; ſince it muſt ſtamp the character of a partizan to detail but one

theſe ſcenes, that on the next day every drop of Proteſtant blood in Wexford was to have been ſpilled. True it may be, that the ferocious Dixon, who, with his aſſaſſins intoxicated with revenge, fury and whiſkey, had let out ſo much innocent blood on that day, had not been ſatiated, and that they vociferated their infernal project of continuing the immolations on the next day. But ſuffice it for the hiſtorian faithfully to narrate the facts that have exiſted. Although it be allowed on all hands that Father Corrin put a ſtop to theſe inhuman butcheries, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, it has appeared to many perſons, that the *Roman Catholic clergy cannot be exculpated from the imputation at leaſt of not preventing theſe maſſacres, as it is natural to conclude, that their influence upon the rebels muſt have been as great at two as it was at ſeven of the clock of the ſame day. The reply of Dr. Caulfield to the miſrepreſentations of Sir Richard Muſgrave, not only contains much hiſtorical information, but furniſhes the only ſpecies of refutation, which the ſtricteſt hiſtorical juſtice can require. The evidence of the party will have its weight with the candid public, according to the credit it deſerves. This writer (Sir Richard Muſgrave) proceeds, and quotes from Mr. George Taylor's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, in the county of Wexford: "That while this work "was going on, a rebel captain, being ſhocked at the cries of the victims, ran "to the Popiſh biſhop, who was then drinking wine, with the utmoſt com-"poſure, after dinner: and knowing that he could ſtop the maſſacre ſooner

ſide of the queſtion? On that ever-to-be-lamented day, there are many, who ran great riſque of perſonal ſafety in becoming advocates for the unfortunate: I wiſh I could learn of as many, who exhibited equal proof of ſincerity in favour of the hapleſs and ill-fated people! Were this the caſe, I verily believe I ſhould not have to relate the dreadful deſolation in the county of Wexford."

* More faith may perhaps be given to what Charles Jackſon relates of others than of himſelf, particularly as to the means of ſaving his own life: his teſtimony of the conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy is very explicit. "The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy of Wexford cannot be too much commended. The titular Biſhop Caulfield, Father Corrin, Father Broe, and indeed the whole of the prieſts and friars of that town, on all occaſions, uſed their intereſt and exerted their abilities in the cauſe of humanity. Every Sunday, after maſs, they addreſſed their audiences, and implored them in the moſt earneſt manner not to ill treat their priſoners, and not to have upon their conſciences the reflection of having ſhed innocent blood. When they heard of executions going forward, they flew to the ſpot, and by every intreaty endeavoured to reſcue the victims from deſtruction. Sometimes they ſucceeded; and, when they failed, they ſhewed ſufficiently how ſenſibly they felt for the unhappy perſons they could not ſave. The gallant Lord Kingſborough owed his life to the reſolute interpoſition of the Catholic biſhop."

"than

" than any other perſon, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and " ſave the priſoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, ' it was no " affair of his; and requeſted the captain would ſit down and take a glaſs of " wine with him,' adding, ' that the people muſt be gratified:' the captain refuſed," &c. &c."

To this public, ſolemn, and hateful charge, Dr. Caulfield thus publicly, ſolemnly, and pointedly replies:

" Now I ſolemnly declare to God and man, that no ſuch captain or man " came or applied to me; and that any captain or man (or even Mr. Taylor " himſelf) who gave ſuch information, gave a falſe and unfounded one.'

" Then comes on: ' Mrs. O'Neil went to the doctor to complain of the mur- " der of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge; he was one of the firſt per- " ſons taken out of the priſon-ſhip; yet Doctor Caulfield did not interfere, " nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was preſent, until Mr. Kellet ſent a meſ- " ſenger for him; and there were many perſons maſſacred in the interval be- " tween Mrs. O'Neil's complaint, and the deliverance of Mr. Kellet.' The " real fact is, that Mrs. O'Neil only lamented the actual previous murder of " her nephew, Edward Turner, but did not mention the death, the murder, " or maſſacre of any other individual, much leſs a general maſſacre. She was " not many minutes gone, when a meſſenger came to Mr. Corrin from Mr. " Kellet, who, he ſaid, was then on the bridge: Mr. Corrin went out to " ſpeak to the meſſenger, and returned in great fright and horror to tell me " the meſſage, and ran off ſpeedily: nor did this meſſenger, in his hurry, " mention any other to be killed, or in danger, but Mr. Kellet alone. So " that I can with a clear conſcience repeat what I ſaid before; and now ſo- " lemnly proteſt and declare in the preſence of Almighty God, my awful " judge, and of the court of heaven, that I was abſolutely ignorant of that " maſſacre being intended, or perpetrated, until ſome hours after it had " ceaſed. Nor did I ſee or hear of a * black flag that day, however incre-

" dible

* Mr. Hay, p. 222, gives the following account of the black flag: " The black flag that ap- " peared in Wexford on that day is, among other things, talked of with various chimerical con- " jectures, and its notoriety as denouncing maſſacre has been confidently recorded; notwithſtand- " ing that it is an abſolute fact, that this identical black flag was, throughout the whole inſurrec- " tion, borne by a particular corps, and the carrying of banners of that colour was by no means a " ſingular circumſtance during that period, as flags of that and every other hue, except orange, " were waved by the inſurgents; and from their different dyes ingenious conjectures, however

" ground-

" dible it may appear to Sir Richard, for I kept moſtly in my own houſe (and " particularly that day), except when I was ſent for by ſome proteſtant neigh- " bour; and my reſidence is adjoining the town wall, and ſhut in from the " ſtreet, of which I have no view, nor of the town, except of the tops of a " few houſes, and even them, for the moſt part, outſide the town: ſo that " as I am ſeldom out, I ſeldom know what paſſes in the ſtreet or town, until " I am informed by others."*

The following hiſtorical account is given by Dr. Caulfield himſelf of the tranſactions of the 21ſt of June; which, abſtracting from the perſonal reſpectability of his character, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been falſely given with ſo much ſolemn notoriety in defiance of thouſands of eye-witneſſes amongſt whom he was to continue, as he ſtill does, to abide, with the ſolace and ſupport of unimpeachable veracity and honour:—

"† Having received a moſt preſſing meſſage from Lord Kingſborough and " Captain Keugh, early on the morning of Thurſday the 21ſt of June, 1798, " I haſtened to them, to the houſe of Robert Meyler, where Lord Kingſbo-

" groundleſs, for the maintenance of prejudice, may be made as to the ſeveral diſpoſitions of the " bodies who moved under them, as little founded in fact or intention, as was the original deſtina- " tion of the black enſign in queſtion."

* This ſtatement of Dr. Caulfield is confirmed by the following oath of Mr. Corrin.—For ſome other oaths and declarations upon this ſubject, vide Appendix, No. CXV.

County of Wexford to wit.]—Rev. John Corrin, of Wexford, came before me this day, and made a voluntary and ſolemn oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that Doctor Caulfield dined at home in his own houſe on Wedneſday the 20th of June, 1798, and this deponent dined with him there on the ſame day: that this deponent verily believes, that Doctor Caulfield was not appriſed of the maſſacre perpetrated on the bridge of Wexford on that day, until it had ceaſed: that he would have prevented that and all other murders and atrocious acts committed during the late horrid rebellion, had he the power to do ſo. This deponent further ſwears, that being out of town on duty, that day, from twelve o'clock to a quarter paſt four in the evening, he was not appriſed of any one having been murdered on that day, until ſome time after his return Mrs. Catherine O'Neil, alias Goodhall, came to Dr. Caulfield's, and told the doctor and him, that her nephew, Edward Turner, had juſt been killed, without mentioning any general maſſacre, which this deponent had no knowledge of, until receiving a preſſing meſſage from Mr. Kellet, he haſtened to the bridge, where he perceived ſeveral devoted victims, who, after this deponent had on his knees with tears and entreaties addreſſed the furious rabble, were all by Divine Providence ſpared."

Sworn before me this 10th day of April, 1801. JOHN CORRIN.

JOHN LYSTER.

† Report p. 15.

" rough

" rough was ſtill a priſoner. On my arrival, Captain Keugh told me, he had " that morning given up the government of the town to Lord Kingſborough, " and the mayoralty to Dr. Jacob; they both told me the rebels were beaten " and routed everywhere, and were pouring into the town by thouſands, from " all quarters; that if they continued any time in the town, they would pro- " ceed to murder all the priſoners, as they had declared the day before; and " that if the troops ſhould overtake them in town, they would make a general " ſlaughter of them, and perhaps indiſcriminately of the inhabitants, and re- " duce the town to aſhes: that the only means of preventing theſe ſhocking " diſaſters, was to get the rebels out of town; that a ſtrong repreſentation of " their own danger, and of Lord Kingſborough's negociations with the mili- " tary commanders and government, would have more weight with the " rebels than any exhortations or conſideration of duty. They then called " on and conjured me to exert myſelf, and to call the reſt of the clergy to " help me to prevail on the rebels, as they came in, to leave the town, for " their own and the general ſafety.

" In this ſtate of things, I did not ſkulk or fly (as perhaps I might), I im- " mediately ſent to the clergy; they came to aſſiſt me, and not only they, " but many or moſt of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Wexford, loyal " men, (though ſome to ſave themſelves had been obliged to appear as rebels) " nay even real profeſſed rebels aided us. Mr. Perry, the notable Captain " Dixon, &c. helped us; we did our utmoſt from nine or ten in the morning " to the going down of the ſun, and under God, we ſucceeded in prevailing " on the rebels to leave the town; and thereby prevented all the miſchief and " misfortunes, which might and probably would attend and follow from their " remaining in it. There was no priſoner put to death, no Proteſtant mur- " dered, no houſes burnt, (though ſeveral of the rebels threatened, and ſome " of them attempted to ſet fire to the town) no diſaſter took place, all was " ſaved, priſoners, proteſtants, inhabitants, and the town were ſafe.

" When the occaſion, the only one, and the circumſtances occurred in " which I thought I could act with ſome effect, I ſet out with all the energy " of my mind and body, regardleſs of my own life, (which was repeatedly in " imminent danger) or of any other conſideration than that before me, the " common ſafety. I traverſed many thouſand rebels on that day, exhorting, " beſeeching, ſometimes ſtanding in a wood of pikes, or ſtriving to walk " through them, and ſometimes on my knees, conjuring them to depart;

" thoſe

" thoſe who came in lateſt were the moſt obſtinate, ſanguinary, and infuriate, " on whom we could hardly make any impreſſion; ſo that from conſtant and " vehement ſpeaking, I got quite hoarſe, and from unremitted exertion I be- " came ſo exhauſted, ſo languid and faint, that I deſpaired of effecting my " purpoſe, and would have given it up, were it not that the people of the " town and many rebels of more humanity and reaſon ſtill preſſed me to con- " tinue. I did ſo until the ſquare, the ſtreets, the town was cleared of rebels, " except that a few ſtragglers might have lurked in private houſes. Such " was my conduct on that memorable and fortunate day.

" The tranſaction, to which I here refer, was public and notorious. I call " upon any perſon who can, to controvert the truth of my ſtatement. Before " I cloſe this narrative, I muſt add, that the repreſentations made ſo ſucceſs- " fully by the clergy, upon this occaſion, would have produced little effect " whilſt the rebels entertained ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, much leſs whilſt they " were elated and rendered confident by an appearance of victory. When " we addreſſed them, they were routed, and their force broken by diſaſters; " applying ourſelves to them at that critical moment, and holding out to them " a proſpect of pardon, which was the only hope they could indulge in ſuch " circumſtances, we were the inſtruments under God of ſoftening the unruly " multitude into forbearance.

" It is obvious that Lord Kingſborough might have been ſpared or ſaved, " for reaſons or circumſtances that did not operate for others, or for any " other individual. He was a nobleman of intereſt and conſequence, an im- " portant hoſtage, a military man treating with military commanders for fa- " vourable terms for the rebels; theſe circumſtances and conſiderations did " not attend or attach to other individuals, and which muſt have weight with " even a rebel in his ſerious and cool ſenſes, particularly in ſo perilous a ſitu- " ation. Hence I think it fair to ſay, that his lordſhip might have been " ſpared, though others had ſuffered. But, thank God, the truth is, no one " ſuffered on that day or occaſion."*

Lord

* The Rev. Mr. Gordon is called upon by Dr. Caulfield in his reply (p. 19) if he cannot deny with effect, which he defies him to do, the ſtatement which he ſolemnly declared to be the abſolute truth, that he would change or withdraw his hypothetic argument and invidious concluſion: probably alluding to the ſuppoſed or aſſumed poſſibility of preventing the maſſacres, at two o'clock, by the perſons who had influence enough to ſtop them at ſeven. Mr. Gordon in his 2d edition ſays, (p. 186) " I have

Lord Kingſborough certainly was conſidered by the rebel chiefs as a valuable hoſtage; and perhaps if they had fully availed themſelves of this advantage, ſome terms might have been obtained in their favor; though of the lives of hoſtages no account ſeems to have been made by many of the commanders of his majeſty's troops. The offers of ſurrender tranſmitted by Captain M'Manus, and forwarded by General Moore to his ſuperior, were diſdainfully rejected by General Lake, who returned for anſwer, that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms, but that the deluded multitude might have peace and protection when their arms and leaders ſhould have been delivered into his hands.

Enſign Harman of the North Cork, who was ſent with Mr. Carthy by Lord Kingſborough on a ſecond miſſion to General Moore, was intercepted and ſhot, almoſt as ſoon as he had quitted the town, by one Timothy Whelan, a furious maniac, who having ſhot Enſign Harman, ſnapped a piſtol at Mr.

" I have apparently no right, and therefore no inclination to deny the Doctor's (Caulfield) ſtate-
" ment." He then refers to his own Appendix, No. 5, which contains a letter from Dr. Caulfield to a Magiſtrate, which appeared much in his favour, and which may alſo be ſeen in the Appendix to this work, No. CXVI. Upon this ſubject Mr. Gordon had thus argued (p. 188) which had diſſatisfied Dr. Caulfield: " Much has been written in the accuſation and defence of the Romiſh
" clergy of Wexford, who are ſaid to have refuſed to interfere until five hours of butchery had
" elapſed, and the news of the menacing movements of the king's forces arrived; though their in-
" fluence might be ſuppoſed as powerful at two o'clock, when the maſſacre commenced, as at
" ſeven. I muſt confeſs myſelf incompetent to form an accurate judgment in this controverſy: to
" attempt to ſtop the ſlaughter of real or ſuppoſed rebels, where the loyaliſts were victorious, would
" have been not only altogether fruitleſs in a Proteſtant clergyman, but even extremely dangerous
" to his perſonal ſafety. Certainly the influence of the Romiſh clergy over their followers (which,
" however, ſeems at preſent in a ſtate of decline) is beyond all compariſon greater than that of the
" Proteſtant over theirs; yet to what extent that influence might, among ſo infuriate a rabble,
" have been ſafely or ſucceſsfully exerted; or how far conſtitutional timidity, or well grounded
" fear, may be juſtly admitted as a plea, I cannot pretend to determine. Dr. Caulfield, the Romiſh
" biſhop, ſucceeded, with apparently extreme difficulty, in his endeavours to reſcue from the aſ-
" ſaſſins, Lord Kingſborough, Colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, who had rendered
" himſelf particularly an object of hatred, at leaſt, to the rebels, by actions, concerning the utility
" of which to the loyal party I ſhall not preſume to give judgment, but leave the deciſion to the loy-
" aliſts of Wexford, who ſaw the example which he ſet, and the diſcipline which he maintained in
" the regiment. The limitation of the Doctor's interference to a perſon of high rank, who might
" in reverſe of fortune repay the ſervice, has with ſeeming juſtice been deemed by ſome a proof
" of intereſted conduct; and his ſucceſs, in favour of ſo obnoxious a ſubject, an irrefragable ar-
" gument of his ability to ſave many others."

Carthy, who inſtantly returned into town. This ruffian afterward had the audacity to attempt the life of Lord Kingſborough, in order to put an end at once to all accommodation; he would have been ordered for inſtant execution by the chiefs, but for fear of irritating the great body of the populace, too ready in ſuch perturbed times to miſtake deſperation for heroiſm, and to ſubſtitute inſtant vengeance upon the unreſiſting for zeal and proweſs in the general cauſe.

After the evacuation of Wexford by the main body of the rebels, Father Philip Roche, accompanied by three gentlemen of that denomination, met in his way out of town four men from the neighbourhood of Enniſcorthy, who ſaid, that they were going into Wexford to put the priſoners to death, ſince others had not the courage to do it, while Roche with a drawn ſword commanded them to turn back without entering the town, and one of them preſented a blunderbuſs at him, and ſwore that none ſhould prevent them: the three gentlemen of Roche's company fled, leaving him to contend alone with the four murderers. After a furious altercation the matter was compounded. The murderers took a ſolemn oath (and the low Iriſh conſider an oath to a prieſt as peculiarly binding) that they would merely take a little refreſhment, and immediately quit the town without the perpetration of any miſchief. It cannot therefore be ſaid, that the dreadful apprehenſions of a general maſſacre by the rebels before they evacuated the town, were altogether without reaſon and grounds; though not founded either in the conduct or principles of the leaders, or the ſyſtem or regular organization of their diſcipline, as appears from the before mentioned proclamations.

The inſurgents were at length prevailed on, by the inceſſant entreaties and exertions of their chiefs, to quit the town. They divided themſelves into two bodies: one under the command of the Reverend Philip Roche, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh; the other, under the conduct of Meſſieurs Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Peppard's Caſtle, where they took their ſtation for that night.

General Moore, availing himſelf of the retreat of the rebels, and having been informed by Captain Bourke of the peaceable diſpoſition of the Wexford people, had approached within two miles of the town, when Captain Boyd, the repreſentative of Wexford (now returning home in General Moore's train) made many cautious and minute inquiries, from Captain Bourke who had been come recently from that town, and having himſelf,

from

from the commanding elevation of the road, obſerved the retreat of the inſurgents over the bridge, entered the town attended with eight yeomen, almoſt with as much precipitancy, as he had formerly abandoned it; loudly declaring the army at his heels. The face of the town was inſtantly changed; perſons, who but the moment before appeared anxious to demonſtrate their friendſhip for the rebels, inſtantaneouſly changed ſides, and vied with each other in exhibiting ſymptoms of their loyalty. General Moore, on conſultation with Lord Kingſborough, thought it moſt adviſeable not to let his troops into the town, which it had previouſly been determined to annihilate before the negociation had been propoſed; ſo that it required the utmoſt precaution to prevent its being plundered, ſacked and deſtroyed. General Moore took his ſtation on the Windmill Hills, which completely commanded the town. A ſloop of war, and three gun-boats were ſo ſtationed, that Wexford was thoroughly inveſted both by land and water. No ſooner had the army entered the town, than all the wounded men in the hoſpital were put to the ſword, and ſome of the ſtraggling inhabitants loſt their lives, notwithſtanding the moſt expreſs orders of General Moore, that no kind of exceſs ſhould be committed.

Relying on the faith of Lord Kingſborough's promiſes of complete protection of perſons and properties, ſeveral remained in the town of Wexford, unconſcious of any reaſon to apprehend danger; but they were ſoon taken up and committed to gaol. The Reverend Philip Roche had ſuch confidence in theſe aſſurances, and was ſo certain of obtaining ſimilar terms for thoſe under his command, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford unarmed, coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that he advanced within the lines, before he was recognized. He was inſtantly dragged from his horſe, and in the moſt ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the Windmill Hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the gaol in ſuch a condition as ſcarcely to be recognized. The people whom he had left, in expectation of being permitted to return quietly home, waited his arrival, but at laſt being informed of his fate, they abandoned all idea of peace, and ſet off under the command of the Reverend John Murphy to Fook's Mill, and ſo on, through Scollaghgap, into the county of Carlow.

From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by General Needham,

detachments were ſent out to ſcour the country. They burned the Catholic chapel of Ballemurein, beſides ſeveral houſes in the neighbourhood. The principal of theſe were that of Newpark, the ſeat of Mr. Fitzgerald, and that of Mr. Edmund Stafford, miſtaking it for the dwelling of General Edward Roche. In ſhort, death and deſolation were ſpread throughout the country, which was ſearched and hunted ſo ſeverely, that ſcarcely a man eſcaped: the old and harmleſs ſuffered, whilſt they who had the uſe of their limbs and were guilty, had previouſly made off with the main body of the people. *The dead bodies ſcattered about, with their throats cut acroſs, and mangled in the moſt ſhocking manner, exhibited ſcenes exceeding the uſual horrors of war. The ſoldiery on this occaſion, particularly the dragoons of General Ferdinand Hompeſche, were permitted to indulge in ſuch ferocity and brutal luſt to the ſex, that muſt perpetuate hatred and horror of the army to generations.

The northern part of the county of Wexford had been almoſt totally deſerted by all the male inhabitants on the 19th, at the approach of the army under General Needham. Some of the yeomanry, who had formerly deſerted it, returned to Gorey on the 21ſt, and on finding no officer of the army as was expected to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, ſcoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houſes, beſides all the ſtragglers they met, moſt of whom were making the beſt of their way home unarmed from the inſurgents, who were then believed to be totally diſcomfited. Theſe tranſactions being made known to a body of the inſurgents, encamped at Peppard's Caſtle, on the 22d, they reſolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwiſe no intention of proceeding. The yeomen and their aſſociates, upon the near approach of the inſurgents, fled back with precipitation; and thence accompanied by many others, haſtened toward Arklow, but were purſued as far as Coolgreney, with the loſs of forty-ſeven men. The day was called bloody Friday. The inſurgents had been exaſperated to this vengeance by diſcovering through the country as they came along, ſeveral dead men, with their ſkulls ſplit aſunder, their bowels ripped open, and their throats cut acroſs, beſides ſome dead women and children: they even met the dead bodies of two women, about which their ſurviving children were creeping,

* Hay's Hiſtory of the Inſurrection in the county of Wexford, p. 245.

and

and bewailing them! Theſe ſights haſtened the inſurgent force to Gorey, where their exaſperation was conſiderably augmented by diſcovering the pigs in the ſtreets devouring the bodies of nine men, who had been hanged the day before, with ſeveral others recently ſhot, and ſome ſtill expiring.

After the return of the inſurgents from the purſuit, ſeveral perſons were found lurking in the town and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Pippard, ſovereign of Gorey; but from this gentleman's age and reſpectability, he was conſidered incapable of being acceſſary to the perpetration of the horrid cruelty, which provoked and prompted this ſudden revenge, and he and others were ſaved, protected, and ſet at liberty. At this critical time the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's houſe, on ſo trying an occaſion were remarkable; forgetful of ſuch great perſonal injury, he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to reſtrain the inſurgents, who vociferated hourly for vengeance for their favorites, and ſucceeded in leading them off from Gorey; when after a ſlight repaſt, they reſumed their intended route, reſted that night at the White Heaps on Croghan mountain, and on the 23d ſet off for the mountains of Wicklow.

In the midſt of theſe ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, it muſt not be forgotten, that the Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June, 1798, with a plenitude of power exceeding that of his predeceſſor, by the ſupremacy of the military command having been ſuperadded to the civil government of the country. This appointment in this critical juncture appears under providence to have been the immediate ſalvation of Ireland, not only by putting an immediate check upon the uncontrouled ferociouſneſs of the ſoldiery, by ſtopping military executions, ſuſpending the ſentences of courts martial till he had himſelf reviſed the minutes, by converting the ſyſtem of coercion and terroriſm into that of conciliation, by gaining the affections of the people, by drawing upon himſelf the hatred of the Orangemen, by bringing to bear the incorporate Union with Great Britain, as the efficient means of redreſſing popular grievances and cruſhing the ſeeds of perpetual feuds and acrimony kept up chiefly by the ſubſiſtence of Orangiſm. Immediately upon his arrival, he aſſumed the reins of government. In the firſt days of his adminiſtration the old ſyſtem was completely acted upon in the final ſettlement of the Wexford rebellion. This inſtantly convinced his excellency of the imperious neceſſity of that total change of ſyſtem, which was ſoon after eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom, ſo much to the honor of the chief go-

vernor

vernor and to the welfare of the Britiſh empire. Theſe poſthumous acts of the extorted ſyſtem of coercion in the final ſcenes at Wexford, will be properly noticed at preſent, before we draw the attention of the reader to the progreſs of the rebellion in other parts of the kingdom.

After the total evacuation of the town of Wexford by the rebel forces, under a general confidence that their propoſal and Lord Kingſborough' undertaking would have been attended to and obſerved, General Lake entered the town on the 22d of June, in the morning, and remained there with his ſtaff for ſeveral days, in the houſe lately occupied by the rebel Governor Keugh. Although the town were providentially not delivered over to be ſacked and demoliſhed by the military, yet almoſt all the principal inhabitants were immediately taken up, confined to gaol, and arraigned for treaſon. Captain Keugh had remained at Lord Kingſborough's lodgings, and after the ſurrender of the town two centinels were placed on him there for two days, when he was removed to the gaol. Mr. Cornelius Grogan was taken at his ſeat at Johnſtown where he had remained, unconſcious of any danger until conducted to priſon. Mr. Bagenal Harvey had gone to his reſidence at Bargycaſtle, in plenary confidence that the terms agreed upon with Lord Kingſborough, would be ratified; and under that conviction he ſent ſome fat cattle into Wexford for the uſe of the army; but learning from the meſſenger who drove them thither, that no conditions whatever would be obtained, he haſtened with the fatal news to Mr. Colclough. This gentleman had previouſly taken his wife and child to one of the Saltee iſlands, where he thought to have weathered out the ſtorm of the angry time in a cave, which he had reſorted to for concealment. Thither Mr. Harvey alſo repaired; they were all ſoon diſcovered, and the news of their being taken arrived in Wexford, while they were making the harbour in a boat. This attracted a great number of people to the quay, curious to ſee them brought in, and amidſt this concourſe Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Colclough and his lady were landed. The gentlemen were then led through the gazing multitude to the gaol, where they were confined in the condemned cells.

A court martial was inſtituted for the trial of priſoners on charges of treaſon. The Reverend Philip Roche was the firſt tried and condemned by this tribunal. Captain Keugh was the next put on his trial, at which he made a very able defence, but was alſo condemned. The entrance of the wooden bridge was the ſcene fixed on for the place of execution. The large ſtature of

of the Reverend Philip Roche cauſed the rope he was hauled up with to break; but another was ſoon procured, and his life was ended with double torture. The head of Captain Keugh was ſeparated from his body, and placed on a pike over the front of the court houſe. Their bodies, together with thoſe of others executed at the ſame time, were ſtripped and treated with the utmoſt brutality and indecency, previous to their being thrown over the bridge.

Mr. Grogan was brought to trial on the 26th, but the evidence, which he hoped to obtain of his innocence, did not attend on account of the general apprehenſion that prevailed. His trial was therefore poſtponed, and he was remanded to gaol. Mr. Harvey was then put on his trial, which laſted for the beſt part of the day, and ended in his condemnation. Mr. Grogan's trial was then reſumed; but this he did not expect until the next day, and conſequently he had not been able to procure all the neceſſary evidence. It was indeed proved, that he was forced to join the inſurgents, but this did not prevent a ſentence of conviction. The condemnation of theſe gentlemen was afterwards confirmed by the Iriſh parliament, which paſſed an act of attainder againſt them, and a confiſcation of their properties; on the parliamentary enquiry into the merit of theſe proceedings, it appeared that the court martial had not been even ſworn: Mr. Grogan has been conſidered by very many as ſacrificed to the violent temper of the times. On the 27th Meſſrs. Harvey, Grogan, and Mr. Patrick Prendergaſt, a rich maltſter in Wexford, were ordered out to execution. They were conducted to the bridge, and there hanged; the heads of Meſſrs. Grogan and Harvey were cut off and placed upon pikes upon each ſide of that of Captain Keugh; their bodies were ſtripped and treated with the uſual brutal indecencies, before they were caſt over the bridge! Mr. Colclough was tried on the ſame day and condemned. On the next day he was executed, but his body, at the interceſſion of his lady, was given up to her to be interred. Mr. John Kelly of Killan, whoſe courage and intrepidity had been ſo conſpicuous at the battle of Roſs, now lay ill in Wexford, of a wound which he had received in that engagement; he was taken priſoner from his bed, tried and condemned to die, and brought on a car to the place of execution, his head was cut off, and his body, after the accuſtomed indignities, was thrown over the bridge. The head, however, was reſerved for other exhibition. It was firſt kicked about on the cuſtom houſe quay, and then brought up into the town, thrown up and treated in the ſame manner oppoſite the houſe in which his ſiſter lodged,

in

in order that ſhe might witneſs the ſavage ſport and horrid ſpectacle: the head was afterwards placed above that of Captain Keugh, over the door of the court houſe.

With this laſt bloody ſcene at Wexford the reign of terroriſm may properly be ſaid to have cloſed. On the 28th of June General Lake was ordered from Wexford, and a new ſyſtem of mercy and conciliation was ſeriouſly entered upon. General Hunter, upon whom the command at Wexford fell on the departure of General Lake, found that the only ſeverity he had to exerciſe was upon the gentry and yeomanry, whoſe ſanguinary and vindictive exertions, it became neceſſary to check, leſt the people ſhould be goaded into a relapſe. He ſoon gained the affections and gratitude of the people, who in conſequence of that change of meaſures flocked in ſhoals to ſurrender their arms, take out protections, and return to their homes in peace.

The province of Ulſter, where inſurrection had been moſt of all dreaded, and where from the ſpirit of the inhabitants it would, if extenſive, have been the moſt formidable, had hitherto remained undiſturbed. On the 7th of June, a meeting of magiſtrates having been appointed in the town of Antrim for the prevention of rebellion, the inſurgents, with deſign of ſeizing their perſons, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and ſoon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained poſſeſſion. Major General Nugent, who commanded in that diſtrict having received intelligence of the intended riſing, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived after the rebels had taken poſſeſſion of the town. They then attacked the inſurgents in the town, but their van guard, conſiſting of cavalry, being repulſed with the loſs of twenty three men killed and wounded, of which three were officers, Colonel Durham who commanded the troops, brought the artillery to batter the town, which obliged the inſurgents to abandon it, together with a ſix pounder which they had brought with them, and two curricle guns which they had taken from the king's army. They were purſued towards Slane's caſtle and Randal's town with conſiderable ſlaughter; on this day Lord O'Neil was mortally wounded.* A ſmall body made an unſucceſsful aſſault on the town of Larne and ſome feeble attempts were alſo made at Ballymena and Ballycaſtle. The main body of theſe northern inſurgents retired to

* He had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magiſtrates, not knowing that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it. He ſhot one who had ſeized the bridle of his horſe, after which he was dragged from his ſaddle, and ſo wounded with pikes that he died in a few days.

Donegar

Donegar hill, where, diſguſted with their want of ſucceſs and other circumſtances, they agreed to ſurrender their arms, and almoſt all of them diſperſed.

On the 8th of June another body of inſurgents in the county of Down near Saintfield, under the command of a Dr. Jackſon, ſet fire to the houſe of a man named Mackee, an informer againſt the United Iriſhmen. They placed themſelves the next day in ambuſcade, and nearly ſurrounded a body of troops under Colonel Stapleton, conſiſting of York fencibles and yeomen cavalry, of whom they killed about ſixty: the infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back in confuſion, rallying with a coolneſs not very common in this war, diſlodged and diſperſed the rebels, and after a ſtay of two hours on the field of battle, retreated to Belfaſt.

Little diſcouraged by this defeat, in which their loſs was very ſmall, the rebels reaſſembled, and took poſt at Ballynahinch on the Windmill hill, and at the houſe and in the demeſne of Lord Moira. On the 12th General Nugent marching from Belfaſt, and Colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed with fifteen hundred men a junction near the Windmill hill, of which they gained poſſeſſion, together with the town, which before the action, they wantonly ſet on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with artillery with little or no execution, at length the Monaghan regiment of militia, poſted with two field pieces at Lord Moira's great gate, was attacked with ſuch determined fury by the pikemen of the inſurgents, that it fell back in confuſion on the Hillſborough cavalry; they likewiſe fell back in diſorder. The want of diſcipline in the inſurgents loſt what their valor had gained. The diſordered troops found means to rally, while the Argyleſhire fencibles, entering the demeſne, were making their attack on another ſide. The inſurgents, confuſed and diſtracted, retreated up the hill, and making a ſtand at the top, at a kind of fortification, defended the poſt for ſome time with great courage, but at length gave way and diſperſed in all directions. Their loſs exceeded a hundred; that of the royal army not above half that number. The main body of theſe inſurgents retired to the mountains of Slyeeve Croob, where they ſoon ſurrendered or ſeparated, returning to their ſeveral homes; and thus terminated this ſhort and partial, but active inſurrection in the north, in the courſe of which ſome ſlighter actions had taken place, particularly at Portaferry, where they were repulſed by the yeomanry; they alſo ſet fire to a revenue cruizer in which forty men periſhed. On the ſubſiding of this local inſurgency in the north eaſtern quarter of the iſland, another in-

ſurgency of leſs force commenced in the oppoſite ſouth weſtern quarter, in the county of Cork. The principal action, and the only one, which government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynaſcarty, where on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Weſtmeath regiment of militia, with two ſix pounders, under the command of their Lieutenant Colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Clognakelty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almoſt all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambuſh in a very advantageous poſition. The attack was made from an height on the left of the column, ſo unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had ſcarcely time to form; and at that critical moment, a hundred men of the Caithneſs legion arrived on the ſpot and by a briſk fire, helped to put the aſſailants to flight: their loſs amounted to between fifty and a hundred men; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a ſerjeant and one private.

Fortunately for the country, the new ſyſtem of moderation gained ground through the moſt diſturbed parts of the country, and carried with it the happieſt effects. General Hunter, at Wexford, Brigadier General Groſe, ſtationed under him at Enniſcorthy, and General Gaſcoyne, quartered at Roſs with the Coldſtream regiment of Guards, exhibited the bleſſed effects of the reverſe of that ſyſtem of coercive ſeverity, which had been productive of ſo much evil to that unfortunate country.

The main body of the Wexford inſurgents, ſuppoſed to be fifteen thouſand in number, having loſt moſt of thoſe leaders who were men of education and property, directed its march, under Father John Murphy, north-weſtward to Scollogh-gap, an opening in the great ridge of Mount Leinſter, which ſeparates the counties of Wexford and Carlow, with intention to penetrate into Kilkenny, in hopes of raiſing the colliers about Caſtlecomer, who had been in a ſtate of diſturbance in the year 1793: upon entering the gap, they diſperſed ſome troops, who oppoſed their progreſs, and burned the little town of Killedmond. They alſo defeated a ſmall body of the 4th dragoon guards, and of the Wexford militia, who diſturbed their paſſage over the river Barrow; ſome few were killed, and twenty-ſeven taken priſoners, of whom, ſeven condemned as Orange-men, were ſhot. This horrible function, it is reported, their fellow ſoldiers were forced to execute. Major General Sir Charles Aſgill, who had marched with a force of about a thouſand men, to ſeize the poſt of New-

New-bridge, arrived too late to ſtop the progreſs of the rebel army, which by a rapid movement had pre-occupied that poſt, where they paſſed the night.

The general was likewiſe on the following day too late at Caſtlecomer for the protection of the town. On the next morning the rebel troops deſcended from the heights upon Caſtlecomer, and defeated a body of about two hundred and fifty men, who oppoſed them at Coolbawn, a mile and a half from that town, of whom they killed about fifty. The town was ſet on fire, and of this conflagration each party accuſes the other.*

After the town had been plundered, the rebels abandoned it, and retired to the high grounds, where they remained for one night in conſultation and advice, which ended in a general reſolution to retreat back through the paſs of Scollogh-gap, into the county of Wexford. According to this determination, they moved from the ridge in the morning of the 25th of June, and directing their march towards Newbridge, took poſt at a place called Kilcomny, on a riſing ground. Here they were aſſailed on three ſides at once on the following morning, by a force of nearly twelve hundred men, under General Sir Charles Aſgill, and that of Major Matthews, of about five hundred, from Maryborough. After an hour's firing of cannon, the rebels, fearing to be ſurrounded, fled towards the gap with their uſual celerity, leaving all their plunder and artillery behind them. Their artillery conſiſted of ten light pieces, and among the articles of plunder were ſeven hundred horſes. They forced their way back through the gap, to the mountains of Wicklow.

The other body of Wexford inſurgents, which had proceeded, after the attack upon Gorey, into the county of Wicklow, were there joined by the forces under Mr. Garret Byrne, on the 25th of June, near Hacketſtown, before which they appeared about ſeven o'clock in the morning. The military were drawn up ready to receive them; but having been forced to give way, they retired into the barrack and a malt-houſe adjoining, from which their

* Notwithſtanding the conſtant charges of this conteſt having become a religious war, it muſt be allowed that to the laſt, the innate and cordial enemy to the rebels, was the *Orangeman*, and not the Proteſtant. Even Sir Richard Muſgrave affords evidence of this as late as the day, on which the rebels evacuated Wexford, from a certificate, which he ſays was given on that day by Father Broe.

"I hereby certify, that A. of B. in the pariſh of C. has done his duty, and proved himſelf a "Roman Catholic, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was *an Orangeman, nor took the* "*Orange oath.*

"*Dated Wexford, June* 21, 1798. F. JOHN BROE."

fire did great execution. The inſurgents deeming it impracticable to effect their deſign, without cannon, of which they had not a ſingle piece, retreated from the place, after an action of nine hours, in which they loſt great numbers, carrying off their wounded, and driving before them all the cattle from about the town; they encamped that night at Bleſſington. During the engagement, it is ſaid, that a conſiderable force of our cavalry and infantry ſtood on a hill at a ſmall diſtance, in view of the ſcene of action, but did not venture to join in the battle.

Diſappointed by the repulſe at Hacketſtown, the remaining Wexford inſurgents, in conjunction with their Wicklow aſſociates, directed their march towards Carnew, which they were reſolved, if poſſible, to carry; but General Needham having been informed of their approach, detached a ſtrong body of infantry, and about two hundred cavalry, from his camp at Gorey, to intercept them. The cavalry alone, however, as the infantry were recalled, came up with the inſurgents on the road to Carnew. Theſe feigning a retreat, having timely notice of their approach, ſuffered the cavalry to paſs, until they brought them into an ambuſcade, where their gunsmen were placed on both ſides of the way behind the ditches, to receive them. At the firſt diſcharge they were utterly confounded, and attempted to retreat in great haſte toward Carnew. But the inſurgents rightly conjecturing, that, when foiled, they would attempt getting off in that direction, had blocked up the road with cars, and other incumbrances; they were for ſome time expoſed to the fire of the inſurgents, and loſt about eighty of their number, among whom were two officers, the Marquis de Giffard, a young Norman emigrant of the Ancient Britiſh, and Adjutant Parſons, of the Ballaghkeen cavalry; the reſt effected their retreat to Arklow. The inſurgents loſt not a ſingle man in this action; but they were foiled in their deſign upon Carnew, the garriſon of which, being alarmed by the fugitive calvalry, had juſt time to ſecure themſelves in a malt-houſe, before the approach of the inſurgents, who, after an ineffectual attack, marched off to Killcavan hill.

On the 2d of July, as the inſurgents began to move towards Kilelah, they were purſued by a body of yeoman cavalry and infantry, before whom they retired to an eminence, called Ballyrakeen-hill. Here they took poſt; but as the yeomen moved up the hill, the inſurgents poured upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were in an inſtant utterly diſcomfited, with the loſs of ſeventy privates and two officers; all the cavalry ſaved themſelves by flight.

It

It had been lamented by many, that the Marquis Cornwallis, a viceroy of military talent, of benevolence, and humanity, and, above all, of political firmneſs to reſiſt and keep down the fatal influence of thoſe, who had extorted the bloody ſyſtem from his predeceſſor, ſhould not have been ſent ſooner to that diſtracted kingdom. But the affected zeal for the conſtitution, the artful miſrepreſentation of facts, and the undaunted fierceneſs of thoſe terroriſts, had too long uſurped the power of the viceroy, and abuſed the confidence of the Britiſh cabinet. It was, however, ſome atonement to poor ſuffering Ireland, that an appointment was at laſt made of a nobleman, ſupereminently fitted to heal her wounds, by a ſyſtem of meaſures diametrically contrary to thoſe which had inflicted and inflamed them. Within very few days after his lordſhip's arrival in Dublin, a proclamation* was iſſued, authoriſing his majeſty's generals

* The following is the form of it. It was publiſhed in the Dublin Gazette only on the 3d of July: but as it bears date the 29th day of June, 1798, it was probably communicated to General Lake before publication, as that general left Wexford on the 28th.

" A PROCLAMATION.

" WHEREAS, it is in the power of his majeſty's generals, and of the forces under " their command, entirely to deſtroy all thoſe who have riſen in rebellion, againſt their ſovereign " and his laws: yet it is nevertheleſs the wiſh of government, that thoſe perſons who, by " traiterous machinations, have been ſeduced, or by acts of intimidation, have been forced from " their allegiance, ſhould be received into his majeſty's peace and pardon,

" commanding in the county of ſpecially authorized thereto, does hereby invite all " perſons, who may be now aſſembled, in any part of the ſaid county againſt his majeſty's peace, " to ſurrender themſelves and their arms, and to deſert the leaders who have ſeduced them; and " for the acceptance of ſuch ſurrender and ſubmiſſion, the ſpace of fourteen days from the date " hereof, is allowed; and the towns of are hereby ſpecified, at each of which " places one of his majeſty's officers, and a juſtice of the peace, will attend; and upon entering " their names, acknowledging their guilt, and promiſing good behaviour for the future, and taking " the oath of allegiance, and at the ſame time abjuring all other engagements contrary thereto, " they will receive a certificate, which will entitle them to protection ſo long as they demean themſelves as becomes good ſubjects.

" And, in order to render ſuch acts of ſubmiſſion eaſy and ſecure, it is the general's pleaſure that " perſons who are now with any portion of the rebels in arms, and willing to ſurrender themſelves, " do ſend to him, or to any number from each body of rebels not " exceeding ten, with whom the general, or will ſettle the manner in which " they may repair to the above towns, ſo that no alarm may be excited, and no injury to their perſons be offered.

" *June* 29, 1798."

" CER-

generals to give protection to ſuch inſurgents as, being ſimply guilty of rebellion, ſhould ſurrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. How neceſſary at that time ſuch a ſtep was, could be a queſtion of no difficulty to thoſe, who viewing diſpaſſionately the ſtate of affairs, conſidered what numbers had been ſeduced into the conſpiracy by artifice, and forced into rebellion by unfortunate circumſtances. To give the full ſanction of law to that neceſſary meaſure, a meſſage was delivered from his excellency to the Houſe of Commons, on the 17th of July, ſignifying his majeſty's pleaſure to that effect; and an act of amneſty was accordingly paſſed in favor of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders; who had not committed manſlaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who ſhould comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation.

The Wexford inſurgents had fixed their ſtation near the White Heaps, at the foot of Croghan Mountain; from whence they moved, during the night of the 4th of July, toward Wicklow Gap; but on the morning of the 5th, the army under Sir James Duff from Carnew, under cover of a very thick fog, ſurrounded them in four powerful diviſions, before they could perceive the approach of any enemy: finding themſelves unable to withſtand a battle, they broke through the purſuing cavalry, of whom they ſlew about eighty,

"CERTIFICATE OF PROTECTION.

"THIS is to certify, that the bearer hereof, of the pariſh of "county of by occupation has ſurrendered himſelf, confeſſed his "being engaged in the preſent rebellion, and has given up all his arms, "and diſcovered of thoſe which he knew to be concealed, has taken the oath of allegiance to his "majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, and has abjured all other oaths and engagements, in any wiſe "whatſoever contrary thereto; and has bound himſelf to behave for the future as a peaceable and "loyal ſubject; in conſequence whereof, this certificate is given to the ſaid "in order that his perſon or his property may not in any wiſe be moleſted; and all his majeſty's "officers, magiſtrates, and other his majeſty's loving ſubjects, are hereby enjoined to pay due "attention thereto, in purſuance of the proclamation iſſued General "dated the day of 1798,: and this certificate to be in full force as long as the ſaid " continues to demean himſelf as a peaceable and loyal ſubject.

"Dated at the day of 1798."

"OATH TO BE TAKEN.

"I do ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear, that I will bear true allegiance to his "majeſty King George the Third, his heirs, and ſucceſſors; and I do ſolemnly renounce and "abjure all oaths and engagements of every kind whatſoever, which are in any degree contrary "thereto, SO HELP ME GOD."

and

and moved with great celerity in the direction of Carnew. Upon their arrival at a place called Cranford, by others Ballygullen, they reſolved to make reſiſtance and await the approach of the troops however numerous they might be, although their own force were then very conſiderably reduced. They reſolutely maintained the conteſt for an hour and a half with the utmoſt intrepidity; having repulſed the cavalry, and driven the artillery men three times from their cannon, all performed by the gunſmen; for the pikemen, as on former occaſions, never came into action: but freſh reinforcements of the army pouring in on all ſides, they were obliged to give way, quitting the field of battle with little loſs to themſelves, and notwithſtanding all their fatigue, retreating, with their uſual agility and ſwiftneſs in different directions. They agreed among themſelves to aſſemble again at Carrigrew, where upon conſidering the reduced ſtate of their forces and the advantages gained by the army, they thought it adviſeable to diſperſe, and thus put an end to the warfare in the county of Wexford.

The ceſſation of hoſtilities unfortunately did not cloſe the miſeries of that devoted diſtrict: a moſt rancorous, bloody, and ferocious ſpirit of revenge and hatred ſeized upon many of the gentlemen of that county, and was carried into effect with outrageous barbarity. Their former claims to reſpectability in life for a length of time gave credit to their falſehood, procured countenance to their fanaticiſm, and ſecured them the means of executing injuſtice. * General Lake, previous to his departure from Wexford, appointed a committee to ſuperintend proſecutions, and to grant paſſes to leave the country, conſiſting of the principal gentlemen then reſident there. The appropriate duty of this body was to enquire ſpecially into the caſes of ſuch priſoners as they ſhould hand over to be tried by court-martial, to procure the evidence for proſecution, and to commit different perſons to gaol. It was not, however, deemed neceſſary to ſend a committal to the gaoler, as the word of any of them was conſidered ſufficient for the detention of any of thoſe given in cuſtody; and they were alſo to act as a kind of council to General Hunter, whoſe benevolent diſpoſition they thwarted on ſeveral occaſions. This was in fact ſo well known, that many, upon being put into confinement, were induced, by their apprehenſions, to petition for tranſportation, rather than abide a trial under their direction. The tyrannical, unjuſt, and inhuman diſ-

* Hay's Hiſtory of the Inſurrection of Wexford, p. 266.

poſition

poſition of this body is ſtrongly exemplified in their unwarrantable treatment of many beſides that gentleman, which he has detailed in his preliminary diſcourſe.*

Different courts-martial were inſtituted in Roſs, Enniſcorthy, Gorey, and Newton-Barry; ſeveral perſons were condemned and executed, and others ſentenced to tranſportation. Among thoſe who were condemned to be executed was the Rev. John Redmond, a Catholic prieſt, who, it ſeems, during the inſurrection, had done all in his power to ſave the houſe of Lord Mountnorris from being plundered, which he, in ſome degree, effected, but not at all to the extent of his wiſhes. Lord Mountnorris, whoſe conduct towards the Catholics became from henceforth wholly altered (he had formerly favored them), ſent for Mr. Redmond, upon finding that he was preſent at the plundering of his houſe, deſiring that he would come to him directly. The reverend gentleman, conſcious of his own integrity, and apprehenſive of no danger, being involved in no guilt, obeyed the ſummons without heſitation; but his inſtantaneous haſty trial, condemnation, and execution, were the reward of his humane and generous exertions. His body, after death, underwent the moſt indecent mutilations.†

A party

* The quotation I have made from this author, as an eye-witneſs and a moſt aggrieved ſufferer under this perſecuting ſpirit of the Wexford Orangemen, ſeems to baffle all poſſibility of refutation. The unparalleled and almoſt incredible perſecutions, which Mr. Hay details of his own ſufferings from this inquiſitorial court in the introduction to his hiſtory, freezes the blood of the reader: at the ſame time it rouſes that indignation againſt the fomenters and ſupporters of it, that it becomes more candid to name ſuch as the author has given to the public, than to permit the foul imputation to light upon the gentry of the county at large: "(*Introd.* xxviii.) Six magiſtrates of the county "afterwards formed themſelves into an inquiſitorial court, conſiſting of the Right Honorable "George Ogle, James Boyd, Richard Newton King, Edward Percival, Ebenezer Jacob, M. D. and "John Henry Liſter, Eſquires. They aſſembled at the houſe of James Boyd, and ſummoned hun-"dreds before them, whom they ſwore to give ſuch information as they could concerning the re-"bellion. About fifty perſons have informed me, that they were principally queſtioned concerning "me; ſo that I have ſtrong reaſon to believe, that no means were left untried to criminate me. "My conduct has certainly undergone ſtricter inveſtigation than that of any other perſon in Ire-"land, and ſuch, as I believe, that of the moſt unexceptionable of my perſecutors would not paſs "through unblemiſhed; while mine is irreproachable in the utmoſt degree, having paſſed with "unimpeached honor the ordeal of the Wexford inquiſition. We read of nothing that has gone "ſuch lengths in foreign countries. Even the inquiſitors are, by duty and oath, to ſeek out all "evidence as well for, as againſt their priſoners!"

† I find in a letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, of the 19th of October, 1799, the following avowal

A party of inſurgents in the county of Kildare, under the command of Mr. William Aylmer, ſtill held out in arms; and thither the remaining body of

avowal about the Rev. John Redmond: "All I can ſay of the Rev. John Redmond is, that when "Lord Mountnorris was preparing to proſecute him, his groom and another of his ſervants (Pro-"teſtants as I am informed) told his lordſhip, that Redmond's conduct was innocent and praiſe-"worthy, that he came unto the rebels, when they were plundering his lordſhip's houſe, and did "all in his power to reſtrain and prevent them. But now to look for any favorable teſtimony "from that quarter would be vain, where no prieſt dares appear or Catholic raiſe his head or his "voice."

But the Rev. Mr. Gordon puts the caſe of that unfortunate man in its true light: "(*Hiſtory of "the Iriſh Rebellion, 2d edit. p.* 225.) Of the rebellious conduct of Redmond, coadjutor of Father "Francis Kavenagh, in the pariſh of Clough, of which I was twenty-three years curate, I can find "no other proof than the ſentence of the court-martial, which conſigned him to death. He was "accuſed by the Earl of Mountnorris, of having appeared as chief among a party of rebels, who "committed ſome depredations at his lordſhip's houſe; while he alleged, that his object in ap-"pearing on the occaſion, was to endeavour to prevent the plundering of the houſe, in which he "partly ſucceeded. Coming into Gorey on a meſſage from the earl, ſeemingly unapprehenſive of "danger, and unconſcious of guilt, he was treated as if manifeſtly guilty before trial, knocked "down in the ſtreet, and rudely dragged by ſome yeomen. I mean not to arraign the juſtice of "the noble lord, his proſecutor, nor the members of the court-martial. The former, who had ren-"dered himſelf in no ſmall degree reſponſible for the loyalty of the Wexfordian Romaniſts, had "doubtleſs good reaſons for his conduct; and the latter could have no perſonal animoſity againſt "the accuſed, nor other unfavorable bias than what naturally aroſe from the turbid ſtate of affairs, "when accuſation, eſpecially againſt a Romiſh prieſt, was conſidered as a ſtrong preſumption of "guilt. But his Proteſtant neighbours, who had not been able to eſcape from the rebels, aſſured "me, that while the latter were in poſſeſſion of the country, he was conſtantly hiding in Proteſtant "houſes from the rebels, and that many Romaniſts expreſſed great reſentment againſt him as a "traitor to their cauſe. That he expected not the rebellion to be ſucceſsful, appears from this, "that when the wife of Nathaniel Stedman (one of my Proteſtant pariſhioners) applied to him to "baptize her child, he told her, that he acceded to her requeſt merely leſt the child ſhould die un-"baptized, in the neceſſary abſence of her miniſter, on condition that ſhe ſhould promiſe to make "the proper apology for him to me on my return to the pariſh.

"As I underſtand that the noble earl has not conſidered my relation of this affair as complete or "ſatisfactory, I here add a few more circumſtances. Father Kavenagh, to whom Redmond was "coadjutor, had lived many years in habits of the greateſt apparent intimacy with the earl, moſtly "reſiding at his lordſhip's houſe, and ſometimes entertaining him and Lady Mountnorris and family "at his own. Redmond, being one of the company on theſe occaſions, thought himſelf extremely "honored, and in ſome degree idolized the earl, who was regarded by the Catholics as their moſt "zealous friend. Tranſported with zeal for his noble patron, when he heard that a mob had gone "to his lordſhip's houſe in queſt of liquors, he ran to prevail on them to ſpare all except the ſmall "beer. Father Kavenagh told me, that on the ſuppreſſion of the rebels, the earl called at his

of the Wexford men, commanded by Mr. Fitzgerald, accompanied by Mr. Garret Byrne, and ſome Wicklow men, directed their courſe to form a junction, which they accordingly effected, but were ſtopped in their progreſs at Clonard by Lieutenant Tyrrel, a yeoman officer, who had occupied a fortified houſe in the town, until reinforcements from Kinnegad and Mullingar forced them to retreat.

After this repulſe the few remaining Wexford men ſeparated from their Wicklow aſſociates, whom they deemed leſs warlike than themſelves, and made different incurſions into the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth and Dublin, eluding, as well as they could, the purſuit of the army, with different parties of which they had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. They were finally routed and intercepted by Captain Gordon of the Dumfries light dragoons, at the head of a ſtrong party of horſe and foot, at Ballyboghill, near Swords, and never more collected.

Some Wexford inſurgents, however, remained with Mr. Fitzgerald, along with Mr. Aylmer, who, as outſtanding chiefs, negociated with General Dundas, to whom they ſurrendered on the 12th of July, on condition, that all the other leaders, who had adventured with them, ſhould be at liberty to retire whither they pleaſed out of the Britiſh dominions. The ſame terms were afterwards ſecured by General Moore to Mr. Garret Byrne, who was ſent into confinement in the caſtle of Dublin, together with Meſſrs. Fitzgerald and Aylmer, by which they fared much better than thoſe, who laid down their arms in Wexford depending on the faithful fulfilment of the terms entered into with Lord Kingſborough.

The plan of propoſing terms for ſaving the lives of Mr. Oliver Bond and Mr. Byrne was propoſed through Mr. Dobbs, a member of parliament. That gentleman with the ſheriff went to the priſon, in which Mr. A. O'Connor

" houſe, in a friendly manner, requeſting that Redmond ſhould go to him to Gorey for a protec-
" tion. What protection he received has been already related. No act could be more popular
" among Proteſtants, at that time, than the hanging of a prieſt; yet many Proteſtants would have
" come to bear witneſs in his favor, if they had been allowed time, and an aſſurance of perſonal
" ſafety. The popularity, however, of his lordſhip with the common people of the Catholics is ſo
" indelibly impreſſed, that they cannot believe to this day, that he had any concern in this buſineſs;
" but endeavoured with all his power to ſave the prieſt. I knew Redmond many years, and al-
" ways thought him a remarkably timid and innnocent man."

was

was confined, on the 24th of July with a paper,* ſigned by ſeventy ſtate priſoners, purpoſing to give ſuch information as was in their power, of arms, ammunition, their ſchemes of warfare, their internal regulations and foreign negociations of the United Iriſhmen, provided the lives of Meſſrs. Bond and Byrne ſhould be ſpared. In conſequence of this agreement, ſome of the rebel chiefs, who were ſtill in arms, among whom was Mr. Aylmer of Kildare, ſurrendered themſelves.† Several principals of the Union, particularly Arthur

* The following was the agreement ſigned by ſeventy-three on the 29th of July, 1798. "That "the underſigned ſtate priſoners, in the three priſons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, "engage to give every information in their power, of the whole of the internal tranſactions of the "United Iriſhmen, and that each of the priſoners ſhall give detailed information of every tranſac- "tion, that has paſſed between the United Iriſhmen and foreign ſtates; but that the priſoners are "not, by naming or deſcribing, to implicate any perſon whatever, and that they are ready to "emigrate to ſuch country as ſhall be agreed on between them and government, and give ſecu- "rity not to return to this country without the permiſſion of government, and not to paſs into "an enemy's country, if on their ſo doing they are to be freed from proſecution, and alſo Mr. "Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this propoſal. The ſtate priſoners alſo hope, that "the benefit of this propoſal may be extended to ſuch perſons in cuſtody, or not in cuſtody, as "may chooſe to benefit by it." Signed by ſeventy-three perſons.
29th of July, 1798.

† In a pamphlet, ſtyled A Letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Caſtlereagh, dated from priſon, January the 4th, 1799, that miniſter is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a miſrepreſentation to parliament of the tranſactions between him and the priſoners of ſtate. Other charges are made, one of which is, that the information given by theſe priſoners to government, was garbled to ſerve the purpoſes of the miniſtry, and particularly, that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himſelf, only one had been publiſhed in the reports of the ſecret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his lordſhip is peremptorily challenged to diſprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, we have only the honor and integrity of his lordſhip and others for a diſproof of theſe accuſations, which may be a vindication to perſons acquainted with his lordſhip's character. The pamphlet was ſaid to have been ſuppreſſed by government, at leaſt was not otherwiſe than clandeſtinely ſold and circulated. The author expreſsly clears the lord lieutenant of all blame in theſe tranſactions. The honor of the Marquis Cornwallis remains unimpeached even by the boldeſt of all the chiefs of the conſpiracy.

Whether the negociation between government and the principal conſpirators had any connexion with, or influence on the bill of amneſty, miniſters alone can anſwer, and the ſecrets of adminiſtration are not lightly to be divulged. The affirmative ſeems to be inſinuated in the above mentioned pamphlet, and an opinion of that nature to have been, at the time of the bargain, propagated among people connected with the inſurgents, who ſpoke of ſome agreement as of a treaty of peace. This letter of Mr. O'Connor's is very ſtrong: and it is to be hoped, that the real reaſons

Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, and Samuel Neilſon, gave details on oath in their examinations before the ſecret committees of the two houſes of parliament, in whoſe reports publiſhed by authority of government is contained a maſs of information concerning the conſpiracy. Yet certain it is, that whatever were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever ſubſequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal priſoners (15 in number) were not liberated, and a power was reſerved or aſſumed by miniſters to detain them in cuſtody at leaſt during the continuance of the war with France. Oliver Bond died in the mean time in priſon of an apoplexy.

During the whole of this rebellion the internal peace of the metropolis was preſerved by the vigilance of the large military force conſtantly kept up within it, which chiefly conſiſted of yeomanry. The grand and royal canals, which were fifty feet broad and twelve feet deep, were a ſecurity againſt a ſurprize; and the ſeveral bridges were ſtrongly palliſadoed and guarded both by night and by day. The trials and executions of ſome of the principal leaders in the rebellion tended to keep others in awe, and prevented any further attempts of individuals in that deſperate cauſe. Among others, a rebel officer, a Proteſtant, named Bacon, a reputable taylor, having been apprehended diſguiſed in female apparel, was executed on the 2d of June, near Carliſle bridge. On the 14th was executed, on the ſame ſcaffolding, Lieutenant Eſmond, whoſe caſe has been already related. On the 12th of July, Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial, condemned, and ſoon after put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been ſecretary to the provincial committee of Leinſter, followed on the 17th; that of Michael William Byrne,* delegate from the county committee of Wicklow, and that of Oliver

for not having anſwered it were prudential, viz. not to give conſequence and notoriety to the contents of it. In it he aſſerts, that Lord Caſtlereagh in their firſt conference aſſured him, that Lord Cornwallis's honor was pledged to them for the religious performance of the agreement; and that Lord Clare made uſe of theſe remarkable expreſſions: (p. 9) "It comes to this, either you muſt "truſt the government, or the government muſt truſt you: a government that could violate en- "gagements thus ſolemnly made, neither could ſtand nor deſerved to ſtand." He alleges five ſubſtantial and moſt ſevere deviations on the part of government from the terms of the original agreement, juſtified upon the allegation of a change of circumſtances after it had been firſt acceded to.

* Of the execution of Byrne, Mr. O'Connor thus ſpeaks in his letter to Lord Caſtlereagh. "On "the 24th of July laſt, Mr. Dobbs and the ſheriff entered my priſon with a written paper, ſigned "by

Oliver Bond, on the 23d. The two former were executed, but the third was reprieved, as has been mentioned.

Aſſaſſinations would probably have ceaſed ſoon after the granting of protections, had not ſome of the more deſperate rebels, reinforced by deſerters from ſome regiments of Iriſh militia, remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughram, near Enniſcorthy. Theſe deſperate banditti ſo terrified the whole vicinity of their lurking places, that thoſe peaceable loyaliſts, who had remained in the country even in the heat of the rebellion, now found themſelves neceſſitated to take refuge in towns. But, after a little time, the woods of Killaughram, ſcoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrouſly ſtyled themſelves babes of the woods, and tranquillity was reſtored to that part of the country.

The party in the Wicklow mountains, whoſe range was much more extenſive, and haunts much more difficult of acceſs, continued under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree; iſſuing ſuddenly from their faſtneſſes to perpetrate burnings and maſſacres, and retiring before troops could arrive to intercept them.

As theſe maſſacres were always intended to fall upon Orangemen, and they were all Proteſtants, it was repreſented, that they ſprang entirely from

" by ſeventy ſtate priſoners, purpoſing ' to give ſuch information as was in their power of arms, ' ammunition, and ſchemes of warfare, (of which it is now manifeſt they knew little or nothing) ' and to conſent to leave Ireland, provided the lives of Bond and Byrne (both under ſentence of ' death) ſhould be ſpared.' I refuſed to ſign it, not only from a deteſtation of entering into any " conditions with thoſe, who compoſed the councils of Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration, but be- " cauſe in the maſſacre of my unarmed countrymen ſtill raging, I did not think that any object, " which was not general, could warrant me, in whom ſuch confidence was placed by ſo many " millions of my countrymen, to enter into any ſuch compact, and becauſe the poſſibility of its " being attributed to a deſire to ſave my own life, in the peculiar ſituation I ſtood in, was in my " mind an inſuperable objection, if there had been no other. Beſides, it ſeemed to me, that to " ſave the lives of Bond and Byrne, enough had ſigned their ſelf-ſacrifice to induce the miniſters, " already ſated with blood, (as you and Lord Clare appeared to be when we met) to acquieſce; " but in this I was deceived, a council ſat on the fate of Byrne; he was executed. In this barter " of blood, although you had leſſened your quantum by half, yet you raiſed your demands for " the price of the other, and propoſed to thoſe who had ſigned the paper, that they ſhould deliver " up names."

a ſpirit

a ſpirit of religious hatred, and as the real perpetrators could not be brought to juſtice, avowed retaliation was reſorted to. Where any Proteſtants were murdered by theſe banditti or their confederates, a greater number of Catholics were put to death in the ſame neighbourhood by the yeomen. Thus at Caſtletown, four miles from Gorey, where four Proteſtants were maſſacred in the night by Hacket, ſeven Catholics were ſlain in revenge; at Aughrim twenty-ſeven of that communion were killed in conſequence of murders committed on Proteſtants. Harraſſed inceſſantly by the purſuits of yeomen and ſoldiery, the numbers of the banditti gradually diminiſhed: Hacket was killed near Arklow; Holt ſurrendered for tranſportation to the Earl of Powerſcourt; and theſe bands of robbers at length totally diſappeared.

Notwithſtanding the diſaſtrous ſtate of the country, the parliament ceaſed not to ſit from time to time as the exigencies of circumſtances required. On the 17th of July, Lord Caſtlereagh preſented to the Houſe of Commons the following meſſage from his excellency.

" CORNWALLIS.

" I HAVE the king's commands to acquaint the Houſe " of Commons, that his majeſty, notwithſtanding his juſt abhorrence of the " unnatural and unprovoked rebellion, which has broken out in this king- " dom, yet being ever diſpoſed to exert as far as poſſible his royal prerogative " of mercy, and to receive again under his royal protection, thoſe who " by the arts of wicked and deſigning men have been ſeduced from their " allegiance, has ſignified his gracious intention of granting his general and " free pardon for all offences committed on or before a certain day, upon " ſuch conditions, and with ſuch exceptions, as may be compatible with the " public ſafety; for carrying which benevolent purpoſe into execution, his " majeſty has ſignified his gracious intention of ſanctioning, in the uſual " form, by his royal ſignature, a bill for that purpoſe, previous to its being " ſubmitted for the concurrence of parliament.

" His majeſty has alſo directed me to lay before you ſeveral important " papers, which may aſſiſt you in unfolding the nature and extent of the " conſpiracy, which has long prevailed in this kingdom; not doubting, that " whilſt your endeavours are directed to give effect to the gracious in- " tentions of his majeſty, you will feel it your indiſpenſable duty to con- " ſider of and adopt ſuch meaſures of ſalutary precaution, as may tend to " ſecure the ſtate hereafter, againſt the machinations of the diſaffected.

" In

" In your deliberations, the ſufferings of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects will " naturally receive your attention, and recommend to you the framing of " effectual meaſures for aſcertaining their loſſes, and bringing their claims " under the conſideration of parliament.

" The numerous and continued advantages of his majeſty's forces over the " rebels, afford me juſt ground to believe, that as their hopes of ſucceſs muſt " have failed, ſo the obſtinacy of their reſiſtance will ſpeedily ceaſe. The " generals under my command have received, and ſhall continue to receive, " the moſt poſitive orders to proceed againſt them with unceaſing activity " and vigor; and I ſhall not ſuffer their exertions to relax, ſo long as any " body of them whatever ſhall remain in arms againſt his majeſty's peace."

This meſſage was ordered to be entered on the Journals, and to be referred to a ſecret committee, which was to conſiſt of thirteen members, incluſive of the ſpeaker and the law officers of the crown in that houſe, to be choſen on the morrow by ballot in the uſual form; and that the papers mentioned in the meſſage, and which his lordſhip preſented to the houſe ſealed up in a box, be referred to the committee.

On the next day (18th of July) after the ballot for the committee, Lord Caſtlereagh, according to the order of the day for taking into conſideration his excellency's meſſage, moved, that an addreſs be preſented to the lord lieutenant, requeſting his excellency would lay before his majeſty the ſincere acknowledgments of his faithful commons for the gracious communication made to that houſe; the motion was ſeconded by the chancellor of the exchequer, and paſſed unanimouſly without debate, though Lord Caſtlereagh uſhered it in with a very long ſpeech upon the general topic of the rebellion; extolling the liberality of his majeſty in granting an amneſty and recommending a proviſion for the indemnification of the ſuffering loyaliſts. The attorney general on the 27th of the month brought forward a bill for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, deceaſed: for which purpoſe ſeveral witneſſes were examined at the bar. Similar proceedings were alſo had in the Houſe of Lords. This meaſure was conſidered by ſome perſons rather as an act of imprudent ſeverity, or ſort of ſupplementary vengeance upon the unoffending widow and orphan, rather as the baſe poſthumous iſſue of the late, than the genuine offſpring of the preſent adminiſtration. To compenſate, however, for this ſolitary inſtance of ſeverity, a bill of general amneſty was paſſed in the courſe

of

of the ſeſſion, with the exception only of Mr. Napper Tandy, and about thirty others, chiefly fugitives in France. A bill was alſo paſſed for granting compenſation to ſuch of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects as had ſuſtained loſſes in their property, in conſequence of the late rebellion, and commiſſioners were named for carrying the ſame into effect.

The ſyſtem of moderation and mercy purſued by Lord Cornwallis appeared peculiarly ſeaſonable at this criſis, and was apparently attended with the happieſt effects. The ſyſtem of military law and military execution was relaxed throughout moſt parts of the kingdom where the flames of rebellion appeared to be extinguiſhed. In one inſtance, indeed, his *lordſhip* gave ſome offence to the more violent partizans of the ancient regime.

In the county of Wexford the introduction of the ſyſtem of conciliation and mildneſs met with more reſiſtance than in any part of the kingdom, and in none was it ſo ſupereminently requiſite. *General Hunter was indefatigable in his exertions to appeaſe the minds of the people, and to reſtore confidence and tranquillity to that diſtracted country. In this he was very materially aſſiſted by the addreſs and exertions of Captain Fitzgerald, who by the ſpecial appointment of the Britiſh government, was attached as a proper perſon to attend the general as brigade major on the ſervice in Ireland; and to this ſtation, beſides his acknowledged military talents, a recent diſplay of courage, independent of his knowledge of the country, certainly recommended him. He was even inveſted with the extraordinary privilege of recommending ſuch as he thought deſerving of the protection and mercy of government.

Some principal gentlemen of the county, and others beſides, attempted to interpoſe their authority to ſuperſede the tenour of the general pardon held out by proclamation, purſuing the ſame line of arbitrary conduct, which they had practiſed previous to the inſurrection. They even proceeded to the length of preſuming to tear ſome of the protections, which the country people had obtained; but this coming to the general's knowledge, he ſoon quieted them by threatening to have them tied to a cart's tail and whipped. Others had been raſh enough to levy arbitrary contributions for the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the inſurrection, but were glad upon diſcovery, and refunding what they had received, to eſcape puniſhment. A curate was

* Hav.

induced

induced to wait on the general with an account of the intended maſſacre of the Proteſtants, which he detailed with the appearance of the utmoſt alarm, and was patiently heard out by the general; who then addreſſed him with this marked appellation and ſtrong language:—"*Mr. Maſſacre*, if you do "not prove to me the circumſtances you have related, I ſhall get you puniſhed "in the moſt exemplary manner, for raiſing falſe alarms, which have al- "ready proved ſo deſtructive to this unfortunate country." The curate's alarm inſtantly changed its direction and became perſonal; and on allowing that his fears had been excited by vague report to make this repreſentation, his piteous ſupplication, and apparent contrition, procured him forgiveneſs.

The various outrages that were committed in the country, prevented numbers from coming into the quarters of the ſeveral commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the yeomen and their ſupplementaries continued the ſyſtem of conflagration and ſhooting ſuch of the peaſantry as they met; and this neceſſarily deterred many from expoſing themſelves to their view, and prevented of courſe, the humane and benevolent intentions of the preſent government from having their due effect. The melancholy conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem of terror, perſecution, and alarm, had very nearly brought on the extermination of an extenſive and populous tract of the county of Wexford, called the Macomores; the horrid perpetration of the plan was providentially prevented by the timely and happy intervention of Brigade Major Fitzgerald, under the direction and orders of General Hunter. Inceſſant applications and remonſtrances had been made, by different magiſtrates in Gorey and its vicinity, to government, complaining that this range of country was infeſted with conſtant meetings of rebels, who committed every ſpecies of outrage, and theſe reports were confirmed by affidavits; they were credited by government, to whom they were handed in, under the ſpecious, impoſing, and ſolemn appearances of facts, by a magiſtracy preſumed to be deliberate, grave, and reſpectable; the viceroy was rendered juſtly indignant at theſe reiterated complaints of the abuſe of his clemency; and orders were ſent to the different generals and other commanding officers, contiguous to the devoted tract, to form a line along its extent on the weſtern border, and at both ends, north and ſouth, on the land ſide, ſo as to leave no reſource to the wretched inhabitants, who were to be ſlaughtered by the ſoldiery, or to be driven into the ſea, as it is bounded by the Channel on the eaſtward. Even women and children were to be included in this horrid plan of terrific ex-

ample. The execution of this ſevere and exemplary meaſure was entruſted to the diſcretion of General Hunter, who, through the honeſt exertions and bold ſcrutiny of Major Fitzgerald, fortunately diſcovered, in time, the inhuman tendency of the miſrepreſentation, that had produced thoſe terrific orders. The devoted victims found an opportunity to implore protection from the incurſions of the black mob (they thus denominated the ſupplementaries to the different corps of yeomanry), who wreaked their vengeance even upon thoſe who had received protection from General Needham at Gorey; as different parties of the ſoldiery and yeomanry waited their return in ambuſh, and ſlaughtered every one they could overtake.

This prevented many from coming in for protections. Afterwards theſe ſanguinary banditti made incurſions into the country, fired into the houſes, thus killing and wounding many unoffending peaſants. Several houſes after being plundered, were burned, and the booty was brought into Gorey. By the frequency of theſe horrible exceſſes and depredations, ſuch houſes as remained unburned were of courſe crowded with ſeveral families; and this multiplied the number of victims at each ſucceeding incurſion. At laſt moſt of the inhabitants from neceſſity took refuge on the hills, and armed themſelves with every offenſive weapon they could procure. This harraſſed peaſantry received protection from the General againſt the military depredators and murderers, and no ſubjects could be more loyal and ſubordinate.

The falſe alarmiſts were not depreſſed or intimidated at theſe diſcomfitures; for although General Hunter reported the country to be in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, they again returned to the charge and renewed their miſrepreſentations. Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeen cavalry, and a juſtice of the peace for the county, ſent ſeveral informations to government of the alarming ſtate of the country; and the commanding officer at Gorey was far ſo perſuaded of the intention of a general riſing, that he quitted the town and encamped on the hill above it. Theſe repreſentations, made under the ſemblance of loyalty, and by a perſon bearing the appearance and authority of a gentleman, had not, however, the wiſhed-for weight with the government. General Hunter was ordered to enquire into the information of Mr. Hawtrey White, and Major Fitzgerald was again ſent out, and the reſult of his diſcriminating enquiry was, that the information was unfounded. Upon this the General ordered Mr. Hawtrey White to be brought to Wexford, and he was accordingly conducted thither and put under arreſt; and on his ſtill

perſiſting

perſiſting in his falſe repreſentations, he was conducted to the iſland, where he aſſerted the rebels were encamped, and, lo! no iſland appeared above the water. Mr. Hawtrey White was conducted back to Wexford, and General Hunter determined to bring him to a court-martial. Many gentlemen and ladies, however, interfered in the moſt earneſt manner, to prevent this inveſtigation, repreſenting that Mr. White's great age might have ſubjected him to the impoſition of fabricated information; and the firmneſs of the general relaxed at the inſtance of ſo many reſpectable perſons!! It is to be regretted that Ireland ſhould have ſuffered ſo much by the tales of adventurers in theſe infernal practices.

A court-martial, of which Lord Ancram was preſident, was inſtituted at Wexford for the trial of perſons accuſed of treaſon; and, contrary to the expectation and wiſhes of the committee for procuring evidence, many were acquitted. Lord Ancram, however ſoon left the town, to the regret of the people; but his lieutenant-colonel, Sir James Fowlis, ſucceeded him as preſident of the court-martial, in which ſituation he acquitted himſelf with honor and integrity, which inſpired ſo much confidence throughout the country, as to induce many who were conſcious of their integrity, to ſubmit to trial, which they would not otherwiſe have dared to do, from a well-founded opinion of the rancour of their accuſers, who in too many inſtances elſewhere prevailed by the groſſeſt perjuries againſt truth and juſtice. One notorious inſtance, will, it is hoped, ſuperſede the painful neceſſity of ſupporting the aſſertion by a longer enumeration.*

Mr.

* Hay's Hiſt. 281.—In quoting the authority of Mr. Hay, it has been to me, as I preſume it has been to others, a great ſatisfaction to read the following teſtimony of his Hiſtory from Major Fitzgerald, who had ſuch ample means of knowing the truth, and exerted them with ſo much honor and credit to himſelf, to his employers, and to his country:

"SIR, *Dublin, 14 December, 1802.*

"I RETURN, with my thanks for your polite attention, the manuſcripts you "were ſo kind as to leave for my peruſal. Am exceedingly glad to find, through the whole of "your compilation, ſo ſtrict an obſervance of facts, which chiefly came under my cognizance as "brigade-major. It is with pleaſure I obſerve alſo, your adherence to truth and impartiality, free "from the rancorous ſpirit of party-fabrication, which is the true criterion that exalts the hiſtorian "above the claſs of party ſcribblers, who diſſipate as rapidly as unerring truth unveils itſelf, "ſtrongly exemplified in the paſt and preſent times. I give you much credit in not retorting as "you might for your unremitted ſufferings, by expoſing the crimes of ſome reſpectable perſons;

 "for,

Mr. Walter Devereux, having obtained protections from ſeveral officers, had gone to Cork to embark for Portugal: he was there taken up, tried, condemned and executed. Mr. Gibſon, a yeoman and wealthy Proteſtant ſhopkeeper, and Mr. William Kearney, an extenſive brewer, were ſummoned and attended at his trial, and proved that he was in Wexford, and even in gaol, at the very time ſome ſoldiers of the Wexford militia were ſhot thirty miles from that town; and the principal charge againſt him was, that he gave orders and was preſent at their execution, which ſome men of that regiment were hardened enough to ſwear!!! Mr. Hay the hiſtorian ſaw him in Wexford on the alleged day. He was alſo accuſed of aiding and abetting the abomination at Scullabogue, and this charge was ſimilarly ſupported by the teſtimony of ſome ſoldiers wives! and yet it is a notable fact, that he was all that day engaged at the battle of Roſs, where he diſplayed the moſt heroical bravery and courage, qualities inconſiſtent with the odious crime it was falſely ſworn he had perpetrated!!! But what puts the falſehood of the facts alleged againſt him beyond all queſtion is, that after his execution another Mr. Devereux was taken up on the diſcriminating ſagacity of the ſame witneſſes, who proſecuted the former to death; but who now (as they ſaid) had diſcovered the right Devereux. The trial of the latter has been publiſhed, and is recommended to the peruſal of ſuch as wiſh for further proof of the miſerable and lamentable condition of exiſting in the county of Wexford during that unfortunate inſurrection.

It was happy for Great Britain and Ireland at this alarming criſis, that the French government was in the hands of feeble politicians, who, though well acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, had unaccountably neglected to embrace the opportunity, and purſue the plan which had been laid out for them by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the malecontents in Ireland; this was, to riſk ſome frigates and light veſſels with a proper ſupply of officers, arms and ammunition, with ſome few troops to keep the inſurgents in ſpirits; Ireland might then have been loſt for ever, and ultimately Great Britain itſelf,

" for, indeed, if they are not very forgetful and very inſenſible, the compunctions of their con-
" ſciences muſt be ſufficiently tormenting. There is little doubt of your labours meeting their due
" reward from an unprejudiced public, which is the wiſh of

" Your obedient humble ſervant,

" *To Edward Hay, Eſq.* " B. E. FITZGERALD."

ſince,

ſince, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, both iſlands muſt ſtand or fall together. They are naturally united, and the intereſts of neither will bear a ſeparation. And hence the expediency or rather neceſſity of an incorporate union. With that lazy afterthought that marks the folly of a bad ſtateſman, the French in the latter end of Auguſt, detached a ſmall force to the North of Ireland, under the command of General Humbert who on the 22d of Auguſt landed at Killala.

The French entered the bay under Engliſh colours, and the feint ſucceeded ſo well * that two ſons of the Biſhop of Killala, threw themſelves into a fiſhing boat, with the port ſurveyor, Mr. James Rutledge, and were preſently ſurprized to find themſelves priſoners. Some alarm had been given in the morning of the 22d to the people of Killala by the unuſual appearance of ſhips of that ſize in their bay; in ſo much, that the only magiſtrate of the town, Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, had kept his corps under arms the whole day at the ſea houſe, called the caſtle, as did alſo Lieutenant Sells of the Prince of Wales's fencibles, with twenty militia men. Yeomen and fencibles together formed a corps of fifty men all Proteſtants.

The indentings of the bay of Killala, and the chain of hills between that town and the ſpot where the enemy landed, will in part account for the ſecrecy with which the debarkation was conducted. It is not without reaſon, however, ſuſpected, that the peaſantry had no intention to prevent the ſurpriſe that took place. Even among the biſhop's ſervants, for ſome days before this event, a whiſper had gone about, that the French were coming to Killala, and that ſomething very terrible would ſhortly happen: a proteſtant ſervant maid, lately married to a Catholic inhabitant of the place, had circulated the report in the caſtle. Between ſeven and eight on that evening a terrified meſſenger ſuddenly announced to the biſhop, that the French were landed, and that near three hundred of them were within a mile of the town. The cavalry officers rode off directly, in full ſpeed, with the intelligence to Ballina. The yeomanry and fencibles drew up before the Caſtle gate and reſolutely advanced into the main ſtreet to meet the French advance guard.

Borne down by numbers and ſeeing two of their corps fall they were ſeized with a panic, and fled. Kirkwood and nineteen yeomen were taken and ordered into cloſe cuſtody at the caſtle. All oppoſition being now at an end, the

* See the Biſhop of Killala's intereſting and authentic narrative of this tranſaction throughout.

French

French General marched into the caſtle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to ſee the biſhop, who fortunately was converſant with the French language. Humbert deſired him to be under no apprehenſion for himſelf or his people; they ſhould be treated with reſpectful attention, and nothing ſhould be taken by the French troops, but what was abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport; a promiſe which, as long as thoſe troops continued in Killala, was moſt religiouſly obſerved.

Mr. Kirkwood was examined, as to the ſupplies that could be drawn from the town and neighbourhood to aſſiſt the progreſs of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by ſome Iriſh officers, who came with the French, to which he anſwered with ſuch an appearance of frankneſs and candour, that he gained the eſteem of the French general, who told him he was on his parole, and ſhould have full permiſſion to return to his family and attend to his private affairs. The conjugal affection of this gentleman on the next day made him forget his parole and go to attend his ſick wife, who from the dread of the enemy had ſecreted herſelf in the mountains. Enraged at this breach of parole, the French took every thing they wanted out of his ſtores, oats and ſalt and iron to a conſiderable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling houſe, as they would have done if he had not fled; ſo that when he returned he found it a wreck.

The biſhop's caſtle was made the head quarters of the French general. But ſuch excellent diſcipline was conſtantly maintained by theſe invaders while they remained in Killala, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach preſented to them from a ſideboard of plate and glaſſes, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the gueſts as of the family, not one ſingle article of private property was carried away.

On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by puſhing forward to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the beſt horſes he could ſeize. A green flag was mounted over the caſtle gate, with the inſcription *Erin go Bragh*, importing to invite the country people to join the French. Their cauſe was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ſhips expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was bought was paid for in drafts on the future directory.

Though

Though caſh were wanting, the promiſe of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good to a conſiderable extent. The firſt that offered their ſervice received complete clothing to the amount of about a thouſand. The next comers, at leaſt as many, received arms and clothing but no ſhoes or ſtockings. To the laſt, arms only were given. And of arms, Colonel Charoſt aſſured the biſhop, 5500 ſtand were delivered.

Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the poſſeſſion of 200 men and 6 officers, and on the 25th, about ſeven o'clock in the evening took poſſeſſion of Ballina, from whence the garriſon fled on his approach. Here he left behind him an officer named Truc, with a very ſmall part of the French and ſeveral of the Iriſh recruits. Humbert was ſenſible of the advantage of puſhing forward with vigor, and that a rapid progreſs into the interior could alone bring the natives to his ſtandard. At Ballina many hundred peaſants repaired to the French ſtandard, and with eagerneſs received arms and uniforms. The French commander determined to attack the forces at Caſtlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men, and leſs than fifteen hundred Iriſh. He advanced through mountains, by ways generally deemed impaſſable to an army, with two ſmall curricle guns, the repairing of the carriage of one of which, broken by the ruggedneſs of the roads, cauſed fortunately for our army, ſome hours delay in their march. The French were at ſeven o'clock within two miles of the town before which our army had taken their poſition on a riſing ground to receive them.

Our artillery at firſt made ſuch execution among the French, that they inſtantly fell back ſome paces. They then filed off in ſmall parties to the right and left, and aſſailed our troops in flank, who had ſcarcely fired a ſecond round, when the royal army ſeized with a panic, broke on all ſides, and fled in extreme confuſion through the town on the road to Tuam. Some have aſſerted, that General Lake gave an order for retreating. The force that general commanded at Caſtlebar fell very little ſhort of 6000 men.*

So

* This moſt diſgraceful conduct of our troops in the face of ſo ſmall a force of the enemy has been differently ſpoken of by the ſeveral perſons who have written on the ſubject. Sir Richard Muſgrave has ſelected half a dozen officers to whom excluſively (perhaps invidiouſly) he attributes the credit of attempting to rally their men. (p. 594.) "In juſtice to the Earls of Ormond and "Longford, I think it proper to obſerve, that they did their utmoſt to rally their regiments. The "Earl

So ſtrong was the panic of our troops on this fatal occaſion, that they never halted, till they reached the town of Tuam, nearly forty Engliſh miles from the ſcene of action. On the night of the ſame day they renewed their march, after a ſhort refreſhment, and retired ſtill farther towards Athlone, where an officer of carabineers, with ſixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tueſday the 29th, having performed a march of above ſeventy Engliſh miles (the diſtance of Athlone from Caſtlebar) in twenty-ſeven hours. The artillery, loſt by our army in this defeat, conſiſted of fourteen pieces, of which four were curricle guns. Beſide that of the carabineers, of which no return has

" Earl of Granard, Major Tompſon, Captains Chambers and Armſtrong rallied ſome ſoldiers of the " Longford, and ſome ſtragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops by main- " taining, as they retired, a well-directed fire, from behind hedges and walls, on the enemy as they " advanced."

The Biſhop of Killala thus avoids direct cenſure. (Narrative p. 45.) " The writer of this nar- " rative profeſſes only to deſcribe what he ſaw and felt. It is not his buſineſs therefore, if he were " competent to the taſk, to trace the events of an invaſion, the firſt ſucceſſes of which cauſed ſo " much aſtoniſhment, or to ſhew by what means a handful of men continued ſo long to brave the " force of a whole kingdom; men, who, from the time they miſſed their reinforcements from " home, confeſſed their belief that they were no more than a forlorn hope ſent to annoy the ene- " mies of their country, and, that duty done, expected every hour to be forced to ſurrender them- " ſelves priſoners of war."

The Rev. Mr. Gordon ſays, (p. 285,) " I am informed by good authority, that the French officers, " at the firſt view of the number, and excellent arrangements of our troops, expected no other for- " tune than to be obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, till obſerving the irregular fire " of our muſketeers, many of whom fired without orders, they conceived ſome hope, and advanced " under cover of the ſmoke; but that they muſt have probably laid down their arms, if General " Lake had not commanded a retreat, which was the real cauſe of the rout; and, that if General " Hutchinſon had been chief commander on this occaſion, the career of the invaders would have " ended at Caſtlebar."

There is no queſtion, but that a very ſerious difference happened previous to the diſgraceful action at Caſtlebar between General (now Lord) Hutchinſon and General Lake: and that the army in general was ſtrongly affected by the former's having been ſuperſeded in his command by the latter; General Hutchinſon was acquainted with every inch of the country, and had prepared an able and efficient plan for ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy; he commanded alike the confidence of the army and the affections of the natives. As cruelty and cowardice are ever inſeparable, it was unlikely that troops, which had debaſed themſelves by maſſacreing the fugitive, ſurrendered or un- offending, by burning their houſes and deſtroying their property, by torturing, ſtrangling, and flog- ging the ſuſpected to extort confeſſions, ſhould when left to themſelves or under the command of the promoter of that ſavage warfare, bravely face an enemy, upon whom they dared not exerciſe their wonted atrocities.

been

been publiſhed; our loſs of men has never been ſtated accurately, nor the loſs of the French ever known to us.

The Marquis Cornwallis, from the firſt intelligence of the invaſion, had, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the invading army, been ſo ſenſible of the danger of rekindling the ſmothered flame of rebellion as to have determined to march in perſon againſt the enemy. His Excellency ſaw that the utmoſt caution was expedient, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces. The motions of the main army, immediately under his own command, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any ſmaller bodies of troops which might be defeated; while theſe bodies were ordered to harraſs the enemy as much as poſſible without running riſks, or engaging in battle without certainty of ſucceſs. The marquis proceeded on the 30th of Auguſt in the road to Caſtlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, fourteen miles diſtant from Caſtlebar; in the evening of that day he received intelligence, that the enemy had abandoned their poſt and marched to Foxford.

After their victory at Caſtlebar, the French received great acceſſions of Iriſh peaſantry to their ſtandard, who encreaſed indeed the numbers of the enemy, but proved to be of no effectual aid to them; the French had been taught to expect far more powerful aſſiſtance from the Iriſh.

The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Coloony, was oppoſed on the 5th by Colonel Verreker of the City of Limerick Militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpoſe, with about two hundred infantry, thirty of the 24th regiment of light dragoons, and two curricle guns. The colonel found the enemy arranged for his reception between him and the town of Coloony. After a ſmart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat, with the loſs of his artillery, to Sligo, whence he withdrew his little army to Ballyſhannon. Colonel Verreker proved himſelf a man of ability, ſpirit, and courage, in this affair; he was actually engaged with the whole French force, though he conceived himſelf to be engaged with the vanguard only.

This oppoſition, though attended with defeat to the oppoſers, is ſuppoſed to have cauſed the French general to relinquiſh his deſign on Sligo. He directed his march by Drummahair toward Manorhamilton in the County of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the ſake of expedition, three ſix pounders diſmounted, and throwing five pieces more of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair, into the river. In approaching Manorhamilton he ſuddenly wheeled to the

right, taking his way by Drumkerim, perhaps with deſign of attempting, if poſſible, to reach Granard in the County of Longford, where an alarming inſurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops hung ſo cloſe on the rear guard of the French, as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumſhambo and Ballynamore, in which action they were repulſed with ſome loſs, and admoniſhed to obſerve more caution in the purſuit. The French on their ſide are ſaid to have miſtaken the Colonel's army for the van guard of the Britiſh army, and to have been thereby prevented from attempting to ſurround it.*

The French army paſſing the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting ſome hours in the night at Claone, arrived at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September, ſo cloſely followed by the troops of Colonel Crawford and General Lake, that its rear guard was unable to break the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the purſuit; while Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, croſſed the ſame river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnſtown, in the county of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in front, in his way to Granard; or ſhould he proceed, to ſurround him with an army of thirty thouſand men. In this deſperate ſituation, Humbert arranged his forces, with no other object, as it muſt be preſumed, than to maintain the honor of the French arms. The rear-guard having been attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred of the French infantry ſurrendered. The reſt continued to defend themſelves for above half an hour, when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they alſo ſurrendered, after they had made Lord Roden, with a body of dragoons, a priſoner. His lordſhip had precipitately advanced into the French lines to obtain their ſurrender. The rebel auxiliaries, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were purſued with the ſlaughter of about five hundred men, which ſeems much leſs to exceed the truth, than the returns of ſlain in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the iſland. Notwithſtanding the diminution by deſertions on the march, about one thouſand five hundred rebels were with the French army at Ballinamuck, at the time of the ſurrender of Humbert. The loſs of our troops was officially ſtated at three privates killed, twelve wounded, three miſſing, and one officer wounded. The troops of General Humbert were found, when priſoners, to conſiſt of

* Humbert is reported to have ſaid, that Colonel Verreker was the only Britiſh officer he had faced that was fit to command fifty men.

ſeven

ſeven hundred and forty-ſix privates, and ninety-ſix officers, having ſuſtained a loſs of about two hundred men ſince their landing at Kilalla on the 22d of Auguſt.

It muſt ever remain an humiliating reflection upon the luſtre and power of the Britiſh arms, that ſo pitiful a detachment as that of eleven hundred French infantry, ſhould, in a kingdom, in which there was an armed force of above 150,000 men, have not only put to rout a ſelect army of ſix thouſand men, prepared to receive the invaders, but alſo provided themſelves with ordnance and ammunition from our ſtores, taken ſeveral of our towns, marched* 122 Iriſh (above 150 Engliſh) miles through the country, and kept arms in their victorious hands for ſeventeen days in the heart of an armed kingdom. But it was this Britiſh army, which the untemporiſing and gallant Abercrombie had, on the 26th of February, *found in ſuch a ſtate of licentiouſneſs, that muſt render it formidable to every one but the enemy.*

The prudence of Lord Cornwallis in the plan of his movements, in a line between the French and the interior country, is evinced, from the failure of an inſurrection in the neighbourhood of Granard, which had taken place while the French were marching from Caſtlebar, and had been deſigned as a power-

* *The following was the Route of the French.*

	m.	*f.*
From Killala to Ballina	7	0
Back from Killala	7	0
To Caſtlebar	21	3
Round the weſt end of Lough Bar, and over the Barnagee mountains to Foxford	11	0
Croſs the river May to Swineford	9	4
To Ballaghy	5	5
To Tubbercorry	5	6
To Colooney	11	4
To Ballintogher	4	4
To Drumahaire	3	2
To Manor Hamilton	4	6
Back to Drumkerin	8	1
To Ballintra	7	1
Croſs to Drumſnave	9	1
To Ballinamuck	6	1
	122	1

ful diverſion in their favor, and even to afford them a commanding poſt, whence they might more conveniently direct their operations againſt the metropolis. The plan was, firſt to ſeize the town of Granard, and then to attack the town of Cavan, where conſiderable ſtores of arms and ammunition were depoſited. Granard was nearly ſurprized by a body of ſome thouſand rebels, chiefly from Weſtmeath and Longford, on the 5th of September; but it was moſt ably defended by Captain Cottingham, of the Cavan and Ballyhaiſe yeoman infantry, whoſe whole force conſiſted of a hundred and fifty-ſeven infantry, and forty-nine cavalry. Between two and three in the afternoon the rebels fled, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Notwithſtanding the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the rebels in the neighbourhood of Granard, and the ſurrender of the French army two days after at Ballynamuck, yet, in the county of Mayo, where they had firſt riſen to aſſiſt the invaders, they ſtill perſevered in a ſtate of inſurrection. Humbert's ſurrender was not known in theſe parts for ſome days after. Caſtlebar, which on its evacuation by the French, had been occupied by the king's troops, was attacked in the morning of the 12th of September, by a body of rebels, reported to be two thouſand in number. The garriſon, conſiſting of fifty-ſeven of Fraſer's fencibles, thirty-four volunteers, and one troop of yeoman cavalry, was ſo judiciouſly poſted by Captain Urquhart, of the Fraſer's, as to completely rout the aſſailants, whoſe object probably was to plunder the town. All the places which had fallen into the hands of the rebels were now recovered, except Ballina and Killala, which remained ſome time longer in their poſſeſſion. On his march from Caſtlebar on the 4th of September, Humbert had left no part of his army at Killala or Ballina, except three officers at the former, and one at the latter, to command the rebels who formed the garriſons of thoſe towns. No force was detached from the army to re-occupy Ballina, till the 22d of September, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, upon their approach, the rebel garriſon, with its French commander, Trüc, fled towards Killala.

On the 22d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala, under the command of Major General Trench, who would have been ſtill ſome days later in his arrival, had he not been haſtened by a meſſage from the biſhop, to announce the fearful apprehenſions his lordſhip's family, and the other loyaliſts were under, from the ferocity of the rebels.

On the 23d of September, the arrival of General Trench, with a part of the army

army at Killala, and ſome other tranſactions of the French whilſt that part of the country was in the inglorious ſubjection to their rule, are thus faithfully narrated by the right reverend eye witneſs of them.*

"A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children, tumbling over one another to get into the caſtle, or into any houſe in the town where they might hope for a momentary ſhelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army.

The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the riſing ground cloſe by the town, on the road to Ballina, and poſted themſelves under the low ſtone walls on each ſide, in ſuch a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the king's troops. They had a ſtrong guard alſo on the other ſide of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench had divided his forces at Croſmalina, and ſent one part of them by a *détour* of three miles to intercept the fugitives, that might take that courſe in their flight. This laſt detachment conſiſted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Croſbie and Maurice Fitzgerald the knight of Kerry, their colonel, the Earl of Glandore attending the general. It is a circumſtance, which ought never to be forgotten by the loyaliſts of Killala, that the Kerry militia were ſo wrought upon by the exhortations of thoſe two ſpirited officers, to loſe no time in coming to the relief of their periſhing friends, that they appeared on the ſouth ſide of the town at the ſame inſtant with their fellows on the oppoſite ſide, though they had a league more of road to perform.

The two diviſions of the royal army were ſuppoſed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be aſcertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very conſiderable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, paſſing under the caſtle windows in view of the French officers on horſeback, and running upon death, with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were haſtening to a ſhew. About four hundred of theſe miſguided men fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number ſcarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

The whole ſcene paſſed in ſight of the caſtle, and ſo near it, that the family could diſtinctly hear the balls whiſtling by their ears.

* Narr. p. 145.

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We kept our eyes on the rebels, who ſeemed to be poſted with ſo much advantage behind the ſtone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each ſide on the advancing enemy, yet (ſtrange to tell!) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common ſoldier. Their ſhot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of highlanders (Fraſer's fencibles) filed off to right and left, to flank the fuſileers behind the hedges and walls; they had a marſhy ground on the left to ſurmount before they could come upon their object, which occaſioned ſome delay, but at length they reached them, and made ſad havock among them. Then followed the Queen's County militia and the Downſhire, which laſt regiment had a great ſhare in the honour of the day.

After a reſiſtance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were purſued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is uſual to commit the aſſault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wiſely reverſed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid purſuit, from taking ſhelter in the houſes of the townsfolk, a circumſtance which was likely to provoke indiſcriminate ſlaughter and pillage. The meaſure was attended with the deſired ſucceſs. A conſiderable number was cut down in the ſtreets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to eſcape into the houſes, being either puſhed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry from Croſmalina, or obliged to take the ſhore, where it winds round a promontory, forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here too the fugitives were ſwept away by ſcores, a cannon being placed on the oppoſite ſide of the bay, which did great execution.

Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houſes, and by conſequence brought miſchief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themſelves."

The town of Killala, thus recovered by his majeſty's forces, had been thirty-two days in the poſſeſſion of the French and rebels. Of the tranſactions, which occurred there during that period, the biſhop's candid narrative is a moſt valuable and authentic hiſtorical document, extremely honorable to the writer, ſince it evinces a genuine goodneſs of heart, and a mind ſo cultivated, ſo candid, ſo elevated above vulgar prejudices, and the ſervile fear of party, as to diſcern and publicly acknowledge the virtues of an enemy.

The unbiaſſed writer thus deſcribes the little army of invaders:—intelligence,

gence; activity, temperance, patience, to a ſurpriſing degree, appeared to be combined in the ſoldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exacteſt obedience to diſcipline: yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their ſtature, for the moſt part, was low, their complexion pale and ſallow, their clothes much the worſe for the wear: to a ſuperficial obſerver, they would have appeared incapable of enduring almoſt any hardſhip. Theſe were the men, however, of whom it was preſently obſerved that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the ſtones of the ſtreet their bed, and to ſleep in their clothes, with no cover but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had ſerved in Italy under Buonaparte; the reſt were of the army of the Rhine, where they had ſuffered diſtreſſes, that well accounted for their perſons and wan looks.

The rebels, who had joined the French, were with great difficulty reſtrained by the French from plundering and abuſing the loyaliſts.* "Indeed," ſays the right reverend narrator, "the contraſt with regard to religious ſentiments, "between the French and their Iriſh allies, was extremely curious. The "atheiſt deſpiſed and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zea-"lous papiſt ſhould come to any terms of agreement with a ſet of men, who "boaſted openly in our hearing, 'that they had juſt driven Mr. Pope out 'of Italy, and did not expect to find him again ſo ſuddenly in Ireland.' It "aſtoniſhed the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their "ſervices, declare, that they were come to take arms for France and the "Bleſſed Virgin." The conduct of the ſeveral prieſts, who engaged in the ſame treaſonable enterpriſe, was yet more ſurpriſing than that of their people. No ſet of men could be treated with more apparent marks of diſlike, and even contempt, than theſe were by the French, though againſt the plaineſt ſuggeſtions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as uſeful interpreters, moſt of them (from their foreign education) being able to ſpeak a little French. Yet the commandant would not truſt to their interpretation: if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could ſee the biſhop.

It was at one time ſtrongly agitated, whether arms ſhould not be put into the hands of all the Proteſtant inhabitants of Killala, in order to enable them to defend themſelves againſt depredation and inſult: and ſeveral had actually

* Narr. p. 96.

obtained

obtained them. However, * " after an hour's ſtruggle ſeveral of the Proteſtants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the arms they had received, and ſaid they would truſt themſelves to the protection of the patrole, which put an end for that time to the diſturbance.

" It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence, till at length the Proteſtants, harraſſed by domiciliary viſits of armed rebels in ſearch of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant, that he would call in by proclamation what he had given out, and forbid in future any perſon's appearing in arms, except recruits for the French ſervice. The terror of being thus ſtripped of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every ſide of Killala to the diſtance of ſeveral miles. Not a night paſſed but ſome houſe was rifled; ſcarce an hour in the day elapſed, in which the biſhop was not importuned to lay ſome lamentation before the commandant, or to ſend out ſome guard for protection.

" But if it were doubtful, whether arms might ſafely be committed to every inhabitant of Killala, it admitted no diſpute at all, that the town could not exiſt without ſome form of civil government. Depredators crouded in hourly from the country, to the equal annoyance and terror of every body that had property, whether Catholic or Proteſtant. The French, it was ſaid, had divided the town and neighbourhood of Caſtlebar into diſtricts, appointing over each a municipal officer with a guard at his command, properly armed for the public defence; and the ſcheme there had the deſired ſucceſs. A proclamation was therefore iſſued for eſtabliſhing a ſimilar form through the canton, over which Charoſt preſided. The country was thrown into departments; a magiſtrate, to be elected by his neighbours, was to take charge of each, with the help of a guard of ſixteen or twenty men; arms and ammunition were to be diſtributed to theſe, under an expreſs ſtipulation, that neither officers nor men ſhould be marched out of their reſpective departments, nor employed againſt their ſovereign, nor in any ſervice except that of keeping the peace. The town of Killala was committed to the protection of one hundred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be obſervant of the orders of Mr. James Devitt, the civil magiſtrate, unanimouſly choſen by the people, becauſe he was a ſubſtantial tradeſman, a Roman Catholic, and a man of ſenſe

* Narrative, p. 52.

and

and moderation. He had under him two aſſiſtants, of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the eſtabliſhment of tolerable order and quiet, at leaſt in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent, if the French power had been firmer.

"The example of Killala was preſently copied in the other departments. Magiſtrates were elected, always Roman Catholics, but commonly of the better ſort among them; perſons who had no deſire to take arms againſt the Britiſh government. Some of theſe applied to the biſhop for his opinion, whether they ſhould incur the penalties of treaſon by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common ſafety, and under the conditions ſtated above. His anſwer was, that he was no lawyer; but always having found the law of England to be conſonant to reaſon, he would take upon him to ſay, there could be no law forbidding to do under theſe circumſtances what was abſolutely enjoined by the great law of ſelf-preſervation. It is reported, that when the rebellion was over, ſeveral perſons muttered againſt this doctrine: it might be conceded, they ſaid, to the exiſting terror, but it was not ſound, becauſe it might be employed as an excuſe for a tame and prompt ſubmiſſion to any invaders. To ſuch tranquil declaimers on the merit of caſting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a ſtorm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed ſituations with thoſe, who actually felt the diſtreſs, it is more than probable they would have ſeen good reaſon to adopt the very conduct, which in the fulneſs of ſecurity they took upon them to condemn. To ſubmit to a king, *de facto*, and even to act by a commiſſion from ſuch a one, to preſerve the peace of the community, provided by ſo doing you do not preclude yourſelf from returning under the government of a king *de jure*, is a practice ſanctioned by the authority of our moſt equitable law."

The court-martial began the day after the battle, and ſat in the houſe of Mr. Morriſon. Their proceedings at firſt appeared extremely ſlow, conſidering the multitudes they had to try, not leſs than ſeventy-five priſoners at Killala, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, beſides thoſe, who might be brought in daily. The two firſt perſons tried at this tribunal were General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke. The trial of theſe two criminals was ſhort. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hanged the next morning in the

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park behind the caſtle. Contemptible for drunkenneſs and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a ſentiment of compaſſion.

Roger Macguire was found guilty but remanded to priſon, and after a long confinement, he was tranſmitted to Caſtlebar, where at laſt he received ſentence to be tranſported to Botany Bay. His father, the brewer, was hanged; ſome others were executed.

Thus ended the rebellion, or, more properly ſpeaking, the various inſurgencies in Ireland in the year 1798. Little reliance is to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the ſeveral engagements and rencountres. According to the moſt probable accounts to be had from the War-Office, the number of the army loſt in this rebellion amounts in the whole to 19,700 men; and according to the general government accounts of the total loſs of the rebels, it exceeded 50,000.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH IRELAND.

OUR remaining taſk is to trace the conſequences and effects of this unfortunate rebellion, and mark the progreſs to that great political event, the incorporate Union of the two kingdoms, which ſo cloſely followed it. Whatever differences of opinion upon this ſubject may have exiſted in either kingdom, previous to the completion of that work, there can now but be one diſpoſition and one ſentiment of every loyal ſubject upon it: an ardent deſire, coupled with efficient exertion, to render it preventative of future evils, and accumulative of future bleſſings, improvements, and permanent proſperity to Ireland and the whole Britiſh empire, now politically conſolidated for thoſe deſirable ends.

Fierce as was the conteſt during this unfortunate warfare, and widely as the mild and firm controul of the law was deviated from, yet did the whole tranſaction form a ſingular exception to the adage, *inter arma ſilent leges.* The parliament continued to ſit and legiſlate during the whole time of the rebellion. In the months of Auguſt and September the examination of the chiefs of the rebels went forward before the ſecret committees of both houſes, and their reports, which have been ſo often referred to, were then publiſhed. It appears, that government were anxious, that the reports of theſe committees ſhould gain univerſal credit with the nation; and the more ſo, as an advertiſement had appeared in ſome of the more popular prints cautioning the public againſt giving them credit.* On the 6th, therefore, of September, 1798,

* Mr. Arthur O'Connor in his letter to Lord Caſtlereagh gives the following account of this miſunderſtanding about the publication of their evidence given before the ſecret committees. (*P.* 11.) "Purſuant to this agreement, at the inſtance of government, Emmett, M'Nevin, and I drew up "a memoir containing thirty-ſix pages, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct, and "views of the union, which we ſigned and delivered to you on the 4th of Auguſt laſt. On the 6th, "Mr. Cook came to our priſon, and after acknowledging, that the memoir was a perfect perform-"ance of our agreement, he told us that Lord Cornwallis had read it, but, as it was a vindication "of the union, and a condemnation of the miniſters, the government, and legiſlature of Ireland,

1798, the chancellor made the following further report from the committee of ſecrecy.

" My Lords,

" THE lords committees appointed to examine the mat-
" ters of the ſealed up papers received from the commons on the twenty-
" third of July laſt, and to report the ſame as they ſhall appear to them to
" this houſe; having ſeen an advertiſement in the public prints, ſigned Ar-
" thur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, in
" the following words: ['Having read in the different news papers publica-
' tions pretending to be abſtracts of the reports of the ſecret committee of
' the Houſe of Commons, and of our depoſitions before the committees of
' the lords and commons; we feel ourſelves called upon to aſſure the public,
' that they are groſs and to us aſtoniſhing miſrepreſentations, not only un-
' ſupported by, but in many inſtances directly contradictory to the facts we
' really ſtated on thoſe occaſions. We further aſſure our friends, that in no
' inſtance did the name of any individual eſcape from us; on the contrary,
' we always refuſed anſwering ſuch queſtions as might tend to implicate
' any perſon whatever, conformably to the agreement entered into by the
' ſtate priſoners with government.

' Arthur O Connor,
' Thomas Addis Emmet,
' William James M'Neven.']

" have thought it their duty to examine the ſaid Arthur O'Connor, Thomas

" he could not receive it, and therefore he wiſhed we would alter it; we declared we would not
" change one letter, it was all true, and it was the truth we ſtood pledged to deliver. He then
" aſked us if government ſhould publiſh ſuch parts only as might ſuit them, whether we would re-
" frain from publiſhing the memoir entire; we anſwered, that having ſtipulated for the liberty of
" publication, we would uſe that right when, and as we ſhould feel ourſelves called on; to which
" he added, that if we publiſhed, he would have to hire perſons to anſwer us, that then he ſuppoſed
" we would reply, by which a paper war would be carried on without end between us and the go-
" vernment. Finding that we would not ſuffer the memoir to be garbled, and that the literary
" conteſt between us and theſe hirelings was not likely to turn out to your credit, it was determined
" to examine us before the ſecret committees, whereby a more compleat ſelection might be made
" out of the memoir, and all the objectionable truths, with which it was obſerved it abounded,
" might be ſuppreſſed. For the preſent I ſhall only remark that of one hundred pages, to which
" the whole of the information I gave to the government and to the ſecret committees amounts,
" only one page has been publiſhed."

" Addis

" Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, with reſpect to ſuch adver-
" tiſement, to the end that it might be aſcertained whether they or any of
" them intended to contradict or retract any thing, which they had hereto-
" fore depoſed before your committee. And your committee ſubjoin the
" ſeveral examinations on oath of the ſaid Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis
" Emmet, and William James M'Neven, this day made and ſigned by them
" reſpectively upon that ſubject."*

Lord

* 8 Lords Journal, p. 171. " Arthur O'Connor ſworn—Admits that the advertiſement which
" appeared in the Hibernian Journal, and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the twenty-ſeventh
" of Auguſt laſt, under the ſignatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet and William
" James M'Neven, was publiſhed by their authority. Says he does not mean to contradict or re-
" tract any thing ſtated by him before this committee or the ſecret committee of the Houſe of Com-
" mons. Says he has now read the evidence given by him before the ſecret committee of the
" Houſe of Lords as printed in the appendix to their report, which he admits to be accurate, but
" wiſhes to explain himſelf upon two points contained in ſaid evidence. Firſt, that General Va-
" lence was not in the moſt diſtant manner connected or concerned in any negociation carried on
" between the Directory of the Iriſh Union and the French Directory. Secondly, that it did not
" appear to him, that there was any connection between the Iriſh Executive Directory and any ſo-
" ciety in Great Britain; on the contrary, that it was propoſed to the perſon who adjuſted the
" terms of the alliance between the Iriſh Union and the French Directory in one thouſand ſeven
" hundred and ninety ſix, that an invaſion of England ſhould take place at the ſame time that
" Ireland was to be invaded, to diſſuade them from which, the Iriſh agent uſed ſuch arguments as
" he believes were concluſive. Arthur O'Connor.

" Thomas Addis Emmet, Eſquire, ſworn—Admits that the advertiſement which appeared in the
" Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt laſt,
" under the ſignatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven,
" was publiſhed by their authority. Says he did not by ſaid advertiſement, nor does he in any
" manner mean to contradict or retract any thing ſtated by him before this committee or the ſecret
" committee of the Houſe of Commons, but is willing to authenticate the whole of the evidence
" which he gave on thoſe occaſions in any manner that may be thought fit. Declares that the ſaid
" advertiſement alluded ſolely to miſrepreſentation in the news papers. Says, that he has read the
" evidence ſtated in the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, as
" having been given by him before that committee, and admits that the evidence ſo ſtated expreſſed
" nothing but the truth, but omits many reaſons which he gave in juſtification of his own conduct
" and of that of the members of the Union at large. Says, he does not mean to contradict any
" thing which has been ſo reported with reſpect to the military organization of the United Iriſh-
" men in this kingdom, or the nature or object of it, which was after they had deſpaired of obtain-
" ing a reform in parliament by peaceable means, to effect a revolution by ſubverting the monar-
" chy, ſeparating this country from Great Britain, and erecting ſuch government in Ireland as

" might

Lord Cornwallis, whoſe magnanimity and liberality put the extortioners of the old ſyſtem of rigor and coercion to the bluſh and defiance, took every opportunity to convince the nation, that a real change of ſyſtem was adopted by the government; and fortunately for Ireland, the affections of numbers were reclaimed by a ſyſtem of moderation and firmneſs, which had been eſtranged by that of uncontrouled ſeverity and coercion. As early as on the 11th of September his Excellency Lord Cornwallis, wiſhing to prevent the deluſion and conſequent deſtruction of the multitude, publiſhed a proclamation* to induce them to ſubmit. Although it did not at the moment anſwer fully

" might be choſen by the people. Says, he does not mean to contradict the details given in the " ſaid reports, of the correſpondence and connection of the Iriſh Union with the government of " France, as far as he has any knowledge thereof, and which details he ſo far admits to be accurate.

" Thomas Addis Emmet.

" Doctor William James M'Neven, ſworn—Admits that the advertiſement which appeared in " the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt " laſt, under the ſignatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James " M'Neven, was publiſhed by their authority. Says, he does not mean to contradict or retract " any thing ſtated by him before this committee or the ſecret committee of the Houſe of Commons. " The advertiſement alluded ſolely to the miſrepreſentations of the news papers which are not " ſupported by the report of either houſe of parliament. Says, he does not mean to contradict any " thing which has been ſo reported with reſpect to the military organization of the United Iriſh- " men in this kingdom, or the nature or object of it, which was to effect a revolution by ſubvert- " ing the monarchy, ſeparating this country from Great Britain, and erecting a republican govern- " ment in Ireland. Says, he does not mean to contradict the details given in the ſaid reports of " the correſpondence and connection of the Iriſh Revolutionary Union with the government of " France, which details he admits to be accurate. William James M'Neven."

* A PROCLAMATION.

CORNWALLIS.

" WHEREAS, it appears that during the late invaſion, many of the inhabitants of " the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French forces, and did receive from them " arms and ammunition; and whereas it may be expedient to admit ſuch perſons to mercy who " may have been inſtigated thereto by deſigning men, we do hereby promiſe his majeſty's pardon " to any perſon who has joined the enemy provided he ſurrenders himſelf to any of his majeſty's " juſtices of the peace, or any of his majeſty's officers, and delivers up a French firelock and bayo- " net, and all the ammunition in his poſſeſſion; and provided he has not ſerved in any higher ca- " pacity than that of private:

" This proclamation to be in force for thirty days from the date hereof.

" Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, this 11th day of September, 1798. By the lord lieu- " tenant's command.

" CASTLEREAGH."

On

fully the defired effect, yet was it not followed up by harſhneſs or cruelty to inflame the exiſting or to provoke a new inſurgency.

On

On the debate on the attainder bill on the 20th of Auguſt, Mr. Ogle alarmed at the ſyſtem of humanity ſo little congenial with his own feelings, which the policy, wiſdom, and philanthropy of the chief governor had then began, thus ſpoke. " Great a traitor as he acknowledged Lord Edward " Fitzgerald to have been, there were others, not only equalling, but exceeding him in criminality, " as having gone to the extent of acting upon what he had only planned. What, he would aſk, " was to be done with theſe? Were they to be ſuffered to contemplate in ſecurity and without " puniſhment the evils which they had brought on the country? Were they to have liberty of " tranſporting themſelves and property to other and happier countries, bleſſed in their eſcape from " a land which they had made miſerable? And were they to have to boaſt, amidſt the enjoyments " of another clime, and undiminiſhed fortune, the horrors under which they had reduced their " country. What was the ſituation of that once flouriſhing county, that of Wexford? What in it " was the ſituation of the brave yeomanry, whoſe loyalty and courage were exerted in defence of " their king and country, and who in the conteſt had loſt every particle of their property, what was " their condition? They were actually afraid to return to their homes amidſt protected rebels, who, " by a letter received ſince he came into the houſe he learned to be ſtill committing murders on the " loyal inhabitants."

Of this patricide clamor for ſpilling Iriſh blood by thoſe, who had once fatally ſucceeded in extorting that ferocious and miſchievous ſyſtem, now checked and reprobated by Engliſh benevolence and wiſdom, Mr. Grattan expreſſed his ſentiments in a letter he wrote from Twickenham on the 9th of November, 1798, to the guild of merchants, corporation of Dublin, and fellows of Trinity college, concerning their attacks upon his character and conduct. Having addreſſed each rank ſeparately, he thus concluded to the doctors. " I aſſure them, I am not their enemy, though they " may be mine. But," continues he, " that is not the caſe with another deſcription of men, with " whom I ſhould be aſhamed to diſcourſe in the ſame tone of temper and moderation; I mean that " Iriſh faction, which is the ſecret mover of all this calumny and all this injuſtice; they ſtand at the " head of a bloody combination; I look on them as the cauſe of the evil that has of late fallen on " their country. I proteſt I do not know a faction which, conſidering the very ſmall meaſure of " their credit and ability, has done ſo much miſchief to their king and country. They oppoſed the " reſtoration of the conſtitution of Ireland; they afterwards endeavoured to betray and undermine " it; they introduced a ſyſtem of corruption unknown in the annals of parliament: they then pro- " claimed that corruption ſo loudly, ſo ſcandalouſly, and ſo broadly, that one of them was obliged " to deny in one houſe the notorious expreſſions he had uſed in another. They accompanied theſe " offences by abominable petulance of invective uttered from time to time againſt the great body of " the people, and having by ſuch proceedings and ſuch diſcourſe loſt their affection, they reſorted " to a ſyſtem of coercion to ſupport a ſyſtem of torture attendant on a conſpiracy of which their " crimes was the cauſe. And now their country diſplays a moſt extraordinary conteſt, where an " Engliſhman at the head of its government ſtruggles to ſpare the Iriſh people, and an Iriſh faction " preſſes to ſhed their blood. I repeat it, I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malig- " nant, or more ſanguinary.

" I am

On the 6th of October the parliament was prorogued in the uſual form, and his excellency delivered a very intereſting ſpeech fron the throne.* About the

" I am ready to enter into detail of all this: enough at preſent to ſay, that I have been forced to " write thus much, becauſe I have no opportunity of vindication but the preſs, and no preſs but " that of England. [This letter appeared in the Courier.]

" I ſhall conclude by aſſuring that faction, that I am appriſed of their enmity, and ſhall go out to " meet their hoſtility; hoping, however, that they may not be judges, or their blood-hounds my " jury. At all events, if ſuch a faction be permitted to dominate in Ireland, I had rather ſuffer by " its injuſtice than live under its oppreſſion."

* " My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I HAVE the ſatisfaction of acquainting you that I have received the king's " commands to releaſe you from your long and fatiguing attendance in parliament, and am ordered " to thank you in his majeſty's name, for the unſhaken firmneſs and magnanimity with which you " have met the moſt trying difficulties, and with which the meaſures have been planned which you " have adopted for the preſervation of the country.

" I offer you my moſt ſincere congratulations on the glorious victory which has been obtained by " his majeſty's ſquadron under the command of Sir Horatio Nelſon over the French fleet in the " Mediterranean, which not only reflects the higheſt honor on the officers and ſeamen, by whom it " has been achieved, but affords a proſpect of the moſt beneficial conſequences to the future intereſts " of the Britiſh empire."

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I AM commanded to convey to you his majeſty's particular thanks for the " ſupplies, which you have ſo liberally granted, and by which you have manifeſted both the extent " of the reſources which this kingdom poſſeſſes, and the ſpirit with which they are employed by the " commons of Ireland for the advantage of the ſtate.

" His majeſty laments the neceſſity, which calls for the impoſition of freſh burdens on his majeſty's " ſubjects, but he truſts that they will ſee how much their preſent ſafety and their future happineſs " depend on their exertions in the arduous conteſt in which they are engaged; and he aſſures his " faithful commons that the aids which they have afforded ſhall be carefully applied to the great " object of maintaining the honor and promoting the intereſts of their country."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE circumſtances which have taken place ſince its commencement muſt " render this ſeſſion ever memorable.

" The foulеſt and darkeſt conſpiracy was formed and long carried on by the implacable enemy of " theſe realms for the total extinction of the conſtitution, and for the ſeparation of his majeſty's " kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain. By the intermitting vigilance of my predeceſſor in this " government the treaſon has been detected; the apprehenſion of the principal conſpirators, and " the ſalutary meaſures wiſely adopted, checked its progreſs, and through your ſagacious diligence " it has been developed in all its parts, and traced to all its ſources.

" A dangerous and wicked rebellion, the conſequence of that conſpiracy, has been in a great " meaſure

the ſame time a circumſtance occurred of ſingular notoriety and importance to the welfare of Ireland. The Earl of Enniſkillen, who ranked as a colonel in the army, had ever been prominently zealous for the ſyſtem of coercion and

" meaſure ſubdued, and the attempt of our inveterate enemy to rekindle the flame of civil diſcord, " by ſending a force into this country, has terminated in defeat.

" Religion, that greateſt comfort and ſupport of mankind, has been moſt wickedly perverted to " the purpoſe of inflaming the worſt of paſſions, and the vileſt arts have been uſed to perſuade the " ignorant and unwary, that in a reign, which has been marked by a ſeries of indulgencies to all ſects " of Chriſtians, it is the intention of his majeſty's government to oppreſs, and even to extirpate " that deſcription of his majeſty's ſubjects who have received repeated and recent marks of his " favor and protection.

" The Catholics of Ireland cannot but have obſerved what has been the conduct of thoſe, who " affect to be their friends, towards the rights and the characters which they venerate, and under " whoſe auſpices the perſecuted paſtors of their church have found an aſylum.

" Among a number of offenders ſome moſt active characters have neceſſarily been ſelected as " objects of public juſtice, but in every period of this dangerous conſpiracy the lenity of government " and of parliament has been conſpicuous, and a general act of pardon recently iſſued from the " royal mercy for the purpoſe of affording ſecurity to the repentant, and encouraging the deluded " to return to their duty.

" The vigor and power of his majeſty's arms, the loyalty, ſpirit and activity of his regular, mi- " litia and yeomanry forces, together with the prompt and cordial aſſiſtance of the militia and fenci- " bles of Great Britain, have abundantly proved how vain every attempt muſt be, either by treachery " within or by force from abroad, to undermine or to overturn our civil and religious eſtabliſh- " ments.

" From the dangers which have ſurrounded you, and which you have overcome, you muſt be " ſenſible that your ſecurity can only be preſerved by perſevering vigilance and encreaſing energy. " You will not ſuffer your efforts to relax, and you may be aſſured of my zealous endeavours to " ſecond your exertions. Our hopes and our objects are the ſame, that the deluded may ſee their " error, and the diſaffected be reclaimed; but if an endeavour ſhall be made to abuſe the royal " mercy, and to form freſh conſpiracies in the proſpect of impunity, offended juſtice will then be " compelled to extend to the obdurate criminal the full meaſure of his puniſhment.

" Amidſt your meaſures, either of power, of juſtice, or of clemency, you have not forgotten to " afford conſolation and encouragement to the loyal. The means which were adopted for their " temporary relief, and the plan which has been adopted for the further remuneration of their loſſes, " are highly honorable to your feelings, and muſt, in every loyal breaſt, excite emotions of love and " gratitude to his country.

" Since my arrival in this kingdom, I have received the moſt flattering aſſurances of your regard " and approbation, which command my warmeſt acknowledgements; and whilſt I feel myſelf thus " encouraged and ſupported, and reflect on the loyalty which is ſo generally diſplayed, and on the " force entruſted to my direction, I cannot allow myſelf to doubt of the ſucceſs of our united en- " deavours for the welfare of this country."

ſeverity. It is to be hoped that few of his colleagues, aſſociates, and co-operators in thoſe meaſures ſupported them by the ſame infamous injuſtice and profligacy he notoriouſly did. It is however to be feared, from the common cauſe, which moſt Orangemen made with this nobleman's diſgrace and puniſhment, that the ſympathy of that aſſociation with the noble lord's diſpoſition and conduct was lamentably too general. Diſliked at firſt, the benevolent, magnanimous and juſt Cornwallis became henceforward execrated by the Orangemen: and they attempted to vilify that illuſtrious character by the opprobrious appellation of *Croppy Corny*. On the 13th of October a court martial,* of which the Earl of Enniſkillen was the preſident, proceeded to the trial of Hugh Wollaghan, of Middlewood, in the county of Wicklow, yeoman, charged with having, on the 1ſt of October, inſtant, come to the houſe of Thomas Dogherty, and then and there ſhooting and killing the ſaid Thomas Dogherty, to which he was encouraged by Charles Fox and James Fox, of the aforeſaid county, yeomen: and the ſaid James Fox was likewiſe charged with having diſcharged a loaded gun at Margaret Barry of Delgany, on the 1ſt October, inſtant.

The priſoner being duly arraigned, pleaded not guilty. It appeared in evidence from the teſtimony of Mary Dogherty, of Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, that the priſoner came into her houſe at Delgany, and demanded if there were any bloody rebels there—that on deponent's anſwering there was not; only a ſick boy; the priſoner Wollaghan aſked the boy if he were Dogherty's eldeſt ſon; upon which the boy ſtood up and told him he was; Wollaghan then ſaid, well, you dog, if you are, you are to die here; that the boy replied, I hope not: if you have any thing againſt me, bring me to Mr. Latouche, and give me a fair trial, and if you get any thing againſt me, give me the ſeverity of the law; that Wollaghan replied, no dog, I don't care for Latouche, you are to die here; upon which deponent ſaid to Wollaghan, (he then having the gun cocked in his hand) for the love of God, ſpare my child's life and take mine; that Wollaghan replied, no, you bloody whore, if I had your huſband here, I would give him the ſame death. He then ſnapped the gun, but it did not go off; he ſnapped a ſecond time, but it

* This court martial was holden in the barracks, at Dublin, by order of Lieutenant General Craig. Beſide the preſident it conſiſted of

Major Brown, R. I. D.	Captain Irwin, Fermanagh.
Captain Onge, ditto	Captain Carter, R. I. D.
Captain Leſlie, Fermanagh.	Lieutenant Summers, 68th.

did

did not go off; upon which a man of the name of Charles Fox, but not either of the two priſoners at the bar, came in and ſaid, damn your gun, there is no good in it; and that the ſaid Fox ſaid, at the ſame time to Wollaghan, that the man (pointing to deponent's ſon,) muſt be ſhot; that deponent then got hold of Wollaghan's gun, and endeavoured to turn it from her ſon, upon which the gun went off, grazed her ſon's body, and ſhot him in the arm—the boy ſtaggered, leaned on a form—turned up his eyes, and ſaid, mother, pray for me! That on Wollaghan's firing the gun, he went out at the door, and in a ſhort time returned in again, and ſaid, is not the dog dead yet? that deponent replied, oh! yes, Sir, he is dead enough!' upon which Wollaghan replied (firing at him again) for fear he be not let him take this; deponent was at that inſtant holding up her ſon's head, when he fell, and died!

No attempt was made to contradict any part of this evidence, but a juſtification of the horrid murder was ſet up, as having been done under the order of the commanding officer, and this was ſworn to by George Kennedy, Corporal of the Mount Kennedy Yeomen, who depoſed that Captain Armſtrong of the King's County Militia, who commanded at Mount Kennedy before and after Dogherty was ſhot, in conſequence of the enormities and murders committed in that neighbourhood by day and by night, gave general orders, that any body of yeomanry going out, (he would wiſh them not leſs than nine or ten for their own ſafety,) and, if they ſhould meet with any rebels, whom they knew or ſuſpected to be ſuch, that they need not be at the trouble of bringing them in, but to ſhoot them on the ſpot; that he, the witneſs, communicated this to the corps, and is very certain in the hearing of the priſoner Wollaghan, who was a ſober, faithful, and loyal yeoman, and not degrading the reſt of the corps, one of the beſt in it. That it was the practice of the corps to go out upon ſcouring parties,* without orders, to protect their own property, and that of their neighbours: and that he always looked upon it as an order, and practice of the corps, particularly after what Captain Armſtrong had mentioned, and, that the witneſs would himſelf from his character and the

* Theſe ſcouring parties under orders were ſo much matters of courſe, that it appears from the teſtimony of theſe officers, they were conſidered as acts of military duty: nay, ſo brutalized were many of theſe corps, that they ſpoke of them as a diverſion, which they called partridge ſhooting and grouzing: they hunted, not unfrequently, the brakes, hedges, ditches, and woods with dogs to ſpring any unfortunate peaſant, that might have concealed himſelf from the fury of theſe blood hunters, whom they inſtantly ſhot upon his appearance.

orders he had received have thought himſelf juſtified in ſhooting the deceaſed.

This evidence in juſtification was confirmed by one private, one ſerjeant, and two lieutenants of yeomanry. Captain Archer of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Yeomen, ſwore, that he had always found him a ſober and diligent man; and ſince his being a yeoman, ready to obey his officers, and looked upon him to be an acquiſition to his corps. Captain Gore depoſed, that he had known the priſoner about four months, and that he was one of the beſt attendants on his duty as a yeoman, and that he knew him to be a loyal and brave ſoldier, and never knew him to be guilty of any act of inhumanity: that it was the practice of the corps to ſcour the country with an officer, and verily believed they underſtood it was their duty to ſhoot any rebel they met with, or ſuſpected to be ſuch; and deponent had heard, that other corps had ſimilar directions in other diſtricts. Here the defence cloſed, and the court after ſome deliberation acquitted the priſoner. When the minutes of this court martial in the uſual way were laid before the lord lieutenant, his excellency was pleaſed to diſapprove of the ſentence, and conveyed his ſentiments in the following letter to General Craig.

" SIR, " *Dublin Caſtle, 18th October*, 1798.

" HAVING laid before the lord lieutenant the pro-
" ceedings of a general court martial, held by your orders in Dublin Barracks,
" on Saturday the 13th inſtant, of which Colonel the Earl of Enniſkillen is
" preſident, I am directed to acquaint you, that his excellency entirely diſ-
" approves of the ſentence of the above court martial, acquitting Hugh Wol-
" laghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the cleareſt evidence,
" he appears to have been guilty.

" Lord Cornwallis orders the court martial to be immediately diſſolved,—
" and directs, that Hugh Wollaghan ſhall be diſmiſſed from the corps of yeo-
" manry in which he ſerved, and that he ſhall not be received into any other
" corps of yeomanry in this kingdom.

" His excellency further deſires, that the above may be read to the pre-
" ſident and the members of the court martial in open court.

" I have the honor to be,

" Sir,

" Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

" *Lieut. Gen. Craig, &c. &c.* " H. TAYLOR, Sec.

" P. S.

" P. S. I am alſo directed, that a new court martial may be immediately " convened for the trial of ſuch priſoners as may be brought before them, " and that none of the officers who ſat upon Hugh Wollaghan be admitted " as members."

As Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone may be properly called the founder of the Iriſh Union, which ended in the late bloody rebellion, it will be proper to ſhew the lamentable victim he himſelf became to his own treaſonable projects. He was more than any other of the traitors in that cauſe, intimately convinced, that the ſeparation of Ireland from all connection with Great Britain was eſſential to the proſperity and welfare of his country. After he had fled from the arm of juſtice in the year 1795, he was of all the Iriſh fugitives the moſt favored and attended to by the government of the French Republic. He obtained a commiſſion in their army, was taken priſoner in the autumn of 1798, and was brought up to trial by a court martial on Saturday the 10th of November. He appeared in court in his French uniform, and pleaded guilty to the crime of which he ſtood charged; alleging, that what he had once done, he ſhould be aſhamed to deny. He had, though unſucceſsfully, attempted to do for his country, what Waſhington had ſucceeded in, what Koſciuſko had failed in, and unlike them both he had forfeited his life: but a man engaged in ſuch purſuits, ſhould ever be ready to make that ſacrifice. He in vain pleaded his French commiſſion. With much difficulty he obtained leave of the court to read a paper, which in ſome paſſages was of ſuch a tendency, that the court could not liſten to it. Theſe objectionable paſſages he conſented to cancel, and gave in the reſt.* He then delivered in

* This paper concludes in theſe words. " I conceive that I ſtand here in the ſame light with our " emigres, and if the indulgence lay within the power of the court, I would only requeſt what " French magnanimity allowed to Charette and to the Count de Sombreuil; the death of a ſoldier, " and to be ſhot by files of grenadiers. This is the only favor I have to aſk, and I truſt, that men " ſuſceptible of the nice feelings of a ſoldier's honor, will not refuſe the requeſt. It is not from " any perſonal feeling that I make this requeſt, but from a reſpect to the uniform which I wear, " and to the brave army in which I have fought. From papers which I yeſterday delivered to the " brigade major, it will be ſeen, that I am as regularly breveted an officer in the French ſervice, " as any here is in the Britiſh army, and it will be ſeen, that I have not my commiſſion as a pro- " tection.

" *Judge Advocate.* I wiſh you to be aware, that your acceptance of a commiſſion in the French " ſervice amounts to poſitive proof of the charge advanced againſt you, but, from your admiſſions " already, I ſuppoſe that by the production of thoſe papers, you merely want to ſhew that you " were an officer in the French army.

" *Priſoner.* Nothing more."

ſeveral

ſeveral documents, which proved his brevet for the rank of chef de briga de, and a letter of ſervice, both having the ſignatures of the preſident of the French Directory and the miniſter of war. He repeated his deſire to be indulged with death in the moſt honorable manner, and as he had no doubt of the deciſion of the court, he expreſſed a wiſh that a confirmation of it by the lord lieutenant might be had as ſoon as poſſible, and execution of the ſentence immediately follow, within an hour, if it were practicable.

On Sunday evening he was informed, that his conviction and ſentence were confirmed by his excellency; but that his requeſt, as to the mode of execution, could not be complied with; that he muſt ſuffer the ſame as others, who were taken in war againſt their king and country; and that the peculiar circumſtances of his caſe rendered it neceſſary his execution ſhould be in the moſt public manner; that he muſt be executed in front of the New Priſon. Unable to bear this agony, he took the reſolution of anticipating the execution by his own hand, and when the ſentinel went to rouſe him on Monday morning, he found him exhauſted, weltering in blood, with his throat cut acroſs, and apparently expiring. A military ſurgeon was inſtantly called in, who pronounced the wound not mortal, though extremely dangerous, to whom Mr. Tone faintly anſwered, "*he was then but a bad anatomiſt.*" In the mean time a motion was made in his majeſty's court of King's Bench, then ſitting, to arreſt execution, grounded on an affidavit ſworn by the father of the priſoner, that he had been tried, convicted, and ſentenced to death, on a charge of high treaſon, before a military court of ſeven members, ſitting in the barrack of Dublin, though he did not belong to his majeſty's army; while his majeſty's court of King's Bench was ſitting, before which the priſoner might have been tried in the ordinary way; Mr. Curran, who ably argued the point, moved, that an *Habeas Corpus* do iſſue forthwith to bring up the priſoner *inſtanter*.

The court immediately complied, and the officer who ſerved the order on the provoſt marſhal, returned with anſwer, that Brigade Major Sandys ſaid he would comply with no orders but thoſe of the commander in chief of the garriſon; the court immediately directed the ſheriff to repair to the barrack, take Major Sandys into cuſtody, and bring him before the court. The ſheriff, on his return, reported, that Major Sandys was not to be found, that he had ſeen General Craig, at whoſe inſtance he accompanied the ſurgeon to Mr. Tone, and that the ſurgeon reported, the priſoner could not be removed into court without danger of inſtant death.

The

The ſurgeon attended, and made affidavit to the ſame effect, and the return of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was poſtponed for four days, and the court ordered the ſheriff in the mean time to take the body of Theobald Wolfe Tone into his protection. In this ſituation he continued until Monday the 19th of November, when he died, having ſuffered moſt excruciating pain for eight days. Thus ignominiouſly ended a man, whoſe qualities and talents, if rightly directed, would have graced the nobleſt cauſe.

After Ireland had ſuffered ſo much from the violence and cruelty of both parties in that lamentable conteſt, Providence could ſcarcely have reſerved for her a more healing bleſſing, than the appointment of a viceroy, whoſe military talent kept the rebels in awe, whoſe firmneſs checked the ſanguinary ferociouſneſs of the terroriſts, and whoſe benevolence ſecured the affections of the people. Through the confidence and influence, which theſe qualities commanded throughout the kingdom, was that great meaſure of incorporate union at laſt carried; yet in defiance of the humane, pacific, and conciliating exertions of that chief governor, in many parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the county of Wexford, the Orange aſſociations were multiplied, and diſunion, hatred, and religious acrimony increaſed upon the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion.* It is unqueſtionable, that the continuance and extenſion of

* Having before renounced the function of nauſeating the reader by a minute ſelection of inſtances of cruelty and injuſtice, yet is it neceſſary to ſupport every general aſſertion by ſome one piece of illuſtrative evidence at leaſt. In B. R. Mich. 1800. *Rex v. White & Goring.* In this term an application was made to the court of King's Bench for an information againſt Meſſrs. White and Goring, two magiſtrates of the county of Tipperary. The application was grounded on an affidavit of Mr. O. another magiſtrate of the ſame county, and captain of a corps of yeomanry. His affidavit ſtated the loyalty and activity of the ſaid magiſtrate and his corps, and that they were obſtructed in their endeavours to preſerve the peace of the moſt turbulent part of the country, and to prevent a tendency to rebellion, by theſe two gentlemen.

Exculpatory affidavits were made by theſe two gentlemen, to which the court ſo far attended as to refuſe the information. Theſe affidavits were ſworn on the 23d of January, 1801: they remain of record in the court of King's Bench, and contain among many others the following curious particulars.

That timber was cut and ſhaped into pike handles by the members of ſaid corps of yeomanry and perſons employed by them, which they afterwards pretended to diſcover in conſequence of ſecret information, but really in order to keep up an appearance of diſturbance in the country; theſe facts were brought to light in conſequence of the repentance and voluntary confeſſion of perſons concerned in the conſpiracy.

It

of Orangiſm muſt perpetuate religious differenee, rivet diſaffection, and ſharpen rancor through the nation. The fatal experience, which Ireland had had

It was ſworn by theſe gentlemen, that the corps of yeomanry, on whoſe behalf this application was made, conſiſted of the indigent tenantry of their captain, who paid a rack rent for lands holden of him, and had no other way of diſcharging their rent, but by their pay, which the captain uſually received and retained in diſcharge of his rent due from theſe yeomen his tenants; and that they were kept on permanent duty for the purpoſe of procuring this permanent pay. That there was no appearance of tumult or inſurrection in the country, but that theſe perſons circulated falſe reports of the diſturbed ſituation of the country, in order to anſwer their own purpoſes; that perſons were taken up, detained in priſon, and fined under the timber act for the concealment of theſe pike handles, which were afterwards diſcovered to have been hidden by the procurement of the perſons, who found them. It was alſo aſſerted upon oath in the ſame affidavits, that the magiſtrate, who made the application, arreſted perſons and detained them in his own houſe, where he and another magiſtrate, after dinner taking a glaſs of wine, and pretending to hold a petty ſeſſions under the inſurrection act, ſentenced the priſoners to tranſportation; that theſe ſentences were paſſed, and the parties ſent to New Geneva, in order to be ſent out of the country, without any examination of the priſoners, or confronting them with their accuſers. That when theſe priſoners were afterwards, upon a repreſentation made to government, and in conſequence of an order from Lord Cornwallis, remanded back for a more regular inveſtigation of their caſe, this corps pretending to act as an eſcort, took the priſoners, out of the route preſcribed, to a different place from that ordered by the lord lieutenant, where it was more difficult for them to undertake their juſtification. The affidavits ſworn in this caſe are very voluminous, and contain various inſtances of the like nature, tending to illuſtrate the oppreſſive conduct of country magiſtrates, and the means, by which raſh or intereſted men irritated the people, and provoked a diſpoſition to diſturbance, where it otherwiſe would not have exiſted.

The actual perpetration of particular facts of outrageous provocation was perhaps the leaſt part of the evil. The impunity, connivance, or countenance from the magiſtrates, and the acquittals of the guilty by Orange Juries and Orange Courts Martial (as in the caſe of Wollaghan) in the few inſtances in which the offenders have been brought to trial, indicate the depth and malignancy of the wound, and loudly proclaim the neceſſity of a radical cure, ere the conſtitution can recover its native vigor and energy. In the ſpring aſſizes of 1801, at Clonmell, the caſe of *Doyle v. Fitzgerald* produced a degree of alarming provocation throughout that part of the country. The plaintiff in this cauſe was a reſpectable tradeſman of Carrick upon Suyr, named Francis Doyle. The defendant was Mr. Fitzgerald (commonly called the *flogging ſheriff*) of Tipperary, againſt whom a verdict of 500*l.* had before been found for a ſimilar act of brutality. The action was brought for damages for the tort and injury done to the plaintiff in the following manner. The plaintiff, who was a young man of excellent character and untainted loyalty, was ſeized in the ſtreet by the defendant in order to be flagellated. In vain did he proteſt his innocence, which was alſo ſupported by ſome of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of the place. He begged to have Captain Jephſon ſent for, the commander of the yeomanry, of which he was a member: that was refuſed. He offered to

had of the reluctance of its own government and parliament to forward the union of affection and intereſt amidſt Iriſhmen of all denominations, the long continued conviction of the neceſſity of keeping up the Engliſh or Proteſtant aſcendancy upon the Machiavelian principle of *diviſion*, the aſſimilation of the contrary maxim to the ſpirit of the United Iriſhmen, which now gave plauſibility to the renovation and extenſion to the old ſyſtem of *divide & impera*, and the too ſucceſsful efforts of the terroriſts to couple or identify the terms *Papiſt*, *croppy*, *and rebel* on one hand, and *Proteſtant*, *loyaliſt*, *and Orangeman* on the other, ſuperadded to all the vindictive conſequences of a cruel conqueror, imperiouſly called upon the Britiſh cabinet to attempt that important meaſure of incorporate union, by means of which alone the Iriſh nation could be effectually, though perhaps not inſtantly, relieved from the tyranny of an Orange aſcendancy. From henceforth, the great object of the Marquis Cornwallis was to ſupport, ſtrengthen, and perpetuate the neceſſary plan of conciliation, by bringing about that great political meaſure of union with Great Britain.

A more arduous undertaking was never attempted, than to bring this meaſure to bear. Never was there ſo ſtrong an oppoſition of conviction to any propoſal of government in that kingdom; never ſo tranſcendent a neceſſity for carrying it. The ferment of the public mind operated in different inſtances both for and againſt its adoption. In fact it was a queſtion, which admitted ſo much ſound reaſoning upon both ſides, that muſt at leaſt deprive each of the advantage of charging their opponents with proſtitution of their convictions to their intereſts. In ſome families of the higheſt reſpectability, the father and ſon voted on the oppoſite ſides: and this political variance produced no domeſtic difference. It muſt however in truth be admitted, that the nerves of ſeveral of the members in both houſes of parliament were from the ſhock of the late rebellion ſo much weakened, that they unconditionally ſurrendered the exerciſe of any diſcretion upon the ſubject:

to go to inſtant execution if the leaſt trace of guilt appeared againſt him on enquiry: that was alſo refuſed. Bail was offered to any amount for his appearance: No, ſays the ſheriff; I know by his face that he is a traitor—a Carmelite ſcoundrel. The plaintiff was tied to the whipping poſt: he received one hundred laſhes till his ribs appeared: he then had his breeches let down, and received fifty more laſhes on his poſteriors. The young man's innocence was afterwards fully eſtabliſhed. He applied to a court of law for redreſs: the action was tried at Clonmell aſſizes: theſe facts fully proved: an Orange jury acquitted the defendant.

many of them too readily gave up the prepoſſeſſions and convictions of their whole lives to the momentary lure of advantages holden out to the ſupporters of the meaſure; and ſome, it cannot be denied, baſely ſold what they ſincerely thought to be the intereſt of their country for their private gain. It muſt alſo be remarked, that for the laſt twenty years no political character on either ſide had ever touched upon the queſtion of union but in terms of marked reprobation and horror. Were it feaſible, it would ſtill be invidious and not uſeful to the welfare of the *United* kingdom, to hand down to poſterity the particular motives and grounds of the votes on the oppoſite ſides. Thoſe of the leading characters may be traced from the foregoing pages, or their ſpeeches in the debates upon the Union. The knowledge of ſilent votes given upon any unwarrantable or corrupt principle could but produce contempt or diſguſt for certain individuals, without any effect either uſeful or deſirable to the nation at large.

Even before the fury of rebellion had ſubſided, had the Britiſh miniſtry recommended preparatory ſteps to enable the Iriſh government to introduce the propoſal of a legiſlative union with plauſibility and effect on the firſt favorable opening. In purſuance of this recommendation a pamphlet was written or procured to be written by Mr. Edward Cook, the under ſecretary of the civil department. It was publiſhed anonymouſly, but was well underſtood to ſpeak the ſentiments of the Britiſh adminiſtration, and the chief governor, and thoſe of the Iriſh adminiſtration who went with his excellency upon the queſtion of union. It was circulated with incredible induſtry and profuſion throughout every part of the nation, and certainly was productive of many converſations to the queſtion, under the then exiſting circumſtances of that nation; the moſt prominent of which were, the ſtill unallayed horrors of blood and carnage, the exceſſive cruelty and vindictive ferocity of the Iriſh yeomanry towards their countrymen, compared with the pacific, orderly, and humane conduct of the Engliſh militia, of which about eighteen regiments were then in that country, and above all, the confidence which the conciliatory conduct of their chief governor inſpired. This *pamphlet was conſidered as a kind of official proclamation of the ſentiments

* Mr. Cooke's pamphlet was entitled—"*Arguments for and againſt an Union between Great "Britain and Ireland conſidered.*" It is written with correctneſs and moderation; and as the controverſy

ſentiments of government upon the queſtion, and had no ſooner appeared, than it produced a general warfare of the preſs, and threw the whole nation into a new diviſion of parties.

No ſooner was the intention of government unequivocally known, than

controverſy commenced from the caſtle, it muſt be allowed to have been candid in government thus to have invited a public and unreſtrained inveſtigation. Before the end of December 1798, no fewer than thirty pamphlets were publiſhed in Ireland upon this momentous queſtion, viz. "Arguments for and againſt an Union between Great Britain and Ireland conſidered." "Thoughts "on an Union, by Joſhua Spencer, Eſq." "No Union; being an Appeal to Iriſhmen, by Ma-"thew Weld, Eſq." "A Letter to Joſhua Spencer, Eſq. occaſioned by his Thoughts on an "Union, by a Barriſter." "An Union neither neceſſary nor expedient for Ireland; being an "Anſwer to the Author of 'Arguments, &c.' by Charles Ball, Eſq." "An Anſwer to 'Argu-'ments, &c. &c.' in a Letter to Edward Cook, Eſq. Secretary at War, by Pemberton Rudd, Eſq." "Second Letter, by Pemberton Rudd, Eſq." "An Addreſs to the People of Ireland, againſt an "Union, by a friend to Ireland." "The Probability, Cauſes, and Conſequences of an Union, by "Dennis Taffe." "Reaſons againſt an Union, by an Iriſhman." "Obſervations on 'Argu-'ments for and againſt an Union." "Strictures on 'Arguments for and againſt an Union." "Firſt Letter to a noble Lord, on the Subject of the Union, by Giles S. Smith, Eſq." "Ceaſe "your Funning, or the Rebel detected." "A Letter addreſſed to the Gentlemen of England and "Ireland, on the Expediency of a fœderal Union between the two Kingdoms, by Sir John Jervis "White Jervis, Bart." "A Reply to 'Arguments for and againſt an Union,' by Richard Jebb, "Eſq." "A Report of the Debate of the Iriſh Bar, on Sunday the 9th November, on the "Subject of an Union of the Legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Speeches of "Meſſrs. Saurin, Spencer, St. George Daly, Jameſon, P. Burrows Barnes, T. Grandy, John Beres-"ford Loyd, Driſcoll, Goold, W. Bellew, Orr, Stokes, Geraghty, M'Clelland, Leader, Plunket, "Lynch, F. Dobbs, and Webber." "Some Obſervations on the projected Union between Great "Britain and Ireland, and the inexpediency of agitating the meaſure at this time, by J. H. C——, "Eſq. Barriſter at Law." "A Memoire on ſome Queſtions reſpecting the projected Union of "Great Britain and Ireland, by Theobald M'Kenna, Eſq. Barriſter at Law." "A Letter to his "Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, on the propoſed Union; in which his Excellency's political "ſituation is candidly diſcuſſed, by an Iriſhman." "An Addreſs to the Roman Catholics of Ire-"land, upon the Subject of an Union, by an Old Friend." "A Letter to Theo. M'Kenna, Eſq. "on the Subject of his Memoire, by John Hamilton, Eſq." "Reply to Theo. M'Kenna, Eſq. by "Molyneux." "Vaticination, or Pue's Occurrences Redivivus." "The Rights of the Imperial "Crown of Ireland defended, by George Barnes, Eſq." "Reply to Arguments for and againſt "an Union, by J. B. Bethel, Eſq." "Keep up your Spirits, or Huzza for the Empire, being "a fair argumentative Defence of an Union, by a Citizen of the Iſle of Man." "An Addreſs to "the Electors of Ireland, on the preſent Situation of Affairs." "A Demonſtration of the Inevi-"tability of a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, involving a Refutation of every "Argument, which has been, or can be urged againſt that Meaſure, by a Philoſopher." "A Re-"view of the Queſtion of Union, as it involves Conſtitution and Commerce."

moſt of the leading characters took their ranks according to their reſpective views and ſentiments, the Earl of Clare at the head of the Unioniſts, and the Right Honorable Mr. Foſter, his late ſanguine colleague in the extorted ſyſtem of coercion and terror, put himſelf at the head of the Anti-unioniſts. Amongſt the firſt diſmiſſals for oppoſing the Union were thoſe of Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the prime ſerjeant. The moſt intereſting public meeting upon the ſubject of the Union was that of the gentlemen of the Iriſh bar. It has before been obſerved, that in Ireland the bar was the great road that led to preferment, and few were the families in the nation, which looked up to it, that did not furniſh one gentleman or more to that calling. The bar conſequently commanded a very powerful influence over the public mind, even independently of the weight of reſpectability attending the opinions of that learned body. In purſuance of a requiſition ſignified by twenty-ſeven lawyers of the firſt reſpectability and character of the profeſſion, a meeting of the Iriſh bar took place on the 9th of December at the Exhibition houſe in William Street, to deliberate on the queſtion of a legiſlative union. The meeting was very numerous, and obliged to be adjourned from the courts to the above-place.

Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. father of the bar, being called to the chair, Mr. Saurin opened the buſineſs, and after ſtating the queſtion, as to the meaſure and period of propoſing it, when the country was but juſt delivered from a rebellion, the moſt ſavage that had ever ſcourged a country, moved, "That "the meaſure of a legiſlative union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an "innovation, which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propoſe "at the preſent juncture to this country."

Mr. Spencer (a gentleman who had taken a lead in oppoſing that meaſure, and wrote a pamphlet on the ſubject) ſeconded the reſolution, and ſupported it in a ſpeech of ſome length.

Mr. St. George Daly moved, that the further conſideration of that reſolution ſhould be adjourned for a month, and was ſeconded by Mr. Jameſon.

On this a long, ſpirited, and moſt animated debate took place, which laſted for many hours, in which not only the propriety of the adjournment, but the merits of the queſtion, was in many inſtances ably diſcuſſed. The ſupporters of the adjournment, and conſequently thoſe who oppoſed the reſolution, moved by Mr. Saurin, were, principally, Mr. St. George Daly, Mr. Jameſon, Mr. T. Grady, Mr. John Beresford (ſon to the Archbiſhop of Tuam),

Mr.

Mr. J. W. Stokes, Mr. Geraghty, Mr. M'Clelland, and Mr. Webber. On the other ſide were Mr. Saurin, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Peter Burrowes, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Driſcoll, Mr. Goold, Mr. W. Bellew, Mr. Orr, Mr. Leader, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Francis Dobbs.

At eight o'clock a diviſion took place.

Ayes for the adjournment	32
Noes - - - -	166
Majority	134

On which the following reſolutions were put and carried.

At a moſt numerous meeting of the Iriſh bar, convened by public notice, on Sunday the 9th of December 1798, at the courts, and from thence adjourned to the Exhibition Room, William Street. Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. father, in the chair.

Reſolved, "That the meaſure of a legiſlative union of this kingdom and "Great Britain, is an innovation which it would be highly dangerous and "improper to propoſe at the preſent juncture of the country."

It was then reſolved, That the chairman do leave the chair, and that William Saurin, Eſq. do take the ſame.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be preſented to our worthy father, Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. for his very proper conduct in the chair.

Reſolved, That the foregoing reſolutions be publiſhed.

Signed by order,
William Ridgeway, Secretary.

The city of Dublin, which it was natural to ſuppoſe would be more prejudiced by the Union than any other part of the kingdom, in as much as it would loſe much of the advantages of a metropolis by the abolition of the parliament, was alſo prominently forward in its oppoſition to that meaſure. A poſt aſſembly of the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin was convened on the 17th of December; who referring to a variety of rumours, that were then in circulation, of an intended Union of Ireland with Great Britain, came to the following reſolutions: That by the ſpirited exertions of the people and parliament of Ireland, the trade and conſtitution thereof, were ſettled on principles ſo liberal, that the nation had riſen ever ſince rapidly in wealth and conſequence. And,

that

that having boldly defended the conſtitution in king, lords and commons, againſt the open and ſecret abettors of rebellion; they were determined ſteadily to oppoſe any attempt that might be made to ſurrender the free legiſlation of that kingdom, by uniting it with the legiſlature of Great Britain.

And on the next day, at a very numerous and reſpectable meeting of the bankers and merchants of the city of Dublin,

Lord Mayor in the chair,

The following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

"That ſince the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in the year of "1782, to legiſlate for Ireland, the commerce and proſperity of that king- "dom had eminently increaſed. That they attributed theſe bleſſings under "providence, and the gracious favor of their beloved ſovereign, to the wiſ- "dom of the Iriſh parliament. That they looked with abhorrence on any "attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their parliament, and thereby "of their conſtitutional right, and immediate power to legiſlate for them- "ſelves. That impreſſed with every ſentiment of loyalty to their king, and "affectionate attachment to Britiſh connexion, they conceived that, to "agitate in parliament a queſtion of the legiſlative Union between that "kingdom and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic."

The public mind had not yet recovered from the agitation which had been occaſioned by the rebellion, its prediſpoſing cauſes and ever to be deplored effects.* The fever now took a turn and raged with equal fierceneſs upon the

* Many of the Orange party preſuming upon the countenance and ſupport of government, which in the late adminiſtration they had certainly received, continued, particularly about Wexford, to keep up the old ſyſtem of terroriſm with impunity. Some of the old conductors of the caſtle journals had in the true ſpirit of their old employers juſtified and commended the conduct of Mr. Hawtrey White on a certain occaſion, which produced the following advertiſement from Mr. Sparks. I refer to one inſtance by way of elucidation of many others.

"*Caſe of George Sparks, Eſq.*

"ON Sunday the 18th January inſtant, I left my houſe in order to go to church, and at the "church met Captain Hawtrey White, of the Ballagheen corps and his troop, and I was told by "Lieutenant James White they intended ſearching my houſe for arms; I told Mr. White my arms "were there, and gave him a key of a tea-cheſt, where he would get General Groſe's permiſſion "for keeping arms, and alſo General Lake's protection for my houſe and property. They proceed- "ed to my houſe, and having plundered it of every thing portable, they burned my dwelling houſe, "out-offices and haggard, and murdered my two ſervant boys, who were inoffenſive ſpectators "during

the queſtion of a legiſlative Union with Great Britain, as it had upon that of the treaſonable aſſociation of United Iriſhmen. All means were deviſed and attempted by both parties to gain proſelytes to their reſpective opinions, and without going the length of ſanctioning the falſe maxim, *that the end juſtifies the means*, it muſt in candor be admitted, that no political queſtion was ever agitated with more ſincerity of conviction, as none admitted of ſo much fairneſs of argument on both ſides. The private reaſonings of individuals in their ſeveral publications form no part of hiſtory: many of them on both ſides beſpeak the brighteſt talents, the moſt extenſive information, and elevated independent and conſtitutional ſentiments of their authors, who were moſtly Iriſh. Moſt of the ſubſtance of theſe productions will be found to have been introduced by different ſpeakers into the parliamentary debates of both kingdoms. The news journals from henceforward teemed with eſſays, addreſſes, proteſtations, puffs, ſquibbs, cenſures, and encomiums upon this great political queſtion, according to the different ſides which they reſpectively adopted. Meetings were advertiſed of counties, baronies, pariſhes, and of every ſpecies of incorporation: religious diſcriminations indeed were not reſorted to. Proteſtants, Diſſenters, and Catholics in this inſtance, for the firſt time, fairly amalgamated into the general maſs, and marſhalled themſelves into the ranks according to the civil convictions of their minds. Beſides the meetings already mentioned of the gentlemen of the bar, and the

" during the tranſaction. (I beg leave to remark, theſe boys were reared by my father from their " infancy.) They carried off my horſes.

" On returning to my houſe, I met with ſeveral of my neighbours, flying with terror and diſ- " may, and told me to fly with my life, for the cavalry declared they would murder me, and pre- " vious to that day I heard ſeveral threats.

" It is neceſſary to ſtate, that Major Fitzgerald had a recruiting party contiguous to my houſe; I " was happy to have an opportunity of accommodating him with a room in my houſe where he kept " his money and clothing, and where the recruits accounts were ſettled. I was glad to ſee his " majeſty's ſervice promoted by draining the country of idle fellows.

" A man of the name of Murphy came to my houſe and enquired for Major Fitzgerald, that he " might inliſt with him; he was deſired to ſtop, for that Major Fitzgerald was expected home to " dinner.

" After they had plundered the houſe as above ſtated, ſome ſhots were heard above ſtairs, and " Murphy and a yeoman killed.

" I alſo declare there was no plunder nor concealed arms in my houſe.

" *Wexford, January* 17, 1799. " GEORGE SPARKS."

corpo-

corporation, and the bankers and merchants of Dublin, the fellows of Trinity College, and ſuch of the ſtudents as enjoyed ſcholarſhips, had alſo a meeting, the reſult of which was, a requeſt that the repreſentatives of the Univerſity would oppoſe with firmneſs the projected Union. The gentry and freeholders of the county of Dublin met for the ſame purpoſe, and, having applauded the conſtitution of 1782, proteſted againſt an Union as hoſtile to the rights, liberties, and independence of Ireland. The freeholders of the county of Weſtmeath likewiſe declared againſt it as it appeared to them to be calculated to 'exhauſt Ireland, and debaſe her from her conſequence and proſperity, and to increaſe the influence of the court in a formidable degree.'

The reſolutions of a meeting at Galway were particularly ſtrong; reprobating the attempts of the unioniſts as unconſtitutional and arbitrary; denying the power of the repreſentatives of the people to vote away the independence of the realm; condemning the transfer of the right of legiſlation to any foreign country, without the general conſent of the people, as equivalent to a diſſolution of the exiſting government, and as a procedure which, from its tendency to anarchy, ought to be reſiſted; and ſtigmatiſing, as enemies to their country, all the ſupporters of ſuch a meaſure. Mr. Foſter completely inſpired his conſtituents in the county of Louth, with his own decided repugnance to the meaſure, and the majority of the freeholders of that county threw their weight into the ſcale againſt it. It would be endleſs to recapitulate the different reſolutions, which were entered into and publiſhed by different meetings againſt the propoſed meaſure, even before the meeting of parliament. And ſo great indeed was the clamor excited by the idea of Union, that the general voice ſeemed to reject it with indignation; and language of the boldeſt kind, even bordering on defiance and ſedition, was poured forth in moſt companies againſt it.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the parliament met according to the laſt prorogation, when his excellency in a very intereſting ſpeech* upon this important

* The following was the ſpeech of the viceroy.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE received his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament.

"I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievements of "the detachment of his majeſty's fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord Nelſon, on the "total defeat of the French ſquadron off the coaſts of this kingdom, by that under the command "of

portant occaſion, recommended to their peculiar conſideration, the moſt effectual means of conſolidating the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the two king-

" of Sir J. B. Warrren, and on the brilliant and important conqueſt of Minorca. Thoſe events, " while they afford to us in common with every other deſcription of his majeſty's ſubjects, matter " of juſt pride and ſatisfaction, muſt at the ſame time give confidence to other powers, and ſhew " to all Europe the beneficial effects of a ſyſtem of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perſe- " verance againſt the deſtructive projects of the common enemy.

" I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you, that a ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill prevails " in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, and that the ſecret agents of the enemy are active in raiſing an " expectation of freſh aſſiſtance from France.

" In this ſituation, and under the evident neceſſity of continuing the war with vigour, his ma- " jeſty firmly relies upon that ſpirit and magnanimity which have hitherto marked all your exer- " tions in ſupport of the honor of his crown, of the intereſt of this kingdom, and of the general " cauſe of the empire.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I have ordered the public accounts and eſtimates to be laid before you, and " as I am confident your wiſdom will raiſe the ſupplies which may be neceſſary in the manner leaſt " burthenſome to the ſubject, ſo you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and œcono- " mical application.

" It is with great ſatisfaction I obſerve, that notwithſtanding our internal calamities, this king- " dom blended as its intereſts are in the general proſperity of the empire, has participated in the " effects of the encreaſing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade " have encreaſed.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal " regulation which have ſo long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and ſupport. Your agricul- " ture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, " and other charitable inſtitutions will require, and will, I am ſure, continue to receive that aid " and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I " am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give further attention to the juſt and honorable " claims of thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

" His majeſty depends upon your perſevering energy to repreſs, by every wiſe effort, the ſpirit " of diſaffection, which ſtill requires the exerciſe of extraordinary powers to check its malignant " effects. In recurring, where the occaſion has required it, to acts of indiſpenſable ſeverity, I " have not been inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the ef- " fects of penal juſtice, and the neceſſary exertions of the powers of the ſtate, with as much for- " bearance and lenity as could be conſiſtent with the public ſafety.

" In the general cauſe which engages the empire, our proſpect is highly encouraging, but in " proportion as a ſucceſsful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts ſhould be re- " doubled in order to ſecure it.

kingdoms. This ſpeech gave riſe to debates in both houſes of parliament. The debate in the lords was leſs intereſting, than that in the commons. An addreſs was moved for in the lords, which as uſual was an echo of the ſpeech. The 12th paragraph of the addreſs was to the following effect.

*" That we thank his majeſty for pointing our attention to this alarming " circumſtance, and as his majeſty has expreſſed his anxious hope, that this " moſt ſerious ſubject, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and com- " mon intereſt, may diſpoſe the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the " moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion eſſential " to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, into one " firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power, and the reſources of the Bri- " tiſh empire, we ſhall be ready to give the fulleſt attention to conſiderations " of ſuch momentous importance."

Upon which it was propoſed by Lord Powerſcourt to amend the ſaid motion, by inſerting after the word importance, the following words: " That " it is our moſt earneſt deſire to ſtrengthen the connexion between the two " countries by every poſſible means, but the meaſure of a legiſlative Union " we apprehend is not within the limits of our power, we beg leave alſo to " repreſent to your majeſty, that although this houſe were competent to " adopt ſuch a meaſure, we conceive that it would be highly impolitic ſo to " do, as it would tend, in our opinion, more than any other cauſe, ulti- " mately to a ſeparation of this kingdom from that of Great Britain."

* " The zeal of his majeſty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honor- " able co-operation of the Britiſh fencibles and militia, and the activity, ſkill and valour of his " majeſty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I " have reflected on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, conſidering on the one hand " the ſtrength and ſtability of Great Britain, and on the other thoſe diviſions, which have ſhaken " Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for ſome permanent adjuſtment which may ex- " tend the advantages enjoyed by our ſiſter kingdom to every part of this iſland.

" The unremitting induſtry with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endea- " vouring to effect a ſeparation of this kingdom from Great Britain, muſt have engaged your par- " ticular attention; and his majeſty commands me to expreſs his anxious hope that this conſidera- " tion, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the parlia- " ments in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a con- " nexion, eſſential to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, into one " firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power, and the reſources of the Britiſh empire."

8 Journ. Lords. p. 192.

A-motion

A motion was then made for leave to withdraw the amendment. A debate aroſe thereupon, and the queſtion being put, the houſe divided, and the Earl of Glandore reported, that the contents below the bar were 19, and the non-contents in the houſe were 46.

A motion was then made, that after the word "ſecurity" in the ſaid paragraph, the following words be expunged, "and of conſolidating as far as "poſſible into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power, and the "reſources of the Britiſh empire," which alſo paſſed in the negative. Another motion was then made by the Earl of Bellamont, that after the ſaid word "importance," the following words be inſerted, "ſo far as may be con-"ſiſtent with the permanent enjoyment, exerciſe, and tutelary vigilance of "our reſident and independent parliament, as eſtabliſhed, acknowledged, "and recognized." This motion was alſo negatived by a diviſion of 49 againſt 16. Fourteen of the lords in the minority proteſted.*

In the commons Lord Tyrone moved the addreſs, which he ſaid did not pledge him in any manner to ſupport the meaſure of an Union; let that queſtion of policy ſtand upon its own merits; let it be adopted or rejected as the intereſts of Ireland and the proſperity of the empire ſhould dictate. If upon inveſtigation it ſhould be found conducive to the advantage and ſtrengthening of both; no clamour, no violence ſhould make him ſwerve from the honorable line of his duty.

Colonel Fitzgerald, (member for the county of Cork) ſeconded the addreſs, expreſſing a zealous deſire that any ſtep likely to cement and ſtrengthen the connexion between the two countries ſhould be adopted.

Sir John Parnell ſaid, that as the ſpeech did not avow the meaſure of legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, nor recommend it directly to the conſideration of the houſe, it would be unneceſſary in that ſtage of the buſineſs to diſcuſs the queſtion, but the meaſure having been publicly avowed and introduced by a ſide wind into the ſpeech, he ſhould oppoſe it *in limine* as being a queſtion ſimple in its nature, and on which no further information was neceſſary, than to ſhew that they were called on to put an end

* Viz. Leinſter, Granard, Belvidere, Arran, Charlemont, Bellamont, Mountcaſhell, Kilkenny, Belmore, Powerſcourt, De Veſci, Wm. Down and Connor, Dunſany, Liſmore.

to the exiſtence of an Iriſh parliament, and to determine on the permanent and eſſential intereſts of their country for ever. They were called on to decide their conſtitution, their trade, their property, and on what was of ſtill more conſequence, the feelings of the public connected with a ſurrender of the conſtitution; an affrighted commerce, and a diminiſhed property. This would lay a ground for growing diſcontent, not promoted by declamation or irritation, not to be treated as the momentary convulſion of popular feelings, but proved by facts; which aggravated by experience muſt acquire force the longer it was ſuppreſſed, and produce conſequences greater than he wiſhed to venture to ſtate. He then adverted to the argument that a meaſure, which had been beneficial to Scotland would equally benefit Ireland. Ireland did not ſtand in the ſame relative poſition that day as England did in reſpect to that country at the time of the Union. The meaſure was then juſtified by neceſſity. This was ſo well underſtood, that according to Defoe, it was not unpopular in Scotland when firſt propoſed; it became ſo by publications calculated to inflame the minds of the people. Scotland had by an act of its parliament, diveſted the family of the ſucceſſion of the crown, on whom it had been entailed by the parliament of Great Britain.

The Engliſh parliament had in return declared the people of that country aliens and had interdicted their trade: there was no choice but ſubmiſſion or Union. But though a ſimilar neceſſity did not exiſt in Ireland as did at that time in Scotland, it was aſſerted that there exiſted a neceſſity equally cogent to make the adoption of the meaſure unavoidable in that country, viz. the conteſt between the Catholic and Proteſtant, and foreign invaſion. Could an act of parliament modify the conſtitution, or alter the minds of thoſe who propoſed to overturn it? Could it ſtop the progreſs of invading fleets, or the raſh enterpriſe of a deſperate army? Would the Catholic and Proteſtant mind be ſatisfied by each party ceaſing to have a parliament within their reach? They had better know their intereſt by relinquiſhing jealouſies, whereby they had been ſufferers in the extreme, and avoid by the continuance of them injuring the intereſts of their country and poſterity for ever.

It was alledged, that the Iriſh parliament was liable to influence, and not fit to be entruſted by the crown or the people: what a ſilly charge! Their conduct that night, at the ſame time that it would defeat an injurious meaſure, would confute the reaſoning offered in ſupport of it; by proving their independence, they would prove the falſehood of the calumny, which impeached

peached it. The evils complained of might be beſt remedied, in the caſe of the religious diſtinctions, by recollecting that they had a common intereſt with them; their affections were to be acquired by good treatment; and all to be preſerved by the efforts of a ſteady and wiſe government. He had formerly voted againſt Catholic claims, not from diſlike to any individual for his religion, but on a principle that it was unwiſe to change the exiſting government; notwithſtanding he had lived happily among them, and was ſatisfied, that if their paſſions had not been worked on, the ſpirit of affection would have prevailed, from the juſtice and moderation of the Proteſtant reſident landlords, which would have proved, that the diſcontents founded on religious prejudice, ought to have ſubſided in Ireland, as they had done in other countries.

The efforts of the enemy were better to be oppoſed by military force than by ſpeculating on the conſtitution: by relying on thoſe, whoſe loyalty they had experienced, than by riſquing the effects of alarming their feelings by innovating on the principles of the conſtitution. It was better to meet the evils which they knew, than riſque others, the extent of which they could not meaſure, viz. the entire ſurrender of the whole of their intereſts, for they were included in their conſtitutional privileges. He ſolemnly declared, he acted under no influence but that of his judgment. He recommended to them to adopt a ſimilarity of ſentiment with England; and reply to the adviſers of the meaſures, which had been propoſed, what England formerly did to the court of Rome, *nolumus leges Hiberniæ mutari.*

Mr. Tighe expreſſed the pleaſure he had in concurring in ſentiment with the right honorable gentleman, though he would enter into no diſcuſſion of the queſtion until it were brought directly before the houſe.

Lord Caſtlereagh felt himſelf called upon to ſay, that although there were not in the addreſs any ſpecific pledge to a meaſure of union, yet it was clearly implied in the wiſh to ſtrengthen the reſources of the empire: for he had no difficulty in ſaying, that he thought the only means of ſettling that unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connexion with Britain, were to be found in a legiſlative union; and on that ſubject he did intend at an early day to ſubmit a ſpecific motion to the houſe.

Mr. G. Ponſonby entered on an able attack and expoſure of the general principle of an union, by boldly avowing the principle, that neither the legiſlature, nor any power on earth, had a right or authority to annihilate the

Iriſh

Iriſh parliament, and deprive people for ever of their right to the benefits of the conſtitution, to civil liberty.

The miniſter had told them they ought to diſcuſs this meaſure with coolneſs; but when the miniſter himſelf would not leave men to the free exerciſe of their underſtanding, but turned out of office the beſt and oldeſt ſervants of the crown, becauſe they would not proſtitute their conſcience: when the terror of diſmiſſal was thus holden out to deter men in office from a fair exerciſe of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool diſcuſſion? He concluded, by moving an amendment, which would give every gentleman, who did not wiſh to pledge himſelf to a ſurrender of the rights of the country, an opportunity of ſpeaking his ſenſe. The amendment was, that after the paſſage which declared the willingneſs of the houſe to enter on a conſideration of what meaſures might beſt tend to confirm the common ſtrength of the empire, ſhould be inſerted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-"right of the people of Ireland to have a reſident and independent legiſla-"ture, ſuch as was recognized by the Britiſh legiſlature in 1782, and was "finally ſettled at the adjuſtment of all differences between the two coun-"tries."

Sir L. Parſons ſeconded the amendment.

Mr. Conolly oppoſed it, for the ſame reaſon which he had urged againſt the conſtitution of 1782, namely, that that conſtitution could not work two independent legiſlatures in one empire, being as abſurd and monſtrous, as two heads on one pair of ſhoulders. He gave a ſhort hiſtory of the country from 1782 to that time, and ſhewed, that many of the evils they had ſince experienced, had ariſen from the independence of the legiſlature, and particularly dwelt upon the notorious fact, that there had been 116 placemen and penſioners at one time in the Houſe of Commons ever ſince that period. What was ſuch independence worth?

Mr. Frederick Falkiner agreed with Mr. G. Ponſonby: he did not think the lord lieutenant's conduct, ſince he had had the adminiſtration of that country, deſerved his praiſe. To Lord Camden the country was indebted for their preſervation, in the glorious yeomanry inſtitution. The horrid and unnatural rebellion was put down before that nobleman left the country; and had he remained there a little longer, it had been completely extinguiſhed, and the yeomanry upholden in that degree their ſervices ſo highly merited.

Lord

Lord Clements ſupported the amendment, and hoped too it would be ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by all the virtue of the Britiſh ſenate, as a meaſure only calculated enormouſly to increaſe the power of the crown, and influence of the miniſter, and therefore ruinous to the true proſperity of the empire.

Mr. Fitzgerald, late prime ſerjeant, ſaid, that nothing could contribute to defeat the meaſure, or to awaken the honeſt indignation of the independent gentlemen of Ireland, ſo effectually, as an open and avowed war againſt the freedom and liberties of parliament, by the removal of the truſty ſervants of the public from their ſituations, which they held with honor to themſelves, and advantage to their country. It being thought neceſſary to hold them out as examples to ſtop the growing mutiny and inſurrection of honor and conſcience againſt the influence of office. No man could hold a place under government, who did not vote for that meaſure. But the Britiſh miniſter, he pledged himſelf, was too wiſe and too magnanimous to wiſh for an union on ſuch terms.

If the amendment, which his honorable and learned friend had propoſed, and ſupported with ſuch tranſcendent ability, ſhould not be carried, that, he feared, would be the laſt time he ſhould have the honor of addreſſing an Iriſh parliament: for though the pageantry and ceremony of its funeral might take up ſome time, and give opportunities for lamentations, yet, if the amendment were negatived, the character of parliament would be extinguiſhed: and character was a phœnix, which died but once, and from its aſhes there was no reſurrection. Conſidering, that the queſtion involved every thing that could be dear to a nation, he would treſpaſs upon the houſe, and briefly ſtate the principle of his vote. Contrary to the influence of every private affection, and differing from thoſe, with whom he had long acted, and to whom he would yield his own opinion on any meaſure of temporary effect, he adopted the amendment, becauſe his mind was impreſſed with this conviction, that the extinction of the legiſlature of Ireland would, ſooner or later, produce a convulſion, in which the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland would be at ſtake, and would render that devoted country more than ever ſubject to the intrigues of France, emaſculated of that vigor and energy with which it ever had, and he truſted, whilſt it retained its independence, ever would ſtand by Great Britain. It was not, in his opinion, within the moral competence of parliament, to deſtroy and extinguiſh itſelf, and with it the rights and liberties of thoſe who created it. The conſtituent

parts

parts of a ſtate are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all thoſe, who derive any ſerious intereſt under their engagements; ſuch a compact may, with reſpect to Great Britain, be an union; but with reſpect to Ireland, it will be a revolution, and a revolution of a moſt alarming nature. He referred to Dr. Johnſon's remark to an Iriſhman on the ſubject of an union: "don't unite with us," ſaid he, "we ſhall unite with you only to rob you; "we ſhould have robbed the Scots, if they had any thing to be robbed of." The Britiſh nation had been deceived, to think that the people of Ireland were tired of their parliament—that their parliament was unworthy. It would indeed prove its unworthineſs by conſenting to its own extinction. It was the misfortune of the day, that the opinions and motives of men were generally miſrepreſented.

Mr. Fitzgerald, (Knight of Kerry) oppoſed the amendment, becauſe, the rebellion having ſhaken the country to its centre, made ſome arrangement neceſſary; becauſe it was obvious, the country could not have been ſaved, and was now preſerved but by force. That was a ſtate in which things could not long remain, becauſe principles had got among the people of the country, which induced them to give their confidence to parliament only ſo far as the parliament tended to ſever the connexion; and finally, becauſe if that principle were not checked, it muſt ultimately end in ſeparation. He attributed much of the exiſting miſchief, to the parliament being founded on too narrow a baſe, and to the unhappy difference of religion which exiſted in the country; both thoſe circumſtances gave a caſt of prejudice and bigotry to the Iriſh parliament. The happineſs of the country then demanded that they ſhould reſort to an higher and more enlightened legiſlature, who would be above thoſe local prejudices. With regard to the civil rights of the people of Ireland being ſurrendered by an union, he knew of no rights, which they had not from the law of England, and by that law they would continue to be governed after an union, perhaps better than before.

Colonel Vereker ſaid, that if he could be perſuaded that a legiſlative union with Great Britain would inſure internal tranquillity to his diſtracted country, that it would prevent foreign invaſion, or add to the national wealth, he ſhould chearfully agree in the principle of it; but entertaining the oppoſite ſentiments, not taken up haſtily, but upon mature conſideration, he ſhould vote for the amendment.

Mr. O'Hara ſaid, the Iriſh parliament had uniformly been making acquiſi-

tions

tions for the country from the time of the octennial bill to that day. He denied the right of parliament to alter the conſtitution, and ſupported the amendment.

Mr. Lee would willingly give up national pride, or any ſuch paſſion, if the ſacrifice would ſecure tranquillity, but he was convinced it could have no ſuch effect. There was ſome radical error in the ſyſtem of Iriſh government. It ſhould be fought for and corrected; elſe here the ſeeds of diſcontent would fructify for ever. England was approaching her grand climacteric. Once ſhe was democratic, and at that time the miniſter was obliged to look to the landed intereſt for ſupport. Since the revolution, though there were not 116 placemen and penſioners in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, (there were only 80) yet the miniſter was become leſs dependent on the country gentlemen; they had ſince that period continued to become leſs important to the miniſter of the day; and dupes indeed would be the landed men of England, if they ever ſuffered one hundred Iriſh members to be introduced into the Britiſh Commons; for then, indeed, the miniſter would be independent of them and of the country. With his forty-ſix Scotchmen on one land, his corps of ſeapoys, (for even the Nabobs had repreſentatives in that virtuous parliament to which they were called to give up their intereſts), on the other, and his one hundred hardy Hibernians as a corps of reſerve, what might not he do, thus ſupported? Parliament was not competent to the change they were called on to make: but they might be made competent. Let the parliament be diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned, with public notice, that they were aſſembled for the expreſs purpoſe of conſidering the meaſure; and ſuch a parliament would come commiſſioned with expreſs authority for the purpoſe. He gave his decided approbation to the amendment.

Mr. Crookſhank, in a very long ſpeech, ſupported the amendment: and concluded, by conjuring the houſe to recollect its ſacred truſt, its ſolemn reſponſibility; to preſerve and reſtore to their conſtituents inviolate, that conſtitution under which they had proſpered beyond example, and the ſurrender of which, by a ſordid unequal contract, could produce no benefit whatever, and muſt entail evils and misfortunes incalculable on the country.

Mr. St. George Daly thought nothing but ſuch a radical arrangement could heal the diſtractions of their country. He allowed parliament was incompetent to take away the rights of the people; but he denied, that an union violated any right. He allowed praiſe to the framers of the conſtitu-

tion of 1782; but contended it was the ſeparate and independent exiſtence of the two legiſlatures then eſtabliſhed, which made the meaſure now neceſſary.

Mr. M'Naghten confeſſed and declared it to be his firm opinion, that the only method of ſecuring the connexion between the two kingdoms, and the exiſtence of that country as a civilized ſtate, was a legiſlative Union. His opinion was the reſult of long and ſerious reflection.

Sir Boyle Roche ſaid he was for an Union, to put an end to uniting between Preſbyterians, Proteſtants, and Catholics to overturn the conſtitution.

Honorable Mr. Skeffington reprobated in ſtrong terms the idea of tranſferring or ſurrendering the legiſlative independence of Ireland to any power on earth, and warmly ſupported the amendment.

Mr. French ſaid, that the able diſcuſſion of the queſtion had fully convinced him, that parliament was not competent to decide on the queſtion of an incorporating Union with Great Britain. He therefore ſupported the amendment.

Colonel B. Maxwell fully concurred with Mr. G. Ponſonby, that parliament was totally incompetent to entertain the meaſure; he therefore gave it his moſt unequivocal and decided oppoſition *in limine*. A parliament which could be baſe enough to betray the rights and liberties of their country, not only at preſent, but to all future generations, would deſerve annihilation. He conjured the houſe, as they valued their own character, as they valued the liberties of themſelves and their poſterity, as they valued the Britiſh connexion, to convince the miniſter of Great Britain, that they were determined, at the riſque of every thing that was dear to them, to ſupport and hand down unimpaired to their poſterity, the rights, liberties, and independence of their native land.

Colonel Archdall would oppoſe the Union in every ſhape.

Mr. Barrington (judge of the Admiralty) roſe with great agitation. The exiſtence of Ireland was in queſtion, and he felt his feeble talents ſhrink before the coloſſal magnitude of the ſubject; he had heard of calm and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion; it was the language of a ſlave; he who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy or indifference muſt be leſs than man, or more than mortal. Whatever capacity, whatever ſpirit, whatever energy God or nature had given him, he conſidered himſelf as holding but in truſt for his country, to be expended for her uſe, whenever her oppreſſions or diſtreſſes drew for their aſſiſtance. He loved his king, he adored the conſtitution,

tion; and he now conſidered himſelf as defending both againſt the deſperate ſyſtem of an indefinitely ambitious miniſter. The Iriſh parliament had heretofore deliberated on revocable local regulations, or national arrangement, but now a mighty and imperial queſtion opened itſelf for their diſcuſſion: a project, to ſubject irrevocably one independent country to the will of another, and both to the will of a miniſter already ſtronger than the crown, and more powerful than the people; and this great and important uſurpation ſtolen into parliament through the fulſome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation, pledging the houſe to the diſcuſſion of a principle ſubverſive of their liberties, and in the hour of convaleſcence calling on it to commit ſuicide. Ireland had not fair play; her parliament had not fair play; the fouleſt and moſt unconſtitutional means, he believed, had been uſed to intimidate and to corrupt it, and either to force or to ſeduce a ſuffrage, when nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced opinion could warrant for a moment the moſt diſtant view of ſo ruinous a ſubject. He had good reaſon to believe, that corrupt and unconſtitutional means had been uſed by the noble lord to individuals of the Iriſh parliament.* Some of thoſe means were open and avowed: two of the oldeſt, moſt reſpectable, and moſt beloved officers of the crown had been diſplaced, becauſe they preſumed to hint an opinion adverſe to the ſtripling's dictates, on a ſubject where their country was at ſtake; their removals crowned them with glory, and the miniſter with contempt. He aſſerted, that other gentlemen in office, whoſe opinions were decidedly adverſe to the meaſure, but whoſe circumſtances could not bear ſimilar ſacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced againſt their will to vote againſt their country: he had good reaſon to believe, that unconſtitutional interference had been uſed by the executive power with the legiſlative body; one gentleman refuſed the inſtructions of his conſtituents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumoured) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort uſed to deſtroy the free agency of parliament; if this were true, it encroached on the conſtitution, and if the executive power overſtept its bounds, the people were warranted to do the ſame on their part, and between both it might be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amaze-

* Here Mr. Barrington was called to order, and his words deſired to be taken down; on which Mr. Plunket roſe, and declared the ſame opinion, and his determination to uſe ſtronger language; and recommended the words to be taken down in order to bring the ſubject forward. This not being perſiſted in by the Treaſury Bench, Mr. Barrington continued,

ment how the ſame people could have been wiſe enough to frame the beſt conſtitution upon earth, and fooliſh enough to deſtroy it. One king and two kingdoms was the cry of the people of Ireland. The Britiſh miniſter had too much wiſdom to have preſſed this meaſure on Ireland, had he known her temper and ſituation; but he had been greatly deceived by miſrepreſentation from that country: hot-headed injudicious ſpirits had been liſtened to, whilſt the ſage and honeſt repreſentation of the wiſeſt of Ireland's children had been diſregarded. Theſe were objections to any diſcuſſion of the ſubject; and much as he reſpected Great Britain, no idle parade of compliment ſhould prevail upon him one moment to loſe ſight of Ireland. He then argued at length on the incompetence of the Iriſh commons to ſurrender the eſſence of their delegation.

The treacherous reaſons aſſigned for the completion of this project, were their differences and misfortunes; differences which aroſe from the duplicity of that ſame miniſter, who now fought to ſubdue them, and misfortunes which were ſtimulated by him, to adapt them for his own conqueſt.

Why ſhould they apply to 547 Engliſh and Scotchmen, to arrange their trade and modify their national eſtabliſhments? It was abſurd and inſolent to demand, and it would be mean, vicious, and puſillanimous to ſubmit to it.

Great Britain had nothing to give, which could compenſate the loſs of independence; they aſked no favor from her, and would ſubmit to no injury, they would unite with her as a friend and as a ſiſter in the common cauſe; their lives and their properties ſhould be united with her in ſupport of their king and conſtitution; they would riſe and fall with her; but they would not ſubmit to be ruled by a Britiſh faction, and plundered by a Britiſh miniſter, to ſatisfy the avarice or the jealouſy of thoſe perſons, to whoſe confidence and liberality that miniſter owed his gratitude, and which he could only repay by heaping burthens upon Ireland. It was clear as noon-day, that his ſyſtem had been moſt treacherous; his government in Ireland excited the different ſects to oppoſe each other; an indolent ſyſtem was adopted, to permit ſome ſtrength to the diſaffected; then a vigorous ſyſtem, to give energy to the loyaliſt. Then government acted on the defenſive againſt treaſon; then the miniſter plunged into martial law; the Catholic and the Proteſtant were alternately encouraged and depreſſed; the loyalty of the yeomanry ſaved Ireland; both parties had bled and were weak; and what is called the lenient ſyſtem was adopted; the rebel was pardoned, and ſent back

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to rob, to murder, and burn; the yeoman and the loyaliſt were either inſulted, oppreſſed, or degraded, in ſome inſtances executed; the loyal national ſpirit was purpoſely ſuppreſſed; and when all was ripe for a government revolution, the meaſure of an Union, equally oppreſſive and diſguſting to every claſs and every ſect, was brought forward, in expectation that the Iriſh were too worn, too weak, and too indifferent to reſiſt or reject any thing which profeſſed to be for their tranquillization. And to prove that this ſyſtem was adopted for theſe purpoſes, it was only neceſſary to recollect the words of the noble lord who propoſed it: "that it had been a meaſure long conſidered "and maturely weighed." If that were the caſe, it was obvious, that it might have been brought forward in a time of tranquillity; and equally obvious, that it had been purpoſely poſtponed, till that deſperate ſyſtem had ſufficiently worked upon the nation, to adapt it to the miniſter's will and pleaſure. But the parliament had yet virtue enough to reſiſt an act of national degradation. The Britiſh miniſter had better be aware of this ſyſtem of treachery and fraternization; it was by the very ſame means, and for the very ſame objects, that the French Republic had over-run all Europe; and with the very ſame ſyſtem, and for the very ſame purpoſes, that ſhe had aſſailed Ireland. A deſperate example to the Britiſh empire, and an attempt unworthy of the generoſity and character of the Britiſh nation!

The compact between Great Britain and Ireland was not all on one ſide. She took Iriſh linens; Ireland fed her fleets. She protected Iriſh trade; Ireland gave her ſoldiers. There was no nation on earth would not be proud of their connexion on the ſame terms. It never, therefore, ſhould be ſaid, that the dependence was ſolely on one ſide. England might ruin Ireland; but in doing ſo, ſhe would deſtroy herſelf: and ſhe is too wiſe and too cunning to ſuppoſe, that a wounded limb could give vigor to an enfeebled body. He ſaid, that on the abſtract queſtion he was clear and decided; the diſcuſſion of detail admitted a principle, which he was determined to reſiſt by every means and to every extremity. He declared his ſentiments openly, boldly, and deciſively, that no terms which Great Britain could grant, no favor ſhe could beſtow, could form any compenſation for the loſs of their independence and ſecurity; and though he had on moſt ſubjects freely and zealouſly given his ſupport to the king's government, on that queſtion no earthly conſideration could ever conſole him for ſurrendering the honor, the ſecurity, and the liberties of his country.

Sir

Sir J. Blaquiere in ſtrong terms refiſted the charges of undue influence, and corruption, made by the honorable member againſt the adminiſtration; obſerving how completely that charge was refuted, by the conduct and ſpeeches of ſo many gentlemen, the reputed friends of government. Was it, he aſked, poſſible, that any tranquillity could be expected in the land, whilſt ſo many cauſes of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction among the people remained? Were not the Catholics looking for emancipation; the Preſbyterians for reform; a great bulk of the people for a regulation of tithes? Did not all theſe diſcontents aggregated together, and abetted by the machinations of the united ſocieties, make a formidable enemy in their boſom? There were not two ways of meeting it. The honorable member who propoſed amendment, with a flow of ſuch tranſcendant eloquence, as had ſeldom been heard in that houſe, had expreſsly ſtated, that the Roman Catholics muſt oppoſe the Union. He knew not the mind of Catholics upon the ſubject; but he ſhould ſpeak his own:—That the Roman Catholics, under the preſent order of things, could never be accommodated, as he feared, with what they aſked, without imminent danger to the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, both in church and ſtate; but if once an Union ſhould be adopted, all thoſe difficulties would vaniſh, and he ſhould ſee none in granting them every thing they deſired. What the ſentiments of government upon that ſubject were, he knew not; he ſpoke his own.

Remove theſe difficulties, unite with England, and ſee the proud ground on which Ireland was placed. Ireland, geographically and phyſically conſidered, ſtood pre-eminently before all other nations, the fit mark or emporium of the known world. She embarked in the inviting commerce, aided by Engliſh capitals, without taxes, and without a debt, whilſt all the other nations of Europe were ſinking under their burthens. Peace among themſelves, and ſecurity againſt the common enemy, was all he deſired: and if any man would ſhew other means, by which thoſe objects could be obtained, he would vote againſt the Union;—but gentlemen knew it was impoſſible.

Mr. Dobbs declared, that the ſyſtem of governing Ireland by corruption, had filled them with diſguſt and indignation. The horrors of the late rebellion, and the dreadful animoſities ſtill exiſting, inclined them to liſten to any thing likely to tranquillize the country. He had never for a moment conſidered a legiſlative Union but an evil; and he had only heſitated whether, by accepting it, he might not avoid a greater. With theſe feelings, he had

had given the ſubject a full and diſpaſſionate inveſtigation; the reſult was a decided opinion, that Great Britain could propoſe no terms that Ireland ought to accede to.

The noble lord had ſaid, if it be the wiſh of the people and parliament, that the meaſure ſhould be adopted, it ought to be acceded to. That he did not deny. But that ſenſe ſhould be fully aſcertained, without compulſion, or undue influence of any kind. Now, as far as the voice of the people had been yet collected, it was decidedly againſt it; and nothing but force, actual or implied, with the aid of undue influence, could carry the meaſure againſt Iriſh independence. What ſignified declarations of conſulting parliament and the people, when actions, the beſt of all teſtimonies, ſpoke coercion and undue influence? Two gentlemen, high in office, had been turned out, becauſe they expreſſed a will of their own on this great queſtion, *in terrorem* to all who held offices, from which they could be diſmiſſed. He had a partiality for the preſent adminiſtration; but a conduct of that nature would turn that partiality into enmity. He told the noble lord, that if the meaſure were carried by ſuch means, againſt the public ſentiment, he was not uniting, but ſeparating the two countries.

He openly avowed, that though he had hitherto been the warm friend of Engliſh connexion, he would meditate ſeparation, from the moment that a legiſlative Union ſhould be carried by force, whether that force were direct or implied.

Mr. Knox (member for Philipſtown) lamented, that that accurſed meaſure had long been the favorite object of that miniſter in England, whoſe wild ambition had already led to the deſtruction of empires; and which then fought to annihilate that nation. In order to forward that wicked ſcheme, great pains had been taken by thoſe, who managed the affairs of government under his guidance, to promote and keep alive among the people every diſtinction of party and religion, all differences of opinion whether in politics or religion had been induſtriouſly fomented and encouraged, and every means taken to diſtract and divide the inhabitants of that land. If that fatal meaſure ſhould ever be carried, henceforth that inſulted, degraded, debaſed country would be made a barrack, a depôt from whence to draw the means of enſlaving Great Britain, and no reſource left to ſave either country but a revolution.

Mr. Hans Hamilton declared that an Union was a meaſure he ſhould ever firmly oppoſe within thoſe walls with his vote, without them with his life; but

he

he foreſaw that the hour was at hand, that would prove this to be the moſt glorious day that Ireland had ever beheld, and that would enable the members to go forth to their conſtituents, and to aſſure them they were repreſented by an Iriſh parliament, that never would betray their independance.

Sir J. Freke alſo ſpoke in ſupport of the amendment.

Lord Caſtlereagh felt, that in juſtice to himſelf and to his country he ought to ſtate his reaſons for favouring the meaſure of a legiſlative Union with great Britain. He had liſtened with patient attention to much heated declamation, but had heard very little ſound reaſoning. He had heard imputations caſt againſt his ſide of the houſe, that might have been retorted, but for the interference of more refined manners.

His lordſhip truſted, that no man would decide on a meaſure of ſuch importance as that in part before the houſe, on private or perſonal motives; for if a deciſion were thus to be influenced, it would be the moſt unfortunate that could ever affect the country. What was the object of this meaſure, but ſuch as every loyal man, who really loved his country, muſt feel the ſtrongeſt attachment to; by an incorporation of their legiſlature with that of Great Britain, it would not only conſolidate the ſtrength and glory of the empire, but it would change their internal and local government to a ſyſtem of ſtrength and calm ſecurity, inſtead of being a garriſon in the iſland. That was but a part of many and numerous advantages, which the ſtage of the buſineſs did not then render neceſſary to be entered into, and which would come more ſuitably at a future period. As to the argument of the parliament's incompetency to entertain the queſtion, he did not expect to hear ſuch an argument from conſtitutional lawyers, or to hear advanced the poſition, that a legiſlature was not at all times competent to do that, for which it could only have been inſtituted; the adoption of the beſt means to promote the general happineſs and proſperity. After the melancholy ſtate, to which that country had been reduced, his majeſty's miniſters would feel that they abdicated their duty to the empire, if they did not ſeriouſly conſider that ſtate and adopt the beſt remedy for the evils which it compriſed. It was the misfortune of that country to have in it no fixed principles, on which the human mind could reſt: no one ſtandard, to which the different prejudices of the country could be accommodated. What was the price of connection at preſent with Great Britain? A military eſtabliſhment far beyond their natural means of ſupport, and for which they were indebted to Great Britain, which was alſo

obliged

obliged to guarantee their public loans. It was not by flattery, that the country could be ſaved. Truth, however diſagreeable muſt be told; and if Ireland did not boldly look her ſituation in the face and accept that Union which would ſtrengthen and ſecure her, ſhe would perhaps have no alternative, but to ſink into the embrace of French fraternity. You talk, ſaid his lordſhip, of national pride and independence, but where is the ſolidity of this boaſt? You have not the Britiſh conſtitution, nor can you have it conſiſtently with your preſent ſpecies of connexion with Great Britain. That conſtitution does not recognize two ſeparate and independent legiſlatures under one crown. The greater country muſt lead; the leſs naturally follow, and muſt be practically ſubordinate in imperial concerns: but this neceſſary and beneficial operation of the general will muſt be preceded by eſtabliſhing one common intereſt.

As the pride of Ireland advanced with her wealth, it might happen, that ſhe would not join Great Britain in her wars. It was only a common policy, that would make that certain. Incorporate with Great Britain, and you have a common intereſt and common means. If Great Britain call for your ſubjection, reſiſt it: but if ſhe wiſh to unite with you on terms of equality, it is madneſs not to accept the offer. Gentlemen had diſtinguiſhed the caſe of Scotland from that of Ireland; but they were directly the ſame. All queſtions had arguments on both ſides: the leaſt evil was to be choſen. One objection to the meaſure was, that the legiſlature would not be local. For that reaſon the meaſure ſhould be adopted. With a local legiſlature, and the preſent diviſion of the people, Ireland could not go on. Other objections aroſe: but they all terminated in local prejudice or pride, and all of them that had been ſtarted, diſcuſſed and refuted in the caſe of Scotland. Abſentees formed another objection. They would be ſomewhat increaſed, no doubt, by an Union: but the evil would be compenſated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of an intermediate claſs of men between the landlord and the peaſant: a claſs of men, whoſe loſs was felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower claſs. Theſe an Union would bring over from England. They would alſo have capital from thence. And as to emigration, the difficulty and expence would counteract that evil. At all events, theſe inconveniencies would be but a grain of ſand compared with the advantages, which would be derived from internal ſecurity and their growing together in habits of amity and affection.

He concluded by profeſſing himſelf attached to the meaſure only by the love of his country, and his conviction that the intereſts of that country would be promoted permanently and effectually by an incorporation of the two legiſlatures.

Colonel Gilbert King felt it to be the duty he owed his conſtituents, his country and himſelf to vote for the amendment and againſt the Union whenever it ſhould be brought forward.

Mr. Plunket ſpoke with great warmth. He congratulated them on the candid avowal of the noble lord who juſt ſat down; he had expoſed the project in its naked hideouſneſs and deformity; he had told them that the neceſſity of ſacrificing their independence, flowed from the nature of their connexion; it was now avowed that the meaſure did not flow from any temporary cauſe; that it was not produced in conſequence of any late rebellion, or accidental diſturbance in the country; that its neceſſity did not ariſe from the danger of modern political innovations, or from recent attempts of wicked men to ſeparate their country from Great Britain; no, they were now informed by the noble lord, that the condition of their ſlavery was engrafted on the principles of their connexion, and that by the decrees of fate Ireland had been doomed a dependant colony from her cradle. After that barefaced avowal, there could be little difference of opinion: He truſted that every honeſt man, who regarded the freedom of Ireland or who regarded the connexion with England, would by his vote on that night refute the unfounded and ſeditious doctrine. He had borne arms to cruſh the wretches who propagated the falſe and wicked creed, "that Britiſh connexion was hoſtile to Iriſh free-"dom;" and he was now called on to combat it, coming from the lips of the noble lord at the head of adminiſtration?

The freedom of diſcuſſion, which had taken place had given great offence to gentlemen on the treaſury bench; they were men of nice and punctilious honor, and they would not endure that any thing ſhould be ſaid which implied a reflection on their untainted and virgin integrity. They threatened, ſaid he, to take down the words of an honorable gentleman who had ſpoken before him, becauſe they conveyed an inſinuation: and he promiſed them on that occaſion, that if the fancy for taking down words continued, he would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. He was determined to keep his word with them: he would not inſinuate, but directly aſſert, that baſe and wicked as was the object propoſed, the means uſed to effect it had been more

flagitious

flagitious and abominable! Did they chooſe to take down his words? Did they dare him to the proof? He had been induced to think that they had at the head of the executive government in that country, a plain honeſt ſoldier, unaccuſtomed to and diſdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directneſs and purity of his views, had choſen for his ſecretary a ſimple and modeſt youth (*Puer ingenui vultûs ingenuique pudoris*) whoſe inexperience was the voucher of his innocence: yet was he bold to ſay, that during the vice-royalty of that unſpotted veteran, and during the adminiſtration of that unaſſuming ſtripling, within the laſt ſix weeks, a ſyſtem of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the caſtle, which would diſgrace the annals of the worſt period of the hiſtory of either country. Did they chooſe to take down his words? He needed to call no witneſſes to their bar to prove them. He ſaw two right honorable gentlemen ſitting within thoſe walls, who had long and faithfully ſerved the crown, and who had been diſmiſſed, becauſe they dared to expreſs a ſentiment in favor of the freedom of their country. He ſaw another honorable gentleman, who had been forced to reſign his place as commiſſioner of the revenue, becauſe he refuſed to co-operate in that dirty job of a dirty adminiſtration: did they dare to deny this? "I ſay that at this moment the threat of diſmiſſal from "office is ſuſpended over the heads of the members, who now ſit around me, "in order to influence their votes on the queſtion of this night, involving "every thing that can be ſacred or dear to man: do you deſire to take down "my words? Utter the deſire, and I will prove the truth of them at your "bar. Sir, I would warn you againſt the conſequences of carrying this meaſure by ſuch means as this, but that I ſee the neceſſary defeat of it in the "honeſt and univerſal indignation which the adoption of ſuch means excites: "I ſee the protection againſt the wickedneſs of the plan, in the imbecility "of its execution, and I congratulate my country, that when a deſign was "formed againſt their liberties, the proſecution of it was entruſted to ſuch "hands as it is now placed in." He then entered into a very wide range of the ſubject, which he moſt violently reprobated, and bitterly inveighed againſt the Britiſh miniſter for having acted inſidiouſly towards his friend and ally in the hour of her calamity and diſtreſs. At a moment when Ireland was filled with Britiſh troops, where the loyal men were fatigued and exhauſted by their efforts to ſubdue rebellion; efforts, in which they had ſucceeded before thoſe troops arrived, whilſt their *Habeas Corpus* act was ſuſpended, whilſt trials by

court martial were carrying on in many parts of the kingdom, whilſt the people were taught to think, that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilſt the great body of them were ſo palſied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that even the vital queſtion was ſcarcely able to rouſe them from their lethargy: at a moment, when they were diſtracted by domeſtic diſſentions: diſſentions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their preſent ſubjugation, and the inſtrument of their future thraldom. He thanked adminiſtration for the meaſure. They were without intending it, putting an end to their diſſentions. Through that black cloud, which they had collected over them, he ſaw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country; they had compoſed diſſentions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and ſubdued rebellion, not by hallooing the Proteſtant againſt the Catholic and the Catholic againſt the Proteſtant, not by committing the north againſt the ſouth, not by inconſiſtent appeals to local or party prejudices: no, but by the avowal of that atrocious conſpiracy againſt the liberties of Ireland, they had ſubdued every petty feeling and ſubordinate diſtinction. They had united every rank and deſcription of men by the preſſure of that grand and momentous ſubject; and he told them, that they would ſee every honeſt and independent man in Ireland rally round her conſtitution, and merge every other conſideration in his oppoſition to that ungenerous and odious meaſure; for his own part, he would reſiſt it to the laſt gaſp of his exiſtence and with the laſt drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his diſſolution approaching, he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar and ſwear them to eternal hoſtility againſt the invaders of their country's freedom.

Mr. C. Oſborne ſupported the Union, on the firmeſt conviction of its propriety and neceſſity to preſerve the connexion between both countries and ſecure the tranquillity of Ireland.

The Right Honorable George Ogle execrated the principle of the Union, and would oppoſe it in every ſtage.

Mr. Hardy ſpoke largely for the amendment. Admitting the right of the people to call for an Union, who (he put the queſtion), except the corporation of Cork, had aſked for it? Had parliament, or either houſe of parliament, or any body of men whatever? Juſt the reverſe: the moſt reſpectable public bodies, with the city of Dublin, and the law at their head, had remonſtrated moſt ſtrongly againſt it. They never had any plan or ſyſtem for the government

government of Ireland, but conſulted merely the exigence of the moment, and no more. In 1792 they ſupported the Proteſtants; at the latter end of that year, Dumourier's arms prevailed, and in the beginning of 1793, they favoured the Catholics. In 1795 they again abandoned them; and thus having gone through a variety of ſchemes, they came at laſt to the extreme bound of their policy, and propoſed an Union. This, they thought, was to cloſe all differences. Suppoſe it did not, and he was certain it would not, what would they propoſe next? A diſſolution of the Union, or dragooning, or what?

Mr. Corry obſerved, that gentlemen were bound in common decency to conſider the ſpeech from the throne. His Majeſty, from the unfortunate complexion of affairs in that country, recommended it to his parliament of Ireland to take meaſures for conſolidating the connexion between both countries, while it was in danger of being diſſolved by the attempts of an invading army, and the machinations of domeſtic traitors.

The meaſure of an Union was propoſed for diſcuſſion only; and though he conſidered it as the only means that could afford ſafety to Ireland, and ſecurity to the empire, yet if it ſhould meet the diſapprobation of the houſe, and of the people without doors, he had no heſitation in ſaying, that it ought to be rejected. However, ſurely gentlemen would give it the diſcuſſion it deſerved; for a rejection *in limine* would be treating the ſpeech from the throne with diſreſpect. Mr. Corry concluded with an earneſt entreaty to gentlemen to conſider that they were not pledged to the meaſure by voting the addreſs.

Mr. Coote expreſſed, that warm as was the language of ſome gentlemen, he would not agree to record in the journals an interdict to the diſcuſſion and conſideration of any union whatever with Great Britain; on the other hand, he was ready to pledge himſelf never to ſupport any union which did not meet the decided approbation of parliament, and of the people. He would ſay nothing of the detail of the meaſure; but the conduct of Great Britain in the Scotch Union, aſſured him, that the detail would be favourable to Ireland, and that revenue would not be the object of Great Britain: it was not ſo in the union with Scotland, for forty years Great Britain never gained any thing from the exchequer of Scotland. The Scottiſh union was brought about by the Whigs of both kingdoms; and he truſted that every man who, wiſhed well to whiggiſm, would conſent to the diſcuſſion of that important queſtion; which

which, in his judgment, would ſtrengthen their connexion with Great Britain, and eſſentially conſolidate the permanent intereſts of Ireland.

Mr. D. B. Daly ſaid, his conſtituents had given in their opinion boldly, like Iriſhmen, determined to hazard their lives and properties in defence of the independence of the legiſlature of their country; and he would venture his life and property in defence of the ſame, in oppoſition to an Union.

Colonel O'Donnel (in a maiden ſpeech) obſerved, had he not been determined to oppoſe ſo infamous a meaſure, previous to his coming down to that houſe, the able and ſpirited arguments uſed that night by the oppoſers of a Legiſlative Union, would make him anxious to have his name enrolled with ſuch a glorious band of patriots. On one ſide he ſaw oppoſing the meaſure, the landed intereſt, the talents, and the integrity of the nation: on the other ſide, he beheld it ſupported by placemen and penſioners; few only indeed excepted. Should the legiſlative independence of Ireland be voted away by a parliament, which was not competent thereto, he ſhould hold himſelf diſcharged from his allegiance; the conſtitution would be violated, and he would join the people in preſerving their rights: he would oppoſe the rebels in rich clothes with as much energy, as he ever had the rebels in rags.

Mr. Mahon ſaid he was no placeman or penſioner, but by mature conſideration was convinced of the advantages, both to Ireland and Great Britain, of a Legiſlative Union between the two countries.

Mr. J. C. Beresford attended to the inſtructions of his conſtituents on this occaſion, becauſe they coincided with his own. He had the higheſt perſonal regard for the Noble Lord, who in his official capacity as ſecretary had brought forward the queſtion, ſo deſtructive and deteſted by the Iriſh nation. He was ſorry that he had been made the inſtrument to bring forward ſuch a propoſition. For the miniſter of England he entertained the higheſt reſpect. He had been ever in the habits of ſupporting his adminiſtration, from an approbation of his conduct, and an admiration of his abilities; but no motives of perſonal regard, not even to his deareſt and neareſt connexions, could induce him to give a vote in parliament, whereby he ſhould conceive himſelf acceſſary to the annihilation of the legiſlative independence of his country.

Mr. Edgeworth, in a ſhort ſpeech, delivered his ſentiments againſt the meaſure, and concluded with approving of the amendment.

Mr. Egan went very fully into the queſtion.

Mr. H. Oſborne ſaid a few words in ſupport of the amendment.

Dr. A.

Dr. A. Brown, in a very pointed manner declared himſelf an irreconcileable enemy to the meaſure of an Union.

Mr. Ball felt confident that this unconſtitutional and profligate meaſure would never again be propounded to the Iriſh parliament. Were he diſpoſed to do ſo, he ſhould find little difficulty in proving, that the evils ariſing from it were certain, inevitable and immediate; ſuch as muſt end, at no very remote period, in a total ſeparation from England, or what was worſe, in a regular plan of government, uniformly and ſyſtematically enforced againſt the will of the people by military coercion. The advantages holden out as likely to accrue from it, were not only remote and precarious, but falſe, imaginary, and deluſive: and that even if the meaſure were in itſelf a good one, the attempt to precipitate it at a time of general commotion and public alarm, muſt ſuggeſt a ſuſpicion to the nation of unfair dealing, and lay the foundation of incurable jealouſies for ever.

Mr. Martin ſaid, he perfectly agreed to every part of the addreſs, and diſſented from the amendment. An Union upon fair and equitable terms to the country he believed was the only mean between an oppreſſive ariſtocracy, and the late democratic licentiouſneſs of the people. He was ſorry he could not agree with any deſcription of gentlemen who oppoſed the addreſs. Some he could not agree with, for they did not agree with themſelves; others he had uniformly differed from; but he differed moſt from them, when they oppoſed thoſe meaſures of mercy, which were the firſt and propitious acts of his Excellency's government; acts to which they owed their preſent exiſtence as a nation, and which if they could add nothing to the full meaſure of his glory, did more to ſubdue the rebellion, than all their ſanguinary laws, and all the permitted exceſſes of them, which had deluged their land in blood. The meaſure had the approbation of his head and heart.

Mr. Holmes alſo ſupported the original address.

Lord Corry felt it his duty to deliver his decided diſapprobation of the meaſure as diſgraceful to the country, as well as pregnant with every poſſible miſchief to its conſtitution, commerce and manufactures; he would therefore oppoſe it in every ſtage.

Lord Cole followed, and in a very warm manner condemned the meaſure, and pledged himſelf to oppoſe it in every ſhape.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnel never would conſent to a meaſure, which he termed, infamous, wicked, and degrading. He denied that the conſtitution was an article

article to be bartered for; he denied the power of parliament to barter or diſpoſe of it, on any terms; and he publicly aſſerted, that ſhould they ever be baſe enough to do ſo, the people would have a right to oppoſe it; for his part he would oppoſe it there and every where; if his oppoſition to it in that houſe ſhould not be ſucceſsful, he would oppoſe it in the field: it was no common queſtion; it was one that went to the very exiſtence of his country. He had made up his mind on what his conduct ſhould be; he ſhould either live free, or fall by the cut of ſome Heſſian ſabre, or other foreign mercenary. While he had exiſtence he would oppoſe it.

Hon. Major Acheſon ſaid he would oppoſe the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union as derogatory from the dignity of Ireland, and would ſupport the amendment.

Sir H. Cavendiſh oppoſed the amendment.

Mr. Maſſey ſupported the original addreſs, and oppoſed the amendment.

Mr. W. G. Newcomen not having been inſtructed by his conſtituents to oppoſe the meaſure of an Union, conſidered himſelf at liberty to vote for its diſcuſſion, not pledging himſelf however to any future ſupport of the queſtion.

Hon. James Butler oppoſed the amendment.

Mr. Attorney General went into remote hiſtory to ſhew, that Ireland had formerly ſent members to the Engliſh parliament; that a reſident parliament was inefficient to obtain for that kingdom real legiſlative freedom; and that circumſtanced as they were, in danger from foreign and internal foes, an incorporated Union with England was abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſecurity and that of the empire.

Colonel Bagwell declared his ſentiments to be againſt an Union.

Mr. Richard Dawſon gave his decided diſapprobation of the meaſure, and ſupported the amendment.

Mr. Saunderſon, as an independent Iriſh country gentleman, would oppoſe the Union in every ſhape.

Mr. Trench obſerved that, ſcarcely allowed time to breathe after having ſuppreſſed a cruel and unnatural rebellion, they were called upon to decide on a queſtion of unparalleled magnitude; and any deciſion on that great point would be, in his mind, premature, till the wiſhes of the great body of the people were fully and ſufficiently known; without their conſent either expreſſed or implied by their acquieſcence, the legiſlature ought not, they had no right to make a radical change in the conſtitution. The people had not

yet

yet had time to make their ſentiments known; ſome few counties had indeed inſtructed their repreſentatives; the northern counties were ſilent; the ſouth and weſt were ſilent. The Preſbyterians in the north, and the Roman Catholics in the South and weſt, a numerous and reſpectable part of the community, had not yet declared their ſentiments; they ſeemed to hold back with a reſpectful deference, till they ſhould underſtand the ſubject better.

Under theſe circumſtances, he could not approve of either the original addreſs or the amendment; the one tended to approve of the principle of Union, and the other to preclude any diſcuſſion of the ſubject; he ultimately voted for the original addreſs.

Sir Edward O'Brien declared he would oppoſe the meaſure of an Union whenever propoſed, and voted for the amendment.

Mr. S. Moore ſupported the original addreſs, and oppoſed the amendment.

Mr. R. Archdall was againſt the amendment, and intreated the houſe not to refuſe their conſideration of the queſtion, and ſaid, that for his own part, when the day for calling the houſe, announced by the noble lord near him, (Tyrone) ſhould arrive, he would not be afraid to meet the propoſition, and to conſider it, and diſpoſe of it, as it might deſerve.

Mr. W. B. Ponſonby had no heſitation in declaring the very propoſal of Union an attack on the conſtitution of Ireland, that argued unpardonable temerity; he would therefore oppoſe it in every form and ſtage.

Mr. Arthur Moor would not, by giving a ſilent vote on that important morning, (then ten o'clock) appear temporiſing or lukewarm in a cauſe, in which he was as willing to periſh as to ſpeak; he was very perſonally ſevere on Mr. Coote, the member for Queen's County, who was ſuppoſed to have received promotion to a colonelcy on the preceding day, for voting againſt the inſtructions of his conſtituents. Sir John Parnell was his colleague for Queen's County, which drew more attention to the colonel's vote. He thus ſpoke. "But the honorable gentleman (I beg pardon of the honorable co-"lonel) is not only determined to vote, but has ventured to ſpeak in favor "of this ruinous project, and of his own principles of action; and the ho-"norable gentleman (I beg pardon again of the honorable colonel) aſks "with a voice of triumph, inſpired I preſume by the authority of his new "command, how will gentlemen quiet the country? How will they put an end "to the diſſentions by which it is torn, but by the meaſure recommended "from the throne? I will tell the honorable gentleman (I again beg pardon

" of the honorable colonel) I run into thoſe miſtakes from want of uſe, as I " underſtand the honorable colonel's commiſſion is no older than yeſterday. " I will tell the honorable colonel how the country may be quieted, and how " it is poſſible to put an end to her diſſentions, and that too by the moſt " conſtitutional means; by independent men ſuch as the honorable colonel, " not preſuming, when the conſtitution is at ſtake, to diſobey the inſtructions " of their conſtituents; by ſuch men as the honorable colonel, holding them- " ſelves above the allurements of office or promotion, when honeſt and vir- " tuous men are removed for daring to adviſe and to act for the public good, " and when it may be diſgraceful and degrading both in point of the time " and the conditions, to accept of any favor from thoſe in power. If the " repreſentatives of the people of Ireland will act that part, the honorable co- " lonel will then ſee, that he is groſly in error, when he calls the independence " of Ireland a phantom." He concluded a long and animated ſpeech by repeating his opinion, that parliament, unleſs authorized by the explicit unequivocal ſenſe of the people, had no right to conſent to the meaſure of a legiſlative union with Great Britain, and that if it ſhould adopt ſuch a meaſure againſt the conſent of the people, there was no inherent moral right in the legiſlature ſo to do, by which the nation would be bound to adopt the proceeding.

Mr. Odell oppoſed the amendment.

Mr. William Smith at ſo late an hour (then about noon) would, with a view to brevity, ſubſtitute aſſertion in the place of argument. As every lawyer who had riſen to oppoſe the meaſure, had thought proper, at the ſame time, to proteſt againſt the authority of parliament to achieve it, he roſe as a lawyer, to record his diſſent from what he conceived to be ſo unfounded, and ſo miſchievous a doctrine. He roſe explicitly to declare his decided opinion, that parliament was as competent to conclude an union, as it was to enact a turnpike bill. He meant not to detract from the importance of the former great imperial arrangement, or to inſinuate, that the ſenſe of the community upon it was not deſerving of their moſt ſerious attention: he meant only to aſſert the theoretic, conſtitutional competence of the Iriſh legiſlature.

Mr. Stewart, of Killymoon, declared himſelf in favor of Mr. Ponſonby's amendment.

Colonel Uniacke oppoſed the amendment, as did Mr. Staples.

Mr.

Mr. Serjeant Stanley ſupported the addreſs to the king in its original form.

Mr. Thomas Townſend replied to Mr. Serjeant Stanley and to Mr. William Smith. He would oppoſe the Union projected by every poſſible means: it was fatal to the liberties of Ireland. As a conſtitutional queſtion it was utterly untenable, as a matter of policy it was ruinous to the peace, honor, freedom, and real intereſts of that kingdom as well as Great Britain.

Sir L. Parſons ſaid, that at that late hour he did not riſe to ſpeak to the queſtion at large. The ſentiment of the nation was now ſo decidedly evinced, by the ſenſe of the independent gentlemen in the houſe againſt an union, that he hoped the miniſter would never give him an opportunity of ſpeaking to the ſubject again, but would abandon it. If however he ſhould further perſevere, Sir Lawrence would take the earlieſt opportunity of ſpeaking his ſentiments fully, and ſhould now content himſelf with declaring his decided diſapprobation of the meaſure.

Mr. L. Morres oppoſed the amendment; as did alſo Mr. H. D. Grady.

The honorable G. Knox ſaid, that he ſhould reſerve himſelf for a full diſcuſſion of the important queſtion in agitation, until it came more directly before the houſe. At preſent he merely roſe to ſtate, that nothing which he had heard that night, had produced the ſlighteſt alteration in the ſentiments which he, in common with his conſtituents (the college), was known to entertain upon the ſubject.

Mr. G. Ponſonby replied to the principal arguments advanced from the other ſide of the houſe, and cloſed the longeſt and moſt intereſting debate ever heard within thoſe walls, by conjuring gentlemen not to be calculating on the probable effect of their vote, but for every man to act as if engaged in a battle, where the victory depended on his ſingle arm; ever holding in remembrance, that conqueſt does not always depend on numbers; a ſmall and virtuous band of Spartans having ſaved the liberties of Greece, and a gallant officer (Verreker, member for Limerick,) ſtopped the progreſs of an invader in their own country, with his ſmall, but brave band of 200 men. He concluded by declaring, that never in the courſe of his life did he feel ſuch delightful ſentiments, as that moment, when he contemplated the virtue and ſpirit, the proud integrity diſplayed by the gentlemen, with whom he then had the honor of acting, and, he truſted, of cloſing in honeſt victory an honeſt conteſt. He omened great and ſolid, and permanent advantages and bleſſings to the country, from the ſcene, which that day and the preceding

night had been diſplayed in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons—not the "Permanent Arrangements" glanced at in the ſpeech from the throne, but ſuch as would, in ſecuring the honor and independence of Ireland, contribute moſt effectually to the ſtrength and glory of the empire.

The houſe divided,

Ayes	- - - -	105
Noes	- - - -	106
	Majority	1

This firſt debate on the Union,* which afforded to the miniſter the unſatisfactory victory of a majority of one voice, laſted twenty-two hours: the houſe adjourned to ten o'clock of the morning of the 24th. During the whole of this firſt debate the avenues to the houſe were crowded with perſons awaiting the reſult of the debate, which though the queſtion were loſt, was conſidered as a victory by the Anti-Unioniſts, and proclaimed as ſuch by various demonſtrations of joy through the metropolis. Some outrages and inſults were offered to members ſuppoſed to be Unioniſts as they went into or came out of the houſe. When on the 24th of the month the addreſs was reported, on the reading that †part of it, which related to an Union, Sir L. Parſons objected to the paragraph, as pledging the houſe under a metaphorical expreſſion to admit the principle of a Legiſlative Union. Before 1782, when Ireland was ſtruggling for her independency, and the Engliſh government contending againſt it, the conſequence was, that all the principal per-

* I have been more minute in the report of this firſt debate, than it may be neceſſary in future, in order to ſhew the diſpoſition, temper, and opinions of thoſe, who oppoſed and who ſupported the meaſure of Union; and alſo faithfully to put the reader in poſſeſſion of the weight of argument on each ſide. It muſt be impartially allowed, that in this firſt conteſt, talent, energy, and independence preponderated on the ſide of the minority.

† This paragraph relating to the Union was as follows. "The unremitting activity, with which "our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a ſeparation of this king-"dom from Great Britain, muſt conſtantly engage our moſt earneſt attention; and as your majeſty "has condeſcended to expreſs an anxious hope, that this circumſtance, joined to the ſentiment of "mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the parliament in both kingdoms to provide "the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion eſſential to their common "ſecurity, and of conſolidating as far as poſſible, into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, "the power, and the reſources of the Britiſh empire, we ſhall not fail to give the fulleſt conſidera-"tion to a communication of ſuch momentous importance."

ſons

ſons in official ſituations at that time, by voting continually with the miniſter againſt their national claims, became ſo odious and were ſo blackened in the eyes of the people, that even after they had obtained their independency, the people could place no confidence in government compoſed of thoſe men, who had ſo long reſiſted it. Sixteen years had removed many of theſe men, and nearly obliterated the recollection of theſe old conflicts: and juſt at the time that it might be hoped, that a government well conducted might poſſeſs the public confidence, this unfortunate meaſure of an Union was now brought forward, reviving political controverſies, kindling anew political jealouſies between the two kingdoms, and debaſing and blackening all the official men in high ſituations here, in the opinion of the people; for never, never could the people of Ireland place confidence in an adminiſtration, compoſed of men, who on this occaſion had ſhewn their promptitude to betray the deareſt rights and privileges of their country. No! they were blackened and blackened for ever in the eyes of the people of Ireland! Yet the independent gentlemen of Ireland, in deſpite of all the direct and indirect means, which had been employed to pervert them on this occaſion, have proved to the nation, that their preſent independent parliamentary conſtitution was dearer to them, than their lives, and that it is but with their lives that they would ever ſurrender it: there was not in the world a more open, warm-hearted, grateful, and unſuſpecting people, than the people of Ireland. This unfortunate and ill-adviſed attempt, however, muſt deſtroy in them all future confidence towards the government, as long as it was conſtituted of thoſe men, who on that occaſion had been ſo forward to ſacrifice the rights of their country, even though that day ſhould put a complete termination to the fatal project; for they might reſt aſſured, it was neceſſary that they ſhould put it down deciſively, otherwiſe that country would continue in a ſtate of ferment and agitation, every day more and more prejudicial to the connexion between the two kingdoms. The noble lord had admitted, that Ireland muſt loſe ſomewhat by the increaſe of abſentees, but ſaid, that loſs would be countervailed by the number of Engliſh merchants and manufacturers that would come and ſettle there. He repreſented them immediately covering the face of the whole iſland, and producing every where a new and valuable middle order of men. The ſame had been ſaid in the American war, when they obtained a free trade, but no Engliſhman came to ſettle there in conſequence. He then replied to ſome other arguments raiſed in

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favor of the Union, particularly to that of the attorney general, who had ſaid, that the parliament during the firſt three reigns after the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh there, ſat in England, and that there was then a kind of union. If it were ſo, that would be of little import at the preſent day; the conſideration being not what the conſtitution was then, but what it now is. He held however in his hand a deciſive document againſt that aſſertion of the attorney general. It was the anſwer of the Iriſh parliament to Edward, when ſummoned by him to England. He ſhewed what the conſtitution was, and alſo what the ſpirit was, which animated the Iriſh parliament at that day.

" The nobles and commons unanimouſly and with one voice declared, that " according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and cuſtoms of the land " of Ireland enjoyed from the time of the conqueſt of ſaid land, they are not " bound to ſend any perſons from the land of Ireland to the parliament or " council of our lord the king in England as the writ requires. Notwith- " ing on account of their reverence, and the neceſſity and preſent diſtreſs of " the ſaid land, they have elected repreſentatives to repair to the king, and " to treat and conſult with him and his council; reſerving to themſelves the " power of yielding or agreeing to any ſubſidies. At the ſame time proteſt- " ing, that their compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the " rights, privileges, laws, and cuſtoms, which the lords and commons from " the time of the conqueſt of the land of Ireland have enjoyed."

Thus at a time of great exigency, they conſented for once to go; but knowing, that mingled with the parliament of England, they muſt be outnumbered; and ſo that great ſubſidies might be impoſed on their own country againſt their conſent, they previouſly declared, that they reſerved to themſelves alone the power of raiſing any contributions on the people; and they concluded, that their compliance on that occaſion ſhould never be brought as a precedent for any future day.

Were the Union ever ſo good a meaſure, why bring it forward at that time? Was it not evidently to take advantage of England's ſtrength there, and their own internal weakneſs? It was always in times of diviſion and diſaſter, that a nation availed itſelf of the infirmities of its neighbour, to obtain an unjuſt dominion. That Great Britain ſhould deſire to do ſo, he did not much wonder; for what nation did not deſire to rule another? Nor was he ſurpriſed, that there ſhould be ſome among them baſe enough to conſpire with

with her in doing ſo; for no country could expect to be ſo fortunate as not to have betrayers and patricides among its citizens. But if that aſſembly, the choſen protectors of the people's rights, ſhould agree thus to betray them, that indeed would be matter of ſuch ſurprize and indignation, that he wanted mind to conceive, or language to expreſs it. So natural was it for a nation to incroach upon the rights of another, at the time that it was weakened and diſtreſſed, and ſo clearly was the deſign of England manifeſted by their hiſtory, Engliſh uſurpations continually treading upon the heels of Iriſh infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burſt the chain of thoſe uſurpations—how? by her parliament. It was her own parliament then, aided and urged by a high-ſpirited people, whoſe hearts throbbed with liberty, and whoſe hands were ſtrong with voluntary arms. It was there, within thoſe walls, that this aſſembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice, and demanded the freedom of their conſtitution, and the uncontrolled, legiſlative, and ſupreme authority of the land. It was here before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the uſurping domination of England bowed its head and dropped the ſceptre of its power, and therefore it was, that her parliament was to be utterly deſtroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, leſt it ſhould grow again and ſhoot, ſpread and flouriſh, and leſt Ireland at ſome hallowed moment ſhould once more through the medium of that aſſembly recover its freedom. Annihilate the parliament of Ireland; that is the cry that came acroſs the water. Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops, martial law brandiſhes its ſword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland for ever—now ſtrike the blow—who?—is it you? Will you obey that voice? Will you betray your country?

Lord Caſtlereagh diſclaimed any deſire to re-argue the queſtion ſo extenſively debated on Tueſday; the object of the honorable baronet was to expunge this paragraph from the addreſs, and to that only he would ſpeak. What did the paragraph imply to any man, who took the pains of reading it? Nothing more than the readineſs of the houſe to enter into the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as ſhould be moſt likely to conſolidate the ſtrength of the empire? Could any man deny, that that was a deſirable object? or could any man expect, that ſuch a metaphorical expreſſion would be laid hold of to imply, that by it that houſe was ſpecifically pledged to the meaſure of

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an Union? It was urged, that the perſon repreſenting government in that houſe had not declared poſitively to the houſe, that he would not again bring forward the queſtion that ſeſſion. Could that be a motive for refuſing aſſent to the paragraph? What was the declaration made by that perſon? that he would look to the ſenſe of parliament and of the nation, and give it its fair weight, in the prudential conſideration of re-agitating the queſtion. But convinced, as he was, that the meaſure was one of great and important advantage, he would never loſe ſight of it; and if he felt that conviction, he ſhould deſert, baſely deſert his duty, were he influenced by clamor to abandon it. He had not pledged himſelf to renounce it for the ſeſſion; but he was pledged by a ſtronger tie; his attention to the opinion of parliament and the country; had it been neceſſary to bind him by ſuch a promiſe, had he been ſuch a perſon as nothing but an extorted conſent could bind, how eaſy would it be for the miniſter to elude ſuch a promiſe; how eaſily, if the ſenſe of the country ſhould change, would he be able, by a prorogation, to put an end to that ſeſſion, and propoſe the meaſure in a new one? Was the parliament ſo diſtruſtful of itſelf as to find ſuch a promiſe neceſſary? Was it ſo afraid of the change of ſentiment in the country, as to wiſh to tie up its own hands againſt the meaſure? If it were ſo, might not ſuch a parliament be ſent back to its conſtituents, if it were frantic enough to bind itſelf by a reſolution, which might render it neceſſarily regardleſs of the voice and intereſt of the country? Parliament had at all times the power of diſmiſſing from immediate diſcuſſion any meaſure propoſed, but it could not exclude future diſcuſſion; it was the duty of the miniſter to offer whatever he thought for the national advantage; by the conſtitution, he could not be precluded from propoſing ſuch meaſures; it was his imperative duty, which he muſt diſcharge. Had ſuch been the opinion, or ſuch the rule of parliament, they would not have the Britiſh conſtitution. Were party cabal or party trick to influence his exerciſe of duty, they would not enjoy that conſtitution: for by the Britiſh conſtitution the origination of great national meaſures was placed in the crown. Had it been heretofore in the power of party cabal to reſiſt even the inveſtigation of ſuch meaſures, would that conſtitution have been what it is? Were a Britiſh miniſter to be influenced by *Round Robins* and cabals, by combinations, to withhold from men, on account of their political conduct, the bread due to their profeſſional labours, the Britiſh empire would not be in the glorious ſituation, in which it then ſtood.

ſtood. If this country, ſaid his lordſhip, be to be governed by combination, it was brought to abſolute ruin. Government had been charged with diſmiſſing its ſervants for political opinions. It was the right and privilege of government to do ſo. If the miniſter muſt retain thoſe perſons, who are hoſtile to his meaſures, becauſe ſuch is the will of a faction, the conſtitutional power of the crown, and with it the conſtitution itſelf were at an end. What kind of an oppoſition had been arranged againſt the meaſure? Some of the very men, who, by attempting to degrade and vilify parliament, had given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the laſt words of the perſon now moſt forward, upon his ſeceding from the houſe? "That the parliament was ſo loſt to every conſtitutional principle, that he was aſhamed "to continue to ſit in it, and therefore abandoned his duty:" this was his laſt expreſſion. What was the laſt effort of his public life? To aſſimilate the parliament of Ireland to the government of France, to carve out the country into French departments, and by a ſyſtem of repreſentation which had deſtroyed France, to introduce anarchy and maſſacre into that country. After failing in this project from the ſpirit and good ſenſe of parliament, did he not ſhrink from the conteſt excited by his own principles and his own example? Had the loyal gentlemen, who now ſtrangely voted with him and his party, ſo forgotten all theſe circumſtances; had they ſo loſt the recollection of thoſe calamities, that they could look to him and his friends with confidence for the future government of that country? It was impoſſible. The phrenzy of a moment might have ſeduced them into ſuch ſtrange company; their returning good ſenſe would permit them to look upon it as it deſerved. Another deſcription of the opponents of that meaſure was of a very oppoſite kind indeed to that perſon and his friends. They were the men, who, in the time of danger, ſtood forward like men to reſcue their country from the conſequences produced by thoſe who were their allies. But thoſe men never could ſo far forget the common object—the connexion with Great Britain (for which both ſides were labouring, though with different opinions as to means), ſo far to diſgrace themſelves by acting with thoſe, who wiſhed to debaſe parliament and deſtroy their conſtitution. Let thoſe loyal gentlemen aſſure themſelves that they could never raiſe thoſe perſons to their own proud rank, though they might unhappily degrade themſelves to their level. Let them not be ſo hurried away by their feelings, as to entertain for a moment an idea, that becauſe they happened to agree

in that one point, a common co-operation with their enemies was neceſſary. Let them not be impoſed upon by the artifice of theſe inſinuations, that the meaſure was to be carried by a military force; it was a fraud practiſed upon their honeſty; it would be a wretched government indeed, which would deſtroy the attached adherents of monarchy by employing force or corruption to carry any meaſure, however advantageous in proſpect. Reſolved as he was never to be deterred by cabal, from offering any meaſure to the diſcuſſion of parliament, he never could embark in ſo abſurd a ſcheme as to conceive it poſſible to intimidate or corrupt the country into any meaſure whatever. There had been in the courſe of debate inſinuations of a general nature; that miniſtry had employed illicit means to ſecure ſupport: he paſſed them by as they deſerved with contempt; but he had alſo heard particular circumſtances mentioned, as facts, of ſo baſe and falſe a tenor, that he would trace them to the individual, be he who he might, from whom they originated, and force him to make a public diſavowal. He deprecated that ſpecies of equivocal language which was neither perſonal, nor altogether parliamentary. If gentlemen conceived that any man on that ſide of the houſe had done them perſonal injury, let them come forward and ſeek redreſs like men. If they wiſhed to enter into perſonal conteſt, let them avow their wiſh and come forward like men; but let them not reſort to that kind of language, which was juſt ſo far ſhort of perſonal offence, as to ſhelter them from perſonal chaſtiſement; let them not diſgrace parliament by introducing that which had proved ſo fatal to the country—angry invective and illiberal perſonality.

Mr. G. Ponſonby in a ſpirited reply defended the Anti-unioniſts againſt the violent attack of the miniſter, and aſſerted the uprightneſs of their conduct. Did he imagine the country gentlemen of Ireland tame enough to bear the imputation of being fools—inſtruments that were uſed by a few factious men for the worſt of purpoſes? Would they ſubmit to ſuch a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to ſhield him from their contempt, but the office which he abuſed? Of what men was the body, which oppoſed the miniſter on this ſubject, conſtituted? Certainly men of different political principles were to be found among them. But was the conſtitution of Ireland to be ſurrendered, becauſe there was a difference of opinion on ſome queſtions between thoſe who were unanimous on that?*

* He then made a moving apoſtrophe to the ſpeaker. "You, Mr. Speaker, are of that number

"—and

The noble lord ſaid, he would not now puſh the meaſure; but he declared at the ſame time, that he would never loſe ſight of it. No thanks to the noble lord for not puſhing it now, for he could not carry it. Thanks to the cabal; thanks to the virtue and ſpirit, which had appeared both in and out of parliament. But let the ſpirit of the houſe or of the country ſlumber, and then he knew from experience what uſe the noble lord would make of the favor of the crown to force the meaſure on the country. Even then, he believed, the attempt would be unſucceſsful; but he would not leave it in the power of the noble lord to practiſe again in ſupport of the meaſure thoſe unconſtitutional arts which he knew he had practiſed.

Hon. D. Browne and Counſellor J. Beresford ſupported the addreſs: the latter particularly deprecated that kind of imputation coming from gentlemen, who oppoſed miniſters on the laſt night's debate, charging on gentlemen that ſupported them on the principle of Union, the influence of private intereſt or corrupt motives. He ſpurned ſuch language with indignation; there was at leaſt as much honor, as much patriotiſm and independent principle amongſt thoſe who ſupported, as amongſt thoſe who oppoſed the principle of an Union.

Mr. Martin ſpoke at large to the ſubject, and alſo in ſupport of the addreſs. He obſerved, amongſt many pointed remarks, that many of the great borough proprietors were againſt this meaſure; and had they no intereſt in oppoſing it? Was it nothing to weigh in golden ſcales the fate of every adminiſtration coming into that country? Was it no power to be able to abuſe power, to expel two lord lieutenants for endeavouring to reſcue the conſtitution, and turn to flight one commander in chief, Sir. R. Abercrombie,

" —and, no doubt, it is the weakneſs of your mind which thus renders you the tool of party—or " it is its factious diſpoſition which has placed you at the head of that party. Where are the " cabals and round robins, of which the noble lord ſpeaks? Is it in that profeſſion, which is truly " called the firſt profeſſion in the country; and in which are to be found men, to whom compared " the noble lord, in every point of view, is but a puny child? That profeſſion have this day " declared unanimouſly, that they will not accept of the office from which a right honorable gen- " tleman near him was diſmiſſed, becauſe he would not ſubmit his underſtanding and his conſcience " to the will of the noble lord. Was that the reſult of intereſted faction? Had they been hunting " for places, from which the intemperate folly of the noble lord had diſplaced the old and faithful " ſervants of the crown, his charge would have been founded; but acting as they have done, " what honeſt man but muſt feel indignation at the aſperſions which are wantonly thrown on them."

who never fled in battle, becauſe he differed from them; becauſe he ſaid the diſcipline in the army was relaxed? He diſapproved of burning houſes and of free quarters; and the borough proprietors choſe to have both. Were theſe matters of fact? If ſo, they would recur frequently, and the nation could no longer exiſt. But it was ſaid Union was unpopular; that was no argument, unleſs after due conſideration it ſhould continue to be ſo. The beſt meaſures were at firſt unpopular. The Octennial bill was in that houſe unpopular. The adminiſtration of the country once offered to ſupport a tax upon abſentees; that meaſure was oppoſed and loſt; and ſome of thoſe very gentlemen, who but a ſeſſion ago oppoſed a meaſure, that would bring home our abſentees, now principally clamoured againſt the Union on the ground that it would occaſion ſome abſentees. Another meaſure was greatly unpopular in the nation, which originated in the Duke of Portland's adminiſtration; fencible regiments for protection of the country.

Mr. Dobbs, after having vindicated the Iriſh bar from the attack of the right honorable ſecretary, and diſclaimed all perſonalities, congratulated the houſe upon the return of ſome patriotic ſpirit and energy, and remarked, that if there were three men upon earth, to whom Ireland was peculiarly indebted they were Mr. Pitt, the noble lord who was firſt miniſter there, and the author of that pamphlet which iſſued from, and was acknowleged by the caſtle. Sir, till then, it was only ſuſpicion, that a plan had been formed, to reduce Ireland into the ſituation of a province. But from the declarations of the three he had alluded to, ſuſpicion terminated in certainty; for the noble lord had in his place declared, that it was a meaſure that would never be loſt ſight of, till it was carried. Then they had full notice of Britiſh intention and Britiſh determination. It had been holden out in the pamphlet alluded to, that a Union ſhould be accompanied with certain benefits to the Catholics, to the Diſſenters, and to the people at large. Why ſhould they allow England to purchaſe their people by favors, which they had equally the power to beſtow? It was their duty to ſhew to the people, that they had been vilified and abuſed by the author of the caſtle pamphlet; and that they were the true and legitimate guardians of Iriſh happineſs, Iriſh proſperity, and Iriſh liberty.

The preſent attempt would never have been made, were the people of this country united in affection to each other, and at the ſame time ſatisfied with their government. What then was the path they were to purſue? Decidedly

cidedly this; to carefully examine the ſources of diſcontent, and diſſatisfaction, and do them away. He would not at that moment take upon him to ſay, what it was they ought to do; but he aſſerted without heſitation, that they ſhould give to the people every thing, that was conſiſtent with the preſervation of their preſent conſtitution, and their preſent connexion with Great Britain. Thoſe were the only boundaries that he drew between what the people could demand, and what the Iriſh legiſlature could beſtow.

Mr. Holmes was in favor of the addreſs.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnell opened a long ſpeech with an invective againſt his colleague for the county of Mayo, Mr. Cuff (now Lord Tyrawley), whom he charged with having miſrepreſented the inſtructions of his conſtituents, and then read, from the debate on the Iriſh propoſitions, what that right honorable gentleman had ſaid: "But, Sir, this arrangement has ſuggeſted an idea "in another country, that I am afraid to mention in this houſe; I mean a "Union. Good God, Sir, what Union could we have with Great Britain, "but a Union of debt and taxation! A Union depriving us of liberty, and "ruinous to our country." Thoſe expreſſions reflected on him then immortal honor, but now eternal diſgrace. He then addreſſed himſelf to the noble lord. He had endeavoured to oppoſe that meaſure without being perſonal, he reſpected his private character, he was an avowed friend to the adminiſtration, in which he held ſo oſtenſible and ſo honorable a ſituation. It was more than probable, that on every other queſtion he would have his ſupport. He belonged to no party, to no cabal, nor any intrigue, nor was a dupe. He intreated the noble lord, as he valued the peace and happineſs of his country, every thing dear to him as a miniſter and a man, candidly and avowedly to come forward and declare he abandoned and wholly gave up a meaſure, ſo oppoſite to the wiſhes and intereſts of that kingdom; that he would not keep it ſuſpended over their heads, to keep alive the fermentation of the public mind, which had it not been for that meaſure would have now been quieted. He invoked him not to keep that odious deteſted meaſure ſuſpended over their heads by a ſingle hair, to be cut at his will or that of any other miniſter.

Lord Caſtlereagh explained, and aſſured the right honorable member, nothing was farther from his wiſhes than to throw any aſperſions on the profeſſion. In the courſe of his ſpeech he had uſed the word *petty-fogging*, but not in application to the bar; it was a vulgar phraſe, and he was aſhamed of it.

Mr.

Mr. Edgeworth alſo vindicated the profeſſion, which he could not help ſaying, had not been well *treated by the noble lord. It was peculiarly proper in that noble lord to inculcate temper into the houſe, but it was improper n him to have forgotten his own precept, and ſet an example of heat and violence. He confeſſed, that when firſt the meaſure of an Union was mentioned, he was a friend to it; but when he found the ſenſe of the nation againſt it, he changed his determination. He did not mean to catch at the word *cabal*, for the country gentlemen of Ireland ought not to follow the example of intemperance and indiſcretion, which the noble lord had ſet them; if the miniſter were determined to preſs that meaſure againſt their ſenſe and that of the country, he hoped theſe gentlemen would unite againſt him and form one body, and then they would be able effectually to fruſtrate any attempt of his, or of any cabal of penſioners and placemen.

A really wiſe adminiſtration would have ſeized that criſis to tranquillize the country. When the veſſel of the ſtate made no way, it would not anſwer to the helm; when it was in rapid motion, it would ſteer, and might by a ſkilful pilot be at length conducted to ſecurity. An able miniſter might, by a prudent uſe of that happy opportunity, reconcile the diſſentions of the country, and make Iriſhmen ſhake hands with Iriſhmen.

Sir Boyle Roche conſidered faction as the ſource of paſt, and the ſeeds of preſent diſſention in the country; nothing could effectually eradicate it but an Union, which had his moſt cordial concurrence.

Mr. St. George Daly warmly reſented the inſinuations thrown out againſt the motives of gentlemen on his ſide of the houſe; he deſpiſed them; one gentleman had ſaid he juſt came from a meeting of the bar, who voted thanks, and reſolved to give precedence to a right honorable gentleman, who had been diſmiſſed from office; that might have been proper, but the honorable gentleman went farther, and ſaid they were ready to declare any man a

* The expreſſion which he repeated, in order to give the noble lord an opportunity to recal it (for he could not conceive, that with ſo many law officers near him he meant to inſult the profeſſion), was the phraſe—*Round Robin*; which meant a mutinous demand made by men aſhamed to avow themſelves the promoters of it. Did the noble lord believe, that any of the gentlemen to whom he alluded, were aſhamed to avow themſelves? The meeting was conducted by a gentleman who was the father of the bar; was not he an oſtenſible patron of the meaſure, which they had adopted? Mr. Edgeworth proceeded to ſay many handſome things of the profeſſion, to which he avowed himſelf to have been bred.

traitor

traitor to his country, who ſhould accept the office. This produced ſome warm altercation between Mr. Daly and Mr. Ponſonby, which ended in an explanation from the latter.

Sir J. Blaquiere had thought the queſtion was at reſt. This attempt to keep the ſubject alive could ariſe only from deſperate faction, which wiſhed to wear gentlemen out by debate. He did not foreſee, he confeſſed, that ſo many country gentlemen would have oppoſed the meaſure.

Sir J. Parnell ſaid, that from the refuſal of the noble lord to declare that he would not again propoſe the meaſure, becauſe if he did make ſuch promiſe he could not bind the parliament, he inferred that he would again preſs it when an occaſion offered; and when the noble lord talked of people deciding on what they did not underſtand, becauſe they declared againſt an Union without knowing the terms, he uſed the language of a man himſelf ignorant of what was the true ſtate of the queſtion. No man could be ſo ſilly as not to know what the queſtion really was.

Mr. Trench ſtill wiſhed to keep the queſtion open for diſcuſſion, though he certainly had changed his mind as to the means of effecting the deſired object.

The city of Dublin had declared its ſentiments unequivocally; but though he highly reſpected that city, yet Dublin was not all Ireland, nor was Ireland the whole of the Britiſh empire; and in the fate of the Britiſh empire was involved that of the civilized world. As Iriſhmen, their firſt duty was to conſult the welfare of Ireland. The Roman Catholics of that kingdom had not yet declared their ſentiments; and notwithſtanding the outrages that had lately diſgraced ſome of that perſuaſion, the great body of them were loyal ſubjects; and their opinion ought to have weight with the legiſlature. If many of them had been concerned in the late rebellion, it was not becauſe they were Roman Catholics, but becauſe they were ignorant and uninformed, and therefore liable to be deluded by the miſrepreſentations of artful leaders. The reports of the ſecret committees of both houſes had proved this fact; the great volume of events had proved it; that volume ſo lately unfolded to their view, and which every day, nay every hour, continued to develope. The late rebellion was not a war of one ſect of Chriſtianity againſt another. Whether Britiſh connection could be beſt ſecured by an incorporating Union, or by any other means, he only wiſhed to have the queſtion fully and fairly diſcuſſed.

Colonel Fitzgerald ſupported the paragraph, as did Mr. H. D. Grady. Mr. Fitzgerald

Fitzgerald called upon Lord Caſtlereagh for an apology for what he had ſaid of the gentlemen of the bar.

Mr. William Smith declared againſt expunging the paragraph which recommended Union; and avowed his opinion, that legiſlative incorporation would not merely be beneficial, but had become neceſſary for Ireland, and the empire. This gentleman handled the ſubject with more ability and depth of knowledge and information, than any one on the Treaſury Bench.

As the Britiſh iſlands conſtituted one empire, their imperial Union was not the mere reſult of a temporary and accidental union of their crowns on the ſame head. The crowns were conſtitutionally blended: his majeſty's being king of Great Britain was the *ſine qua non*, and efficient cauſe, of his being king of Ireland: he was their monarch *ipſo facto* of his being the ſovereign of the ſiſter kingdom; and to deny (or at leaſt to act on ſuch denial) the truth of that poſition, would be treaſon againſt the principles of the Iriſh conſtitution.

So far then as a legiſlative Union allotted a ſingle legiſlature to a ſingle empire, it was a rational and wholeſome meaſure; ſo far as it provided, that one empire ſhould no longer be expoſed to the riſk of wavering, languidly and inertly, between the diſſentient ſyſtems of two parliaments, Union was the corrective of a dangerous anomaly. A difference of opinion or ſyſtem, between the two legiſlatures, muſt paralyſe the general force of the empire; and that as well the more vaguely malcontent, as the direct enemies of the connection might (the former inadvertently, the latter by deſign) make that legiſlative diſtinctneſs, the means for bringing about a ſeparation.

As far as the tendency of Union went to limit the Britiſh empire to one legiſlature, its operation would be to fortify that empire, and eradicate thoſe ſeeds of ſeparation which it contained: and this tendency would, on one hand, raiſe an enemy to the meaſure in every foe to Britiſh greatneſs, and Britiſh connexion; and, on the other, recommend Union to the favor of all thoſe, who thought Britiſh connexion ſalutary, and wiſhed it to be ſecured; and who, maintaining, as a maxim, that Ireland muſt ſtand and fall with England, felt themſelves intereſted at all times to aggrandize the force of the empire, and felt themſelves eſpecially called upon to do ſo, when the ſtate of opinions and of things throughout the world, and when the power, and ſucceſs, and hoſtile diſpoſitions of France, rendered it neceſſary that the Britiſh empire ſhould concentrate all its ſtrength, or ſurrender all its honours.

Some

Some might reply, that Britiſh influence would operate as an antidote to the miſchiefs apprehended, and would prevent legiſlative diſſentions from weakening and tearing aſunder the energies of the empire, or Iriſh independence from checking the views or injuring the intereſts of Britain. But that ſuppoſition, he thought, inſultingly derogated from the practical independence of the Iriſh parliament, which was thus allowed to be ſubordinate to that of Great Britain. Where an actual ſubjection thus exiſted, it might be rendered only the more miſchievous and oppreſſive, by being concealed behind a maſk of nominal independence; and the deſired antidote would be more effectually found in an union than in a diviſion of legiſlatures. To an objection, that the paucity of the repreſentatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament would leave that country at the mercy of Britain, he replied, that the Iriſh repreſentation would be commenſurate to Iriſh power, reſources, and contribution, and that an unity of intereſt would ſecure the rights and the welfare of every part of the empire, it would alſo be now preferable, after Ireland had long poſſeſſed a diſtinct parliament. By obtaining an Union upon juſt and equitable terms, ſhe would exchange her ſeparate legiſlature for ſuch an efficient ſhare in the imperial councils, as would enſure a full participation in the benefits of the Britiſh conſtitution; and ſhe would thus gain all that ſhe would originally have been entitled to demand.

" But (ſaid he) we ſacrifice a portion of our national ſplendour: I admit " it; and make the ſacrifice with regret; I allow for, I almoſt rejoice and " triumph at that repugnance with which this meaſure is at firſt received: I " agree with thoſe who conſider national pride and honor as ſome ſecurity " for national valour, liberty and virtue. But let us look to our country, " torn with conflicts, and ſtained with blood; let us turn our eyes inwards to " the traitors and ſeparatiſts who ſwarm amongſt us; let us contemplate the " ſtate of Europe, and of the world, and then enquire, whether it may not " be expedient to ſacrifice ſomewhat of our dignity, and exchange our ſituation for one, which will ſecure and ſtrengthen our connexion with Great " Britain, at a time when this connexion is at once peculiarly neceſſary and " precarious, which will fortify that empire, of which we make a part; whoſe " ruin is attempted, and whoſe deſtruction muſt be ours: a ſituation which " will ſecure to us the Britiſh conſtitution, with all thoſe benefits which that " admirable ſyſtem involves."

In ſupport of his opinion of the miſchiefs of a double legiſlature, he inſtanced

ſtanced the caſe of the regency, when the lords and commons of Ireland, having nominated a regent for that kingdom, intruſted to him a degree of authority different from, and ſuperior to that, which the Britiſh regent would have poſſeſſed. This practical aſſertion of legiſlative independence tended, he ſaid, to produce two independent executives for one empire: it riſqued intruſting the executive authority to different hands, and ſet different limits, in each iſland, to its power. Did not this act tend to diſmember the empire? The king of England being, *ipſo facto* and neceſſarily, king of Ireland, not only the regent of one realm ought to be regent of the other, but the prerogative of the executive magiſtrate ought to have preciſely the ſame limits in both countries. The Iriſh houſes of parliament, therefore violated at that time the ſpirit of a fundamental maxim of the conſtitution. It would not be ſufficient to ſay, that the recurrence of that evil might be prevented by a particular ſtatute relative to a ſtate of regency. A mere remedy for a particular miſchief would not be generally ſatisfactory. The ſource being copious enough to be the parent of many miſchiefs, it was highly expedient that it ſhould be completely dried up. The affair of the commercial propoſitions might be adduced as another example of the ill effect of legiſlative diſtinctneſs. In conſideration of commercial advantages which were to be granted to the Iriſh, the legiſlature of Great Britain required that the parliament of the ſiſter kingdom ſhould adopt ſuch laws as might be preſcribed to it for the regulation of certain branches of trade and points of navigation. But the offer was rejected, chiefly on account of that demand; and thus legiſlative diſtinctneſs obſtructed the proſperity of Ireland, by diſſuading her from an acceptance of conſiderable benefits on the only terms, on which Britain could be expected to concede them. The idea of reform ſuggeſted another poſſible miſchief. If one of the propoſed plans of radical reform had been adopted by the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, the legiſlature would have been differently conſtituted from that of Britain: the influence or prerogative of the ſovereign would have been different from that, which he poſſeſſed in England, and the change would have tended to ſeparate the two countries.

Of the competency of parliament to the enactment of ſuch reform he had never heard any doubts expreſſed; and the arguments which, he thought, might be offered againſt the alleged right were inconcluſive, yet perhaps as plauſible as any that could be urged againſt the competency of the legiſlature to a decree of Union. That the authority of the parliament had this extent,

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he had not the ſlighteſt doubt. His opinion, he ſaid, was founded on precedent, on the miſchiefs which would reſult from a contrary doctrine, on the expreſs authority of conſtitutional writers, and on the genuine principles of the conſtitution itſelf. By enacting an union, parliament would do no more than change (it would not ſurrender or ſubvert) the conſtitution. Ireland, after a legiſlative incorporation, would ſtill be governed by three eſtates; and her inhabitants would enjoy all their privileges unimpaired. If the legiſlature could new model the ſucceſſion to the crown, or change the eſtabliſhed religion, it might certainly ordain thoſe alterations which an union would involve. To controvert its right, would be to deny the validity of the act for the incorporation of Scotland with England and Wales. On the legitimacy of that act depended the title of his majeſty to the united kingdom, to the crown of the united kingdom; for the 2d article of the agreement was the only act of ſettlement that limited to the Houſe of Hanover in repugnance to the ſtrict hereditary principle of the Scotiſh conſtitution, the ſucceſſion to that united monarchy, which the firſt article had created. He inſtanced many miſchiefs, which in that ſuppoſition would attend the impeachment of the Scotiſh union.

But ſhould the future imperial parliament be ſupreme, might it not "abro-"gate" the treaty of union, and repeal all the benefits which its articles concede to Ireland?

Undoubtedly, that abſolute power which the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms intruſted to parliament, would have that phyſical extent. A parliament may at any time abuſe its ſovereign authority; but it does ſo at the riſk of entitling the ſubject to throw off that government, which has become an inſtrument of oppreſſion, and recur to firſt principles, to reſiſtance, and inſurrection. Parliamentary authority has no limits known to the conſtitution: by the principles of that conſtitution it is boundleſs; but it is exerciſed at the peril of thoſe, to whom it is intruſted; and they will be cautious how they commit that extreme abuſe, which will conſtructively ſubvert the conſtitution, efface all artificial regulations, and letting in the paramount rights of human nature, overwhelm the powers of parliament in revolution. At this riſk, the Imperial legiſlature might at any time diſregard and repeal the articles of union: but in the danger of the attempt was the great ſecurity againſt its being made. The Imperial legiſlature might be competent to diſfranchiſe Wales or Yorkſhire, or to violate the terms, on which the ſiſter countries be-

came united; but there appeared no moral poſſibility of their applying their abſolute authority to ſuch purpoſes.

In treating of the principle of parliamentary competence, he affirmed, that in all governments an abſolute deſpotic power muſt be inherent, as, without it, diſorder and confuſion would prevail. This power, according to the Britiſh ſyſtem, was lodged in the king, the nobles, and the people acting by their repreſentatives in parliament. In its own nature, it would authorize thoſe who lawfully enjoyed it, not merely to frame new laws under the conſtitution, but to adapt the government to contingent events and occaſional circumſtances, and attend with ſuitable proviſions the ſucceſſive changes of powers and intereſts, manners and opinions. On this ground, the propoſed union was within the reaſonable compaſs of parliamentary authority.

If he conceived that the meaſure would be a ſurrender of national independence, he would by no means agree to it; but it would merely be an incorporation of national diſtinctneſs: nor would he promote the ſcheme, if he thought that it would not enſure an identity or community of intereſts.

The conſtitution admits the principle of ſelf-correction: ſteady to its objects, which are freedom and good order, it purſues the path which the period ſupplies, for their attainment; and poſſeſſes, in the boundleſs competence of its legiſlature, the means, as its rolls it bleſſings through ages to poſterity, of peaceably and imperceptibly adapting itſelf to circumſtances as they ariſe; of attending with ſuitable proviſions, the ſucceſſive changes of powers and intereſts, manners and opinions, and of keeping pace with time, by ſafe and gradual innovation. There would reſt the great ſecurity under an imperial parliament.

Diſtinguiſhable as the caſes were, ſome ſtrong reſemblances between that of Scotland and Ireland were to be traced. There, according to De Foe, a ſtrange and motley coalition of diſcordant factions formed the anti-union band.

There, in aid of parliamentary exertions, they ſtudied to raiſe a ſtorm without doors, for "the purpoſe of intimidation. Addreſſes againſt the "union were ſent round all the counties, in which thoſe who oppoſed it had "any intereſt. There came up many of theſe in the names of counties, "boroughs, &c. This made ſome noiſe abroad; but was very little conſidered "there, when it was known by what arts and practices they were procured." Tindal gives the common principle and motive, which conſolidated theſe va-

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rious parties upon this occaſion:—" All thoſe who adhered inflexibly to the " Jacobite intereſt, oppoſed every ſtep that was made towards an union, with " great vehemence:" Why? " becauſe they ſaw that it ſtruck at the root of " all their deſigns for a new revolution." He remarked how cloſely thoſe circumſtances followed the caſe of Ireland. The party, however, was diſcomfited in Scotland, by the exertions of a ſmall band of unpopular, yet acknowledged patriots, who, ſupporting on principle the meaſure of a miniſtry, to which they were hoſtile, turned the balance, and carried an union, which was not now denied to have been advantageous to Scotland. The learned member next recurred to Adam Smith's poſition, that union may ſoften the rigors of religious prejudice and diſtinction, and blend the inhabitants of Ireland into one people.

It was impoſſible to advert to this conſideration, without, at the ſame time, raiſing to our view the Roman Catholic body, their ſituation, their numbers, and their demands.

The claims of that great body of the Iriſh people were undoubtedly ſupportable on ſound conſtitutional principles. For inſtance: it was the ſpirit of the conſtitution, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be the repreſentative of the combined property and population of the kingdom, that a certain ſtake in the country ſhould give to the holder the elective franchiſe; and that he ſhould be at liberty to exerciſe it, by nominating what repreſentative he pleaſed. On the caſe of the Catholics, that principle operated only in its firſt branch. Catholic freeholders might elect, but not whom they pleaſed: for they muſt not nominate Catholic repreſentatives: they were prohibited from entruſting their intereſts to thoſe, who might ſeem moſt likely zealouſly to protect them. But parliament was open to the Catholic, on the term of his taking certain oaths; that is to ſay, on condition that he abjured his religion.

It might, however, be ſaid, that theſe incapacities were indiſpenſible towards the protection of the eſtabliſhed church—perhaps they were: it would then be irrelevant to diſcuſs that queſtion.

But if thoſe diſqualifications were thus neceſſary in their preſent ſtate, Catholics need not be very averſe from changing the ſituation, which gives birth to that neceſſity. The real friend to the Proteſtant religion would reſt his oppoſition to Catholic claims, on the ſole ground of their being inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed church: and therefore, ſo ſoon as theſe

claims

claims become compatible with that ſecurity, the oppoſition of ſuch a man would ceaſe. Thus union might ſtand recommended to Catholics, as tending to improve their proſpects, and yet not be the more objectionable to Proteſtants on that account. For how would it improve the Catholic view, if at all, by removing that danger to Proſtentantiſm, which might at preſent ſeem to attend a compliance with their deſires. The opponent of Catholic demands alledged that, conſidering their ſuperiority in point of number to the Proteſtants, to give them a nominal equality, might be to beſtow on them an actual ſuperiority of political power.

But how would the caſe ſtand upon an union? The Catholics, would, undoubtedly, in Ireland, exceed the Proteſtants, exactly as they do at preſent. But in the one united kingdom, (of incorporated Britain and Ireland) the Proteſtants would, as they do at preſent, greatly exceed the Catholics. What would follow? That to make theſe latter nominally equal to the Proteſtants, would not give them an actually equal, much leſs a predominant weight in the empire.

Thus, on the one hand, every ſatisfied Catholic individual might be permitted to indulge the honeſt pride of feeling himſelf on a par with his Proteſtant brother; and poſſeſſing capacity for an equal ſhare, not only in the benefits, but the honours of the conſtitution; whilſt, on the other hand, the Proteſtant body, ſuperior in number, and conſequently poſſeſſed of the greater portion of thoſe capacities which they were able to obtain complete ſecurity for their religion, without wounding, degrading, or alienating the Catholic ſubject. They would feel what in Ireland cannot be felt at preſent, that the popular religion was the religion of the ſtate.

After the union, the great maſs of the united legiſlature would be Proteſtant. How impotent then would be the anti-ſupremacy of a Catholic minority! Union, then, might improve the Catholics views, without alarming the Proteſtants, by rendering their importance quite compatible with the ſafety of the eſtabliſhed church.

There muſt be ſomething radically faulty in that ſtate of things, which, founded on the even moderate depreſſion of three-fourths of the population, the ſafety of the remaining fourth. It was the manly ſpirit of that Britiſh conſtitution, beneath which, after union, they would live, that the great body of the people would not only be ſecure and free, but reſpectable and proud. If the preſent diſtinctneſs of Ireland render Catholics the neceſſary

victims

victims of an exception to that rule, it was to be reprobated. He then adverted to a letter, which the late Mr. Burke had written to him four years before, on the Catholic emancipation; the neceſſity for intereſting as many claſſes of the people as poſſible in the conſervation of the preſent political eſtabliſhment, and thus adminiſtering an antidote to Jacobinical poiſon, formed the hinge, on which all the arguments of that great man, in ſupport of the Catholic demands, turned. Would to God that thoſe principles had been acted on!—if not in granting the Catholic requeſts, yet in doing graciouſly, what they felt compelled to do in tempering theoretic, and political depreſſion, with practical cordiality and encouragement. Would to God that Catholics had not loſt the memory of what had been granted, in the angry wiſh for what was withholden! nor polluted their pretenſions, by the advocations of notorious ſeparatiſts and traitors!—that Proteſtant aſcendancy (which he truſted would ever be maintained) had never been abuſed, nor in any caſe degenerated into bigotry and faction!—that oppoſite parties had not vied with each other in civil rage, and ſupplied by their diſtractions ſo many arguments for union! Would to God that the late gloomy aſpect of affairs did not furniſh a verifying comment on the prediction of Adam Smith, that, without an union, the inhabitants of Ireland would never conſider themſelves as one people! But ſuppoſe the claims of the Catholics ſhould fail of ſucceſs, though ſubmitted to the remote and unprejudiced tribunal of an imperial parliament, does it follow that union would injure the Catholics? Clearly not: it would but leave them where they were; unleſs they conceive that the ſame demands made at home, on leſs favourable grounds, and with more jealouſies in array againſt them, would yet have a greater likelihood of ſucceſs. Nay, farther, though their claims ſhould be rejected by the united legiſlature, their ſituation would be better by an union. Union might practically improve the ſituation of the Catholics, though it ſhould leave them, in point of theory, where they were. Proteſtant aſcendancy ſtanding, after the union, (as it muſt do) on an impregnable foundation, would not need to be propped by favors and diſtinctions, which now exalted the Proteſtant at the expence of the Catholic feeling. The ſame ſecurity would aſſuage the Proteſtant mind, would heal his jealouſies and apprehenſions, and make him more ſuſceptible of cordiality to his Catholic brother. Terror and ſuſpicion were the uſual parents of oppreſſion.

If Union promote the wealth and trade of Ireland, it muſt practically increaſe

creaſe the comfort and conſequence of the Catholics, who compoſed the majority of Iriſh population. If Union practically exclude many Proteſtants from that political importance, which the exiſting ſtate of things permits them to enjoy, (and doubtleſs Union would abridge the conſequence of ſome, and greatly interfere with the ambitious views of many, as perhaps the opponents of the meaſure need not to be informed;) then Catholics might ſit down the more contentedly under the excluſion, to which the theory of the eſtabliſhment had condemned them. If to ſee their Proteſtant brethren enjoying, under their eye thoſe honors of the conſtitution, from which they were excluded, were grating to the Catholic mind, that was a mortification, from which Union would relieve them.

The pre-eminence of the reſident ariſtocracy, being founded on political diſtinctions, was one, in which the Catholic body could not ſhare. After Union, the conſequence of the ariſtocracy would be founded on thoſe diſtinctions of birth and fortune, which were as attainable by thoſe of one religion, as the other. He concluded his appeal, not to the authority, but to the good ſenſe of his countrymen: an appeal to the people, not from the opinion of their parliament, which was concluſive, but from the dogmatic clamor of an intereſted multitude, which, whilſt it bellowed againſt Union, miſcalled itſelf the public: an appeal to the virtuous and orderly inhabitants of Ireland, to diſcountenance the inſidious practices of thoſe, who were themſelves creating the national ferment, which they affected to attribute to the diſcuſſion of a meaſure, that they therefore deprecated; and were whetting popular reſentment, as a weapon, which they might uſe in defending their private intereſt againſt the public weal. They were not deſtitute of ſpirits ſuch as thoſe which, in 1707, animated the rabble of Edinburgh againſt their legiſlature: *non deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui avidos, atque intemperantes plebiorum animos, ad ſanguinem et cædes irritent.* It was the duty of all good men to combine to defeat ſuch miſchievous deſigns, and make particular ambition ſink before the general proſperity of Ireland.

Let the honeſt and independent country gentlemen come forward. They formed a party, which had lately not holden the place it ought to have done in that kingdom: they were diſintereſted, or had no intereſts, which were diſtinct from thoſe of Ireland. On them, on their virtue, good ſenſe, and diſpaſſionate enquiry, he looked upon the happineſs of his country to depend. He did not call upon them to vote for Union. No; but to hear

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the queſtion before they ſhould decide. He called on them to ſtop ſhort before they reached the brink of a precipice, to which they might at once be hurried by their own proud and ungenerous feelings, and be puſhed by the inſidious projects of the factious and the ſelfiſh.

The queſtion was not, whether they ſhould ſurrender the liberties of the country: what miniſter would dare propoſe ſuch a queſtion to parliament, or to the nation? The queſtion was, whether Union might not ſo modify their conſtitution, as to promote proſperity and peace, whilſt it left their liberties, not only unimpaired, but better ſecured.

Whether Union would not fortify, not merely England, but that empire, of which Ireland made a part; whoſe ſafety was menaced, and whoſe deſtruction ſhe could not ſurvive?

Whether it would not ſilence internal jealouſy and diſſention; eſtabliſh their religion firmly; conciliate their Catholic brethren, and conſolidate their people?

Whether it would not at once beſtow upon them commercial advantages, and enable them to uſe them? Whether it would not eſtabliſh amongſt them that reſpectable and induſtrious order of men, which was the boaſt of the ſiſter country, and the want of Ireland?

Whether, at the ſame time that it gave them an efficient weight in the imperial councils, it would not ſtill more ſecure their welfare, by entangling their intereſts, ſo obviouſly and inextricably, with thoſe of Britain, that all grudging policy, all narrow jealouſy of Iriſh advancement, if it ever exiſted, muſt have an end?

Whether, by diſarming ſeparatiſts of thoſe inſtruments, which they then poſſeſſed, towards ſevering the kingdoms, it would not render it injurious to Britain to retard Iriſh aggrandizement, and make it folly for her to view the advancement of that country with apprehenſion?

Whether the alternative of Union, or ſeparation, be not offered to them, as explicitly as they need wiſh it to be? and whether they ought to heſitate in their choice?

Whether ſeparation from England be not ſubjection to France? If ſo, he called upon all good men to turn a reluctant eye on the horrors, which had diſfigured that at once formidable and wretched country, and to ſhudder at the proſpect, which that ſuggeſtion diſcloſed.

Whether many objections to Union, which were loudly urged were not

ſuch as the terms might eaſily obviate, and which were then therefore premature?

Whether, if legiſlative incorporation tend to fortify the empire, Great Britain be not likely to purchaſe that imperial ſtrength, by the moſt ample and liberal conceſſions, in point of terms?

Whether two legiſlatures in one empire did not tend to diſunite? and whether experience have not alarmingly reduced that theory to practice?

Whether the teſtimony of all, who oppoſe an Union, be ſo diſintereſted as to deſerve implicit credit?

Whether the example of Scotland have not proved, that faction, not patriotiſm, may vehemently oppoſe an Union? That integrity and public ſpirit might vote for whatever ſacrifice the meaſure involved? And finally, that time may ſanction ſuch a ſtep, by ſhewing legiſlative incorporation to be the baſe of national proſperity?

Whether their ſituation were not ſuch, as to require ſome radical and tranquil change?

He declared himſelf to be deaf to clamor, obſtinate to intimidation, but open to reaſon, ever preferring to retract than perſiſt in error.

It was his deliberate opinion, that a legiſlative Union with Great Britain would ſave Ireland, if obtained on thoſe fair terms, which he thought likely to be conceded.

Mr. Egan attempted to anſwer Mr. *W.* Smith. No legiſlature, he ſaid, had a right to vote away its exiſtence, and ridiculed the pretended advantages of an Union.

Dr. Arthur Browne warmly oppoſed the Union.

Mr. Corry having complimented Mr. Smith, and cenſured his two opponents, ſpoke of the ſettlement of 1782, and denied that the meaſure then propoſed involved a dereliction of the points gained by Ireland at that time. He alſo argued, that any amendment or vote, by which the houſe ſhould declare, that it would never enter into the conſideration of a certain ſubject, would be an unconſtitutional infringement of the rights of the two other branches of the legiſlature---of the crown, which had a right to ſuggeſt, and of the peers, who had a right of diſcuſſion.

Mr. Arthur Moore expatiated much at large on the impolicy of an Union, and ſtrongly condemned it on various grounds; as did Colonel Vereker, Sir John Freke, and ſome others.

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On a diviſion the Anti-Unioniſts prevailed; 111 voted for the rejection of the conteſted paragraph, and 106 for its continuance. Mr. Ponſonby then propoſed an amendment ſimilar to his former motion; but, as it was deemed unneceſſary, he conſented to withdraw it.

The public exultation roſe to a great height on this defeat of the miniſtry. The Unioniſts were inſulted by the lower claſſes of the people, and the public prints joined in the clamor.

The popular journals were laviſh in their panegyrics of the Anti-Unioniſts: printed liſts of the voters were circulated about gratis amongſt the people, in order, as the ſuperſcription imported, that they might know their glorious and virtuous defenders, that every honeſt man might engrave their names and their ſervices on his heart, and hand them down to his children's children.*

So ſanguine was the Britiſh miniſter in his expectation of ſucceſs, in carrying the meaſure of Union, that he did not think it adviſeable to await the reſult of the deliberations of the Iriſh ſenate upon it; but preſuming on his ſtrength in the Iriſh as much as in the Britiſh houſes of parliament, he opened his plan of operations in both on the ſame day: accordingly on the 22d of January, 1799, a meſſage from the ſovereign was delivered to the Britiſh peers by Lord Grenville, recommending an Union in the following terms

" His majeſty is perſuaded, that the unremitting induſtry, with which our " enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of effecting the ſeparation of Ire- " land from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of " parliament; and his majeſty recommends it to this houſe to conſider of " the moſt effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this de- " ſign; and he truſts, that a review of all the circumſtances which have re- " cently occurred (joined to the ſentiments of mutual affection and common " intereſt) will diſpoſe the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the " manner, which they ſhall judge moſt expedient, for ſettling ſuch a com- " plete and final adjuſtment as may beſt tend to improve and perpetuate a " connexion eſſential to their common ſecurity, and to augment and conſo- " lidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the Britiſh empire."

This meſſage having been read, Lord Grenville propoſed, that it ſhould be

* This liſt is to be ſeen in Appendix, No. CXVI.

taken into conſideration on the enſuing day, and the lords ſummoned, to which the houſe agreed.

A ſimilar meſſage, on the ſame day, was preſented to the commons by Mr. Dundas, who moved, that it ſhould be conſidered on the morrow. Mr. Sheridan immediately roſe, and while he declared his concurrence in the general ſentiments which the meſſage conveyed, he thought it but fair thus to give early notice, that he viewed the bringing forward of that queſtion, at that time, as a meaſure replete with ſo much miſchief, that he held it his duty to take the firſt opportunity to do every thing in his power to arreſt the farther progreſs of it. He was convinced, that it was the common feeling in and out of that houſe, to adopt every meaſure that might tend to perpetuate and ſtrengthen the connexion between the two countries; becauſe all were convinced, that a ſeparation would not only injure, but be fatal to the intereſts and the exiſtence of both. What he pointed at particularly was, the time of bringing forward the queſtion. He readily joined in returning his majeſty thanks for his communication; but inſtead of engaging to proceed to an early conſideration of the ſubject, he ſhould endeavour to perſuade the houſe not to proceed at all to ſuch a conſideration.

Mr. Pitt in reply ſaid, he was at a loſs to gueſs on what grounds the honorable gentleman would attempt to ſatisfy the houſe they ought not to proceed to the conſideration of the important meaſure, which his majeſty, from his paternal regard to the intereſts of the empire, had thought proper to recommend to their conſideration; at the ſame time he informed the houſe, that his intention was only to propoſe an addreſs to his majeſty on the next day; and then, after a ſufficient interval, (about ten days) to proceed to the farther diſcuſſion of the ſubject. It was not his wiſh even then to preſs the houſe to come to a vote until the outline had been opened; then the general outline and principles would be ſubmitted, and it would be propoſed to have the reſolutions printed, and to allow a farther interval, for the purpoſe of enabling gentlemen to be properly prepared for the diſcuſſion.

Mr. Sheridan conſidering the meaſure as the counſel of his majeſty's miniſters, ſaid he deprecated the miſchievous conſequences of any diſcuſſion at all; and therefore was not to wait for a diſcuſſion, when he deprecated the conſequences of it.

The motion for taking his majeſty's meſſage into conſideration on the morrow was agreed to.

On

On the following day Lord Grenville in the Houſe of Peers moved the order of the day for taking his majeſty's meſſage into conſideration; no debate occurred; and the peers voted an addreſs of thanks for his majeſty's gracious communication, aſſuring him, that they would maturely deliberate on the ſubject recommended to their notice, and promote any adjuſtment for conſolidating the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

When Mr. Dundas moved for a like addreſs in the commons, he obſerved that it was then unneceſſary to dwell on the ſubject, as a future day would be appointed for diſcuſſing it.

The addreſs having been read, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that he conceived it incumbent upon miniſters before they propoſed the diſcuſſion of a plan of Union, to offer ſome explanations with regard to the failure of the laſt ſolemn adjuſtment between the countries, which had been generally deemed final. There was the ſtronger reaſon to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Iriſh parliament in 1782* was recollected. The Britiſh legiſlature having acquieſced in this declaration, no other baſis of connexion ought to be adopted. The people of Ireland, who cheriſhed the pleaſing remembrance of that period when independance came upon them as it were by ſurpriſe, when the genius of freedom reſted upon their iſland, would come to this ſecond adjuſtment with a temper which would "augur not tranquillity but "diſquietude, not proſperity but calamity, not the ſuppreſſion of treaſon, "but the extenſion and increaſe of plots to multiply and enſanguine its hor "rors."

It might be deemed informal, he hoped it was not improper, to enter into the diſcuſſion on an addreſs of thanks. There were topics on which ſilence would be unworthy of the majeſty of truth, and his country had claims upon him, which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready to liquidate to the full meaſure of his ability.

* We beg leave to repreſent to his majeſty, that the ſubjects of Ireland are entitled to a free conſtitution; that the imperial crown of Ireland is inſeparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the happineſs of both nations eſſentially depends; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a diſtinct dominion, having a parliament of her own, the ſole legiſlature thereof: that there is no power whatſoever competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland: upon which excluſive right of legiſlation we conſider the very eſſence of our liberties to depend, a right which we claim as the birth-right of the people of Ireland, and which we are determined, in every ſituation of life, to aſſert and maintain.

There

There was a time when it would have been intimated to him; that to agitate in that houſe any queſtion relative to the affairs of Ireland would be an encroachment on the rights of the parliament of that country; and that ſuch an inſult to the dignity of that body, and to its competence of legiſlation, would inflame that quick ſpirit of independence, which the ſiſter kingdom knew how to expreſs, and had ever appeared both able and ready to infuſe into a ſyſtem of ardent intrepid oppoſition to every act of ulterior domination. But now that the queſtion involved the independence and very exiſtence of the Iriſh parliament, he did not ſuppoſe that any ſpeaker would have recourſe to ſuch an argument. In diſcuſſing the intricate and delicate intereſts, which the king's meſſage embraced, he could ſee the poſſible danger of increaſing the diſcontent of the people of Ireland: but danger was to be apprehended from a violation of the rights and the independence of Ireland. Whatever might be the conſequences of the preſent ſcheme, he was diſpoſed to give credit to miniſters for purity of intention. He could not ſuſpect that they would propoſe a meaſure which they believed would ultimately cauſe a ſeparation of Ireland from this country. He feared the agitation of the queſtion might rather encourage than deter our foes, and that the diſtraction which it might produce would aid their purpoſe.

To render an incorporate union in any reſpect a deſirable meaſure, the ſenſe of the nation ought to be freely manifeſted in favour of it; but there was no proſpect of obtaining ſuch a concurrence; and an Union carried by ſurpriſe, by intrigue, by fraud, corruption, or intimidation, would leave both countries, with regard to permanency of connexion, in a ſituation worſe than the preſent: nor ought the Union to be obtained by following the advice of a pamphleteer (Mr. Cook) who hinted that we ſhould recollect the game played off by the volunteers of Ireland to take advantage of Great Britain, and play the ſame game againſt them. Let them never have to ſay to the Engliſh, "you offered us your aſſiſtance, againſt domeſtic and foreign enemies; we accepted it, and, in return, gave you affection and gratitude, and the irreproachable pledge of all the ſupport in our power. You then took advantage with your 40,000 ſoldiers; you conſtrained us to ſubmit to an Union; you would not wait for our conſent. Some were afraid of being ſuſpected of diſloyalty, if they ſhould come forward; others were baniſhed; all were ſenſible that it was in your power, by acts of negative intimidation (the expreſſion would be underſtood by thoſe who talked of negative ſucceſs)

by

by refuſing to ſend more men, or to relieve our pecuniary difficulties, to force an Union. If by ſuch acts they deprived Ireland of the power of reſiſting any claims made upon her, if thus they wrung from her her independence, if thus they intimidated and corrupted her parliament to ſurrender the people to a foreign juriſdiction, he would not juſtify the Iriſh in a future inſurrection, but he would ſay, that the alleged grounds for it would wear a very different complexion from the late.

That the propoſition itſelf ſhould be entertained in Ireland, muſt be conſidered as an extraordinary caſe. To the period of the laſt ſolemn adjuſtment, the great impolicy and heinous injuſtice of the Britiſh government towards Ireland for 300 years is notorious and avowed. Is it then reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a country, the object of ſuch inſult for three centuries, when at laſt ſhe had wrung from our tardy juſtice that independence, which ſhe had a right to claim, and had obtained commercial advantages, ſhould, only ſixteen years afterwards, ſo far forget all prejudices, as to ſurrender the means, by which ſhe acquired thoſe advantages? Would this be the caſe, if the free ſenſe of the country were manifeſted? But it is poſſible that, during thoſe ſixteen years, the parliament may have forfeited the confidence of the country. Do the Iriſh plead guilty to this charge? On the contrary, did not his majeſty congratulate Ireland, that by the vigor of her parliament ſhe had acquired an increaſe of proſperity? And that by the vigilance of the Iriſh parliament the late conſpiracy was detected and brought to light: and when new diſturbances are dreaded, was it to be diſmiſſed? Was the detection of plots likely to be better effected by the Engliſh parliament?

Would it be maintained, that the meaſure of an Union would not wholly diſſolve the legiſlature of Ireland; that independence would ſurvive Union, though in a modified ſtate; and that the parliament would be left to judge of the local affairs of Ireland? Really this ſeems almoſt too much for men's feelings. A parliament! A ſort of national veſtry of Ireland, ſitting in a kind of mock legiſlative capacity, after being ignobly degraded from the rank of repreſentatives of an independent people, and deprived of the greateſt authority that any parliament could poſſeſs! Could ſuch a ſtate be called a ſtate of independence? And could we ſuppoſe that the Iriſh would agree to ſuch an Union under any other circumſtances than thoſe of force.

Was the parliament of England competent or qualified to legiſlate for the parliament of Ireland? Impoſſible. Every advantage of ſituation favored the one; the other was unfitted for governing, or giving law, by every diſadvantage

tage of ſituation and every diſſimilarity of temper and habit. Lord Chancellor Clare ſaid, that the Engliſh parliament was leſs acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, than any other body of men in the world. How then was the parliament of England better fitted to legiſlate for Iriſhmen, than that of Ireland with its experience?

With reſpect to the general effect of intimidation, it did not reſt upon preſumption. Had not a threat been thrown out, in what might be conſidered as an official proclamation, that the troops which had been ſent to Ireland might be withdrawn, that the money with which ſhe was aided might be with-holden, and the country left helpleſs and devoted? Muſt not the Iriſh, then, who have ſupported the connexion, feel that they are not at liberty to chooſe? Such inſinuations an Iriſh clerk or ſecretary had thought proper to throw out in his official pamphlet. The effect then upon the Iriſh muſt be, that it is impoſſible for them to come to a free diſcuſſion of the ſubject. Such hints from perſons in office, and the diſmiſſal of the beſt friends of Ireland from office, warranted this inference, that if a perſon, whether in or out of office, ſhould oppoſe the Union, he will be conſidered as a traitor to his country? What muſt be the effect upon the minds of the officers and volunteers throughout the kingdom? He was willing to believe, that the noble lord at the head of affairs in Ireland had been directed to do what had been alluded to, and that it was not of his own accord. But to talk of free will under ſuch circumſtances was only adding mockery to injuſtice, and inſult to injury.

He contended that the adjuſtment propoſed would only unite two wretched bodies; that the minds would ſtill be diſtinct; and that eventually it might lead to ſeparation. The king of Sardinia had lately conſented to the ſurrender of his territory, and ſaid it was right; but did any one believe that the conſent was real? The caſe was the ſame with reſpect to Ireland. We could not have her real conſent; we do not wiſh it, or would not have had recourſe to corruption and intimidation. They had heard much abuſe of French principles; but he recommended the abſtaining from French practices. Let no ſuſpicion be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption; let our Union be an union of affection and attachment, of plain dealing and free will; let it be an union of mind and ſpirit, as well as of intereſt and power; let it not reſemble thoſe Iriſh marriages which commenced in fraud, and were conſummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when by tenderneſs of behaviour we may have her the willing

willing partner of our fate. The ſtate of Ireland did not admit ſuch a marriage; her bans ought not to be publiſhed to the ſound of the trumpet, with an army of 40,000 men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the priſon held ſo large a ſhare of her population.

Some delay in this matter could produce no danger; and it was incumbent on the projectors of the plan to ſtate the reaſons, which rendered them ſo eager to preſs it. As they had not explained their motives, he had been obliged to have recourſe to the caſtle pamphlet as to the proclamation of the Iriſh government. That author offered ſingular reaſons for diſpatch; a dread of the continued influence of the pope and the intrigues of the Britiſh anti-miniſterial party. He had alſo a ſingular mode of quieting the Catholics, by making them deſperate, by telling them that they had nothing to hope from their parliament. "Diſſatisfaction (ſaid the pamphleteer) would ſink into acquieſ-" cence, and acquieſcence ſoften into content." "A very pretty ſentence," ſaid Mr. Sheridan, "for a novel!" But what right had the author to aſſume, that, when the Union ſhould have taken away the rights of the Catholics, their diſſatisfaction would ſink into acquieſcence? On the topic urged by the pamphleteer, reſpecting the expediency of making uſe of a time of war and embarraſſment to accompliſh the wiſhes of Britain, in return for the advantage taken by the Iriſh volunteers on a former occaſion, and by the United Iriſhmen at a more recent period, he remarked, that the indignation of every man of honor muſt be rouſed by ſuch an appeal to the ſpirit of revenge. Such arguments weighed ſo lightly againſt the diſadvantages of the meaſure, that he could not but condemn the precipitancy with which it was brought forward.

Mr. Sheridan then ſtated the probable riſque of changes in our political ſyſtem, from the introduction of one hundred members into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; members who, having ſacrificed the parliament of their own country, might not be ſcrupulouſly tender of the Britiſh conſtitution. He then diſputed the competency of the Iriſh legiſlature to ſacrifice itſelf and transfer its power to the Britiſh legiſlature.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving an amendment,* expreſſing the ſurpriſe and deep regret with which the houſe learned from his majeſty that the final adjuſtment, which, upon his gracious recommendation, took place be-

* 7 Parl. Reg. p. 592.

tween the kingdoms in the year 1782, and which, by the declaration of the parliaments of both countries, placed the connexion between them upon a ſolid and permanent baſis, had not produced the effects expected from that ſolemn ſettlement; and alſo intimating, that his majeſty's faithful commons, having ſtrong reaſon to believe that it was in the contemplation of his miniſters to propoſe an Union of the legiſlatures of the two kingdoms, notwithſtanding the ſaid adjuſtment, felt it to be their bounden duty, impreſſed as they were with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the conſequences of ſuch a proceeding at this time, to take the earlieſt opportunity humbly to implore his majeſty not to liſten to the counſel of thoſe who ſhould adviſe or promote ſuch a meaſure at the preſent criſis, and under the preſent circumſtances of the empire.

Mr. Canning firſt anſwered the allegations of Mr. Sheridan with regard to the adjuſtment of the year 1782. That agreement, he ſaid, was termed final in one of the reſolutions then adopted; but, from a ſubſequent vote, it appeared that the idea of eſtabliſhing ſome more permanent ſyſtem never had been relinquiſhed. An attention to the true import of that vote would remove all imputation of impropriety and inconſiſtency from the meaſure then propoſed. The late numerous and momentous events in Ireland rendered England more particularly intereſted in whatever concerned that kingdom. A moſt foul rebellion had broken out in that country, which, by the wiſe and vigorous meaſures of government, had been checked, though not totally quelled; party heats and animoſities ſtill exiſted; factions ſtill remained, whoſe leaders did not merely aim at the expulſion of this or that ſet of miniſters, who aimed not at a partial reform of this or that political abuſe, real or pretended; but whoſe views threatened the annihilation of the government and conſtitution of Ireland, and the total ruin of all connexion between that country and this? The exiſtence of the horrid conſpiracy was proved by the avowals of ſelf-convicted traitors, who were not penitent, but ſtill entertained hopes of accompliſhing the plots, which had been detected by the vigilance of parliament and of the executive government, and which would have laid the capital of the country in aſhes, and deſtroyed every thing that was valuable or dear to the inhabitants; after the detection then of theſe deep and damned plots, was it not a matter of urgent neceſſity to deviſe and adopt the moſt effectual means of counteracting the pernicious conſequences that might otherwiſe flow from them, conſequences that not only affected the

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continuance of the connexion between the two countries, but which deeply ſtruck at the proſperity and very exiſtence of both?

Hence, the high importance of the object was evident. It was not the making of a provincial regulation, the adjuſtment of an internal difference, or the arrangement of a plan for balancing parties; it was nothing leſs than to ſecure Ireland to us and to herſelf, and thus to promote the happineſs and ſecurity of the whole empire. It would have been more fair and candid, more like a ſtateſman and patriot, deliberately to examine the plan before he would reject it, and then, if he could ſuggeſt any other ſcheme by which ſuch a deſirable object could be attained, to ſtate it for the conſideration of the houſe. He had not, however, ſaid that he poſſeſſed any ſuch plan; and therefore the houſe ought not to reject the diſcuſſion of that propoſed to them. Mr. Canning defended the conſiſtency of Mr. Cooke's pamphlet, and then referred to a work written by Dr. Duigenan, and obſerved, that one of more convincing argument and more ſound truth he had never ſeen. The author, he thought, had confuted his antagoniſt, Mr. Grattan, in the completeſt manner. In ſpeaking thus of Dr. Duigenan, he did it without partiality, becauſe he did not know whether that gentleman were friendly to the Union or not. The doctor was well known to be decidedly hoſtile to the pretenſions of the Catholics, inſiſting on their excluſion from a ſhare in the legiſlature, or in any of the great offices of ſtate; but he admitted at the ſame time that the neceſſity of that excluſion would be done away by the adoption of an Union, which would ſecure the Proteſtant aſcendancy, ſhould they even grant the Iriſh Catholics complete emancipation.

Here then were two parties in oppoſition to each other, agreeing, however, in one common opinion. But it was contended that this was an improper time for propoſing the meaſure; yet, if an Union would quiet the agitations of Ireland, why ſhould the remedy be delayed till the miſchief of a battle ſhould have taken place. The preſent time ſeemed particularly proper for the ſcheme of Union; and one of the effects that would ſpeedily reſult from it would be the removal of a conſiderable part of that armed force which excited the jealouſy of the laſt ſpeaker. That the deliberations of the Iriſh legiſlature had been influenced by the terrors of that army, or that the freedom of ſpeech had been taken away, Mr. Canning was unwilling to admit. No evidence of ſuch intimidation could be adduced; he juſtified the conduct of the miniſtry towards Sir John Parnell, whoſe oppoſition to a meaſure of

ſuch importance would render him a very unfit aſſociate, and might excite doubts of the ſincerity of the court.

It ought to be conſidered, that ſome of the principles of the French revolution had made a great impreſſion upon the inhabitants of Ireland, poor and uncivilized as the generality of them were, and diſtracted by religious feuds; and that the enemy ſtill hoped to profit by the favorable diſpoſitions of a part of that nation. To extinguiſh ſuch hopes, to put Ireland out of danger, both from her foreign and domeſtic enemies, and in every point of view to improve her condition, were the objects of the propoſed Union. It was not the fault of the people that the country was in ſuch a ſituation; they wanted commerce, they wanted capital, they wanted a particular claſs of men to connect the higheſt and the loweſt orders of ſociety, ſo as to harmoniſe the whole. But it was not a mere act of parliament that would accompliſh theſe great and beneficial objects: it was only a connexion with a country which had capital, which had commerce, which had a reſpectable middle claſs of men, that could effect the deſired change.

It had been ſaid, that for the ſpace of three hundred years we had oppreſſed Ireland; but for the laſt twenty years the conduct of England had been a ſeries of conceſſions. The Iriſh wanted an octennial parliament; it was granted. They wiſhed for an independent legiſlature; they had their wiſh. They deſired a free trade; it was given to them. A very large body of the people of Ireland deſired a repeal of a part of the penal code which they deemed oppreſſive; the repeal was granted. The honorable gentleman had ſpoken as if nothing had been done for Ireland but what ſhe extorted, and what ſhe had a right to demand; he ſeemed to think that paſt favors were no proofs of kindneſs. It was undoubtedly expedient that theſe advantages ſhould be given to Ireland, becauſe her proſperity was the proſperity of England; but they were not privileges which ſhe could claim as matters of right.

Mr. Canning concluded with recommending a ſtrict attention to his majeſty's propoſal, as the only great and comprehenſive view that had ever been taken of the affairs of Ireland, and with declaring his oppoſition to Mr. Sheridan's amendment, as it would debar the Iriſh from obtaining that relief which their neceſſities and their danger demanded.

Mr. Jones objected to the Union, chiefly, becauſe it was unſolicited by the Iriſh, who were the beſt judges of its expediency, and was therefore ill calculated to allay their diſcontent.

After

After Mr. Sheridan, in explanation, had briefly ſupported the opinions which he had delivered, Mr. Pitt offered himſelf to notice, as a defender of the addreſs, and of the general principle of the propoſed Union. The addreſs, he ſaid, would only pledge the houſe to take into ſerious conſideration a ſubject, which was earneſtly recommended to its notice, and which was cloſely connected with the intereſt of the Britiſh empire. The mover of the amendment had deprecated all deliberation upon the ſubject, and even inſinuated that the Iriſh parliament had not the power of carrying the reſult of its deliberations into effect, if it ſhould determine in favor of an Union, without an appeal to the people. That poſition, if true, would be applicable to the parliaments of both countries, the rights and privileges of both being the ſame; would go to invalidate the acts of the laſt ninety years, and tend to annihilate the whole authority of the Britiſh parliament. To ſay that the miniſters wiſhed to ſurpriſe the houſe into this meaſure, was alſo an ill-founded aſſertion; for they had rather been ſcrupulous in the oppoſite extreme. The queſtion was, whether the houſe ſhould proceed to deliberate in a grave and ſolemn manner, or ſhould, without examination, pronounce the Union to be unneceſſary, dangerous, or impracticable. That gentleman and his friends had, in the courſe of many years, loudly complained of the miſmanagement of the affairs of Ireland, expatiated on the deformity of its conſtitution, and lamented the miſeries of its inhabitants. Would it not then be more prudent to apply a promiſing remedy at the preſent time, than to riſque the effects of long delay, by which the evils of the country might be aggravated and embittered? Theſe evils had a deep root, being involved in the prevailing character, manners, and habits of the people, in their want of knowledge and intelligence, in the ſtate of property, in the ſeparation between certain claſſes, and in the rancor of religious diſſentions. Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform had been recommended as remedies; but there was little doubt that theſe pretences covered dangerous deſigns. If thoſe objects could be obtained by calm inveſtigation, and ſhould ſeem adequate correctives, few would decline an acquieſcence in them. But if the ſtate of ſociety be ſuch, that laws, however wiſe in themſelves, would be ineffectual as to their object, until the manners and cuſtoms of the people were altered—if men were in a ſtate of poverty, in which it was impoſſible that they could have any comfort—if the progreſs of civilization depend in a great meaſure upon the diſtribution of wealth—if the improvement of that

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wealth depend much upon the diſtribution of capital—if all the advantages to be derived from an increaſe of national wealth depend much upon the temper of the inhabitants—if thoſe advantages, together with the ſtill greater advantage of mental improvement, be all retarded by the diſtractions and diviſions of party, by the blind zeal and phrenzy of religious prejudices, by old and furious family feuds—if all theſe cauſes combine to make a country wretched, what was the remedy? A legiſlature ſtanding aloof from local party connexion, ſufficiently removed from the influence of contending factions to be the advocate or champion of neither; being ſo placed as to have no ſuperſtitious reverence for the names and prejudices of ancient families, that have ſo long enjoyed the monopoly of certain public patronages and property, which cuſtom had ſanctioned, and which modern neceſſity might juſtify; a legiſlature that would neither give way to the haughty pretenſions of a few, nor open the door to popular inroads, to clamor, or to the invaſion of all ſacred forms and regularities, under the falſe and impoſing colors of philoſophical improvement in the art of government. All that was wanted for Ireland. Where was it to be found? In the country where the evils which he had enumerated exiſted, or in this? Where ſhould that legiſlature deliberate? In a place where the utmoſt effort of what was called patriotiſm amounted to nothing more than an aim at temporary popularity, as was evident from what had happened, or in a place where the diſcuſſion was calm and temperate? Certainly the latter; that is, in England. To neglect the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a legiſlature, when it was poſſible to do ſo, was an imprudence, which nothing could juſtify.

Mr. Pitt did not aſſent to Mr. Sheridan's obſervation, that England had oppreſſed Ireland for three hundred years; but he would ſay, that for one hundred years this country had followed a very narrow policy with regard to that kingdom. When the connexion with Ireland was ſomething more than a name, when that connexion was aſcertained, and the imperial parliament of this country exerciſed a ſupremacy over Ireland, it did happen that during that period the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced by views of commercial advantage, tainted and perverted by ſelfiſh motives, treated Ireland with illiberality and neglect, and did not look upon her proſperity as that of the empire at large. He reprobated, as much as the honorable gentleman, that narrow-minded policy as miſchievous and pregnant with the moſt fatal conſequences to both kingdoms. Theſe jealouſies, however, would be buried by the plan, which would ſoon be brought forward. They all had in their

their mouths a ſentence, importing that every good Engliſhman and good Iriſhman felt they muſt ſtand or fall together; that they ſhould live and die together; and yet without ſuch a meaſure as that which was about to be propoſed to them, there could be no ſecurity for the continuance of that ſentiment. The happineſs of both countries ought to be perpetual. As it then ſtood, it was liable to a thouſand accidents; it depended upon the violence of the moment; it might be governed upon views of temporary popularity, or by the perſonal convenience of a few individuals; a tenure upon which the happineſs of a nation ought never to depend.

Of the ſettlement of the year 1782, he ſaid, the very authors of the meaſure were not ſatisfied with their own work, as appears from the journals of the houſe. They ſaw the imperfections of their own meaſure; and, as a ſupplement, it was recorded on the journals, that ſuch other terms ſhould be ſettled as ſhould be agreed on between the two nations. But nothing had been done to give it effect, and therefore he had their own authority to ſay that it was defective.

He added, that it was incumbent on thoſe gentlemen to ſhow the bad tendency of the preſent meaſure, rather than requiſite for its advocates to enlarge on its probable benefits; for the conduct of the former proclaimed the neceſſity of making ſome new attempt in favor of Ireland. Thoſe who ſanctioned the independence of the Hibernian parliament, without any ſecurity that the two legiſlatures would never differ eſſentially upon any point, in which the happineſs of the Britiſh empire might be involved, were particularly bounden to ſhow, that ſuch a difference was not likely to happen, or that it might eaſily be remedied. How ſtood the caſe in point of experience as to the regency. The honorable gentleman ſaid there was no difference between the parliaments as to the regent. There was indeed no difference as to the *perſon* who was to be regent; but there was an eſſential difference as to the *principle*, on which that perſon was to be regent: the Iriſh parliament decided on one principle, the Britiſh parliament on another; their agreement with regard to the perſon was accidental; and upon the diſtinct principles on which they proceeded, they might as well have differed in the choice of the perſon who was to be regent, as in the adjuſtment of the powers, which were to be granted to him. Would any one ſay, there was no neceſſity for arrangement, for ſecuring an uniformity of opinion on points eſſential to the exiſtence of the empire, and guarding againſt all thoſe evils which muſt ariſe, when two bodies, which ſhould act

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in concert, move in contrary directions? That they had not hitherto differed in the great and momentous events, which had been agitated before parliament, was a good fortune, which had arifen from one general cauſe; from the Union of all deſcriptions of perſons againſt one common enemy, with the exception only of a few, whoſe counſels, happily for both countries, and for the civiliſed part of the world, had loſt all their influence.

Could any man ſay, that ſuch difference as was manifeſted in the time of the regency would never occur again? When they came to treat of peace, for inſtance, or to conſider the ſubject of alliance with any foreign power, or any queſtion of trade or commerce, might not local prejudices occaſion a difference between the legiſlatures upon points eſſential to the welfare of the Britiſh empire? What would have been the conſequence both to England and Ireland, had the diſſenſions in Ireland been the ſame in point of force againſt the executive government in parliament, ſince the commencement of the preſent war, as they were at the time when the Iriſh propoſitions were rejected? If, in the preſent conteſt, the leaders of oppoſition ſhould have as much influence in Ireland as they formerly poſſeſſed, a vote for peace might paſs, and the efforts of Great Britain might be paralyſed. Would the honorable gentleman ſay, that the parliament of Ireland might not in ſuch a caſe neutraliſe its ports, prevent the raiſing of recruits for the army and navy, ſtrike a fatal blow at the power, and endanger the exiſtence of the empire? Let any man maturely reflect on the dangers that might reſult from the preſent ſituation of both countries; and he would tremble at the perils, to which they were expoſed. Under theſe circumſtances, could they do juſtice to either country by neglecting to bring forward the propoſal of Union?

After a renewed expoſure of the deplorable ſtate of Ireland, and an additional enforcement of the neceſſity of incorporating that realm with Great Britain, he ſaid, "I ſee the caſe ſo plainly, and I feel it ſo ſtrongly, that no "apparent or probable difficulty, no fear of toil, or apprehenſion of a loſs "of popularity, ſhall deter me from making every exertion to accompliſh "the great work, on which, I am perſuaded, depend the internal tranquil-"lity of Ireland, the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire, and perhaps the "happineſs of a great part of the habitable world."

When the queſtion was put for the amendment, it was rejected without a diviſion; and the addreſs was immediately voted.

On the 31ſt of January, the meſſage being again read, Mr. Pitt roſe, and in a long ſpeech ſupported the grand object, which his ſovereign recommend-

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ed. He began with a reference to the late proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland. That the parliament of that kingdom had the right and the power of rejecting a propoſition of that nature, he did not preſume to deny; yet, convinced as he was that the meaſure would not only tend to the general benefit of the empire of Great Britain, but would particularly increaſe the proſperity and enſure the ſafety of Ireland, he deeply lamented the unfavorable reception of the ſcheme in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. He did not mean to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the conduct of that houſe; but, while he admitted and reſpected their rights, he felt that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he alſo had "a right to exerciſe and a duty "to perform." That duty was to expreſs, as diſtinctly as he could, the general nature and outline of a plan which he conſidered as pregnant with the moſt important advantages. If the Britiſh parliament, upon full explanation, and after mature deliberation, ſhould be inclined to favor the ſcheme, he would propoſe that its opinion ſhould remain recorded as a determination by which it would abide, leaving to the diſpaſſionate judgment of the legiſlature of Ireland the future adoption or rejection of the plan.

With regard to the general principle of the meaſure, both ſides of the houſe ſeemed to conſider a perpetual connexion between Great Britain and Ireland as eſſential to the true intereſts of both.

Aſſuming it then as a propoſition not to be controverted, that it is the duty of thoſe, who wiſh to promote the intereſt and proſperity of both countries, to maintain the ſtrongeſt connexion between them, he aſked, what ſituation of affairs had called them to the diſcuſſion of this ſubject? This very connexion, the neceſſity of which had been admitted on all hands, had been attacked by foreign enemies and domeſtic traitors. The diſſolution of this connexion was the great object of the hoſtility of the common enemies of both countries; it was almoſt the only remaining hope, with which they ſtill continued the conteſt.

A cloſe connexion with Ireland having been allowed to be eſſential to the intereſts of both countries, and that connexion being dangerouſly attacked, it was not to be inſinuated that it was unneceſſary, much leſs improper, at that arduous and important criſis, to ſee whether ſome new arrangements, ſome fundamental regulations, were not requiſite, to guard againſt the threatened danger. The foreign and domeſtic enemies of theſe kingdoms had ſhewn, that they thought this the vulnerable point in which they might be moſt

ſucceſsfully attacked. Let us derive advantage, if we can, from their hoſtility; they felt the moſt ardent hope, that the two parliaments will be infatuated enough, not to render their deſigns abortive by fixing that connexion upon a more ſolid baſis.

The nature of the exiſting connexion evidently did not afford that degree of ſecurity, which, even in times leſs dangerous and leſs critical, was neceſſary to enable the empire to avail itſelf of its ſtrength and reſources.

The ſettlement of 1782, far from deſerving the name of a final adjuſtment, was one that left the connection between Great Britain and Ireland expoſed to all the attacks of party and all the effects of accident. That ſettlement conſiſted in the demolition of the ſyſtem which before held the two countries together. A ſyſtem, unworthy of the liberality of Great Britain, and injurious to the intereſts of Ireland. But to call that a ſyſtem in itſelf—to call that a glorious fabric of human wiſdom, which was no more than the mere demolition of another ſyſtem—was a perverſion of terms.

Mr. Pitt then quoted the parliamentary journals, to prove that the repeal of the declaratory act was not conſidered by the miniſter of the day as preclusive of endeavours for the formation of an ulterior ſettlement between the kingdoms; for under his auſpices, an addreſs had been voted, requeſting his majeſty to take ſuch meaſures as might 'eſtabliſh, by mutual conſent, the 'connexion between this kingdom and Ireland upon a ſolid and permanent 'baſis.' No meaſures of that kind, however, had ſince been adopted. The two countries were left with ſeparate and independent legiſlatures, connected only by the identity of the executive government; and that was not a ſufficient tie to unite them in time of peace, to conſolidate their ſtrength in time of war, to give to Ireland her full ſhare of commercial and political advantages, or to both nations that due degree of ſtrength and proſperity to which they were entitled. On this head he referred to the opinion of Mr. Foſter, who was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland at the time when the commercial propoſitions were brought forward. That miniſter then ſaid, "Things cannot remain as they are. Commercial jealouſy is rouſed; it will "increaſe with two independent legiſlatures; and, without an united intereſt "in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many "ſhocks, and ſeparation of intereſt muſt threaten ſeparation of connexion; "which every honeſt Iriſhman muſt ſhudder to look at, as a poſſible event."

Mr. Pitt added, that the evils apprehended by Mr. Foſter could only be remedied

medied by two means: either by a commercial compact, ſimilar to that which was rejected in 1785, or by an union of the two legiſlatures. He inſiſted upon the peculiar importance of drawing out the whole ſtrength of the empire, and thus enſuring its ſafety at that critical moment. The people of Ireland were proud, he believed, of being aſſociated in the great conteſt, and muſt feel the advantage of augmenting the general force of the empire. Every ſtateſman, every writer of any information on the ſubject has holden, that the meaſure moſt likely to augment the power of the Britiſh empire, was the Union and conſolidation of every part of it.

Great Britain had always felt a common intereſt in the ſafety of Ireland; but that intereſt was never ſo obvious and urgent as when the common enemy made her attack upon Britain through the medium of Ireland, and when the attack upon Ireland tended to deprive her of her connexion with Britain, and to ſubſtitute in lieu of it the new government of the French republic. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purſe of Great Britain was open for the wants of Ireland, as for the neceſſities of England.

Mr. Pitt remarked, that he well knew, that as long as Ireland was ſeparated from Great Britain, any attempt on our part to purſue meaſures which we might think ſalutary, with reſpect to queſtions of contending ſects or parties, the claimed rights of the Catholics, or the precautions neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, muſt certainly be a violation of the independence of that kingdom, and an uſurpation of the right of deciding points, which could only be brought within our province by compact. He could not be inattentive to the events, that were paſſing before him, and he affirmed, that whoever conſidered the French as ſhewing by their conduct, that they deemed Ireland the weakeſt and moſt vulnerable part of the empire; whoever reflected on the dreadful and inexcuſable cruelties inſtigated by the enemies of both countries, and on thoſe lamentable ſeverities, with which the exertions for the defence of Ireland were unhappily, but unavoidably, attended, and the neceſſity of which was itſelf one great aggravation of the crimes and treaſons which led to them, muſt feel that, as it then ſtood compoſed, in the hoſtile diviſion of its ſects, in the animoſities exiſting between ancient ſettlers and original inhabitants, in the ignorance and want of civiliſation, which marked that country more than almoſt any other country in Europe, in the unfortunate prevalence of Jacobin principles, ariſing from theſe cauſes, and augmenting their malignity, and which had produced the diſtreſſed ſtate that all now deplored; muſt agree in

thinking, that there was no cure but in the formation of a general imperial legiſlature, free alike from terror and from reſentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the paſſions of that diſtracted country.

Among the great and known defects of Ireland, one of the moſt prominent features was its want of induſtry and of capital. How were thoſe wants to be ſupplied, but by blending more cloſely with Ireland the induſtry and the capital of Great Britain? But, above all, in the great religious diſtinctions between the people of Ireland, what was their ſituation? The Proteſtant feels that the claims of the Catholics threaten the exiſtence of the Proteſtant aſcendancy, while, on the other hand, the great body of Catholics feel the eſtabliſhment of the national church, and their excluſion from the exerciſe of certain rights and privileges, as grievances. In this ſtate of affairs, it becomes a matter of difficulty in the minds of many perſons, whether it would be better to atend to the fears of the former, or to grant the claims of the latter.

He was well aware, that the ſubject of religious diſtinction was a dangerous and delicate topic, eſpecially when applied to ſuch a country as Ireland. Where the eſtabliſhed religion of the ſtate was the ſame as the general religion of the empire, and where the property of the country was in the hands of a comparatively ſmall number of perſons profeſſing that religion, while the religion of a great majority of the people was different, it was not eaſy to ſay, on general principles, what ſyſtem of church eſtabliſhment in ſuch a country would be free from difficulty and inconvenience. By many, it would be contended, that the religion profeſſed by a majority of the people would at leaſt be entitled to an equality of privileges; but thoſe who applied ſuch an argument without qualification to the caſe of Ireland, ſurely forgot the principles, on which Engliſh intereſt and Engliſh connexion had been eſtabliſhed in that country, and on which its preſent legiſlature was formed. No man could ſay, that, in the preſent ſtate of things, and while Ireland remained a ſeparate kingdom, full conceſſions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the ſtate, and ſhaking the conſtitution of Ireland to its centre. On the other hand, when the conduct of the catholics ſhould be ſuch as to make it ſafe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion, and when the temper of the times ſhould be favorable to ſuch a meaſure, it was obvious, that this queſtion might be agitated in an united imperial parliament with much

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greater ſafety than it could be in a ſeparate legiſlature. He alſo thought it certain that, even for whatever period it may be thought neceſſary, after the union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of thoſe advantages, many of the objections which at preſent aroſe out of their ſituation would be removed, if the proteſtant legiſlature were no longer ſeparate and local, but general and imperial; and the Catholics themſelves would at once feel a mitigation of the moſt goading and irritating of their preſent cauſes of complaint.

He enumerated the general advantages, which Ireland would derive from the effects of the propoſed arrangement; the protection which ſhe would ſecure to herſelf in the hour of danger; the moſt effectual means of increaſing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of Engliſh capital, the infuſion of Engliſh manners and Engliſh induſtry, neceſſarily tending to meliorate her condition, to accelerate the progreſs of internal civiliſation, and to terminate thoſe feuds and diſſenſions, which diſtracted the country, and which ſhe did not poſſeſs within herſelf the power either to control or to extinguiſh. She would ſee the avenue to honors, to diſtinctions, and exalted ſituations in the general ſeat of empire, opened to all thoſe, whoſe abilities and talents enabled them to indulge an honorable and laudable ambition.

From the queſtion of general advantage the miniſter proceeded to ſpecific ſtatements of the benefits, which Ireland might derive from the plan, in point of commerce and manufactures.

Having thus aſſigned his reaſons for recommending an incorporate Union, Mr. Pitt noticed ſome objections which had been urged againſt it, particularly thoſe which related to parliamentary competency, and to the loſs of the independence of the realm of Ireland.

The miniſter ſpoke much at large upon the nature of civil power, becauſe he felt, that the falſe and dangerous mockery of the ſovereignty of the people was one of the chief elements of jacobiniſm, one of the favorite impoſtures calculated to miſlead the underſtanding, and to flatter and inflame the paſſions of the maſs of mankind, who had not the opportunity of examining and expoſing it; and that as ſuch, on every occaſion, and in every ſhape in which it appeared, it ought to be combated and reſiſted by every friend to civil order, and to the peace and happineſs of mankind. He next addreſſed ſome obſervations to thoſe politicians, who deprecated the loſs of national independence.

In combating this general and abſtract principle, which would operate as an objection

objection to every Union between ſeparate ſtates, on the ground of the ſacrifice of independence, he did not contend that there was in no caſe juſt ground for ſuch a ſentiment! Far from it: it might become, on many occaſions, the firſt duty of a free and generous people. If there exiſted a country, which contained within itſelf the means of military protection and naval force neceſſary for its defence; which furniſhed objects of induſtry ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of its inhabitants, and pecuniary reſources adequate to a dignified maintenance of the rank, which it had attained among the nations of the world; if, above all, it enjoyed the bleſſings of internal content and tranquillity, and poſſeſſed a diſtinct conſtitution of its own, the defects of which, if any, it was within itſelf capable of correcting; if that conſtitution were equal if not ſuperior, to any other in the world; or (which was nearly the ſame thing) if thoſe, who lived under it believed it to be ſo, and fondly cheriſhed that opinion; he could eaſily conceive that ſuch a country muſt be jealous of any meaſure, which, even by its own conſent, under the authority of its own lawful government, was to aſſociate it as a part of a larger and more extenſive empire.

But if there were a country, which againſt the greateſt of all dangers that threatened its peace and ſecurity, had not adequate means of protecting itſelf without the aid of another nation; if that other were a neighbouring and kindred nation, ſpeaking the ſame language, whoſe laws and cuſtoms were the ſame in principle, but were carried to a greater degree of perfection, with a more extenſive commerce, and more abundant means of acquiring and diffuſing national wealth; the ſtability of whoſe government, and the excellence of whoſe conſtitution, were more than ever the admiration and envy of Europe, and to which the very country of which they were ſpeaking could only boaſt an imperfect reſemblance; under ſuch circumſtances, what conduct would be preſcribed by every rational principle of dignity, of honor, or of intereſt? He aſked whether that were not a faithful deſcription of the circumſtances, which ought to diſpoſe Ireland to an Union, and whether Great Britain were not preciſely the nation, with which on thoſe principles, a country, ſituated as Ireland was, would deſire to unite. Did an Union, under ſuch circumſtances, by free conſent, and on juſt and equal terms, deſerve to be branded as a propoſal for ſubjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke? Was it not rather the free and voluntary aſſociation of two great countries, which joined for their common benefit in one empire, where each would retain its proportional

proportional weight and importance, under the ſecurity of equal laws, reciprocal affection, and inſeparable intereſts; and which wanted nothing but that indiſſoluble connexion to render both invincible?

———Nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto: paribus ſe legibus ambæ
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.

The objection drawn from the injury, which Ireland might ſuffer by the abſence of her chief nobility and gentry, who would flock to the Imperial metropolis, was obviated by remarking, that, though this effect would take place during a part of the year, the diſadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the operation of the ſyſtem in other reſpects. To prove the aſſertion, Mr. Pitt entered into a very cloſe chain of reaſoning from preſumption, analogy, and experience as to Scotland.

As the adverſaries of the Union had propagated an idea, that the main principle of the meaſure was to ſubject Ireland to a load of debt and an increaſe of taxes, he again looked to Scotland. Was there any inſtance where, with forty-five members on her part, and five hundred and thirteen on ours, that part of the United kingdom had paid more than its due proportion to the general burthens? Could it then be apprehended that we ſhould tax Ireland more heavily when ſhe became aſſociated with ourſelves? To tax in its due proportion the whole of the empire, to the utter excluſion of the idea of the predominance of one part of ſociety over another, was the great characteriſtic of Britiſh finance, as equality of laws was of the Britiſh conſtitution.

When they ſhould come to the details of that propoſition, it would be in their power to fix, for any number of years that ſhould be thought fit, the proportion, by which the contribution of Ireland to the expences of the ſtate ſhould be regulated, and to determine that theſe proportions ſhould not be ſuch as would make a contribution greater, than the amount of its preſent neceſſary expences, as a ſeparate kingdom. Even after that limited period, the proportion of the whole contribution, from time to time, might be made to depend on the comparative produce in each country, of ſuch general taxes as might be thought to afford the beſt criterion of wealth; or the ſyſtem of internal taxation might gradually be ſo equaliſed and aſſimilated, on the leading articles, as to make all rules of ſpecific proportion unneceſſary, and to ſecure Ireland from being ever taxed but in proportion as we ſhould tax ourſelves.

The application of theſe principles would form matter of future diſcuſſion; he

he mentioned them only as ſtrongly ſhewing, from the miſrepreſentation, which had taken place on that part of the ſubject, how incumbent it was upon the houſe to receive theſe propoſitions, and to adopt, after due deliberation, ſuch reſolutions as might record to Ireland the terms, upon which we were ready to meet her. And in the mean time wait, not without impatience, but without diſſatisfaction, for that moment, when the effect of reaſon and diſcuſſion would reconcile the minds of men in that kingdom to a meaſure, which he was ſure would be found as neceſſary for their peace and happineſs, as it would be conducive to the general ſecurity and advantage of the Britiſh empire.

Mr. Pitt then preſented to the houſe eight reſolutions, which he had prepared, embracing the general plan of the Union.

" I. In order to promote and ſecure the eſſential intereſts of Great Britain " and Ireland, and to conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the " Britiſh empire, it will be adviſeable to concur in ſuch meaſures as may beſt " tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one " kingdom, in ſuch manner, and on ſuch terms and conditions, as may be " eſtabliſhed by acts of the reſpective parliaments of his majeſty's ſaid king- " doms.

" II. It would be fit to propoſe as the firſt article, to ſerve as a baſis of the " ſaid Union, that the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland *ſhall*, on a " day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the " United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

" III. For the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the ſucceſſion " to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the ſaid united kingdom, *ſhall* " continue limited and ſettled, in the ſame manner as the imperial crown of " the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now ſtands limited and " ſettled, according to the exiſting laws, and to the terms of the Union be- " tween England and Scotland.

" IV. For the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the ſaid united " kingdom be repreſented in one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtiled the " Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and " that ſuch a number of lords ſpiritual and temporal, and ſuch a number of " members of the Houſe of Commons, as ſhall be hereafter agreed upon " by acts of the reſpective parliaments as aforeſaid, ſhall ſit and vote in the " ſaid parliament on the part of Ireland, and ſhall be ſummoned, choſen,

" and

" and returned, in ſuch manner as ſhall be fixed by an act of the parliament " of Ireland previous to the ſaid Union; and that every member hereafter to " ſit and vote in the ſaid parliament of the united kingdom ſhall, until the " ſaid parliament ſhall otherwiſe provide, take, and ſubſcribe the ſaid oaths, " and make the ſame declarations, as are by law required to be taken, ſub- " ſcribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain " and Ireland.

" V. For the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the churches " of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and go- " vernment thereof, ſhall be preſerved as now by law eſtabliſhed.

" VI. For the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that his majeſty's " ſubjects in Ireland ſhall at all times hereafter be entitled to the ſame privi- " leges, and be on the ſame footing in reſpect of trade and navigation, in " all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all caſes with re- " ſpect to which treaties ſhall be made by his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, " with any foreign power, as his majeſty's ſubjects in Great Britain; that " no duty ſhall be impoſed on the import or export between Great Britain " and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there " ſhall be eſtabliſhed, for a time to be limited, ſuch a moderate rate of equal " duties as ſhall, previous to the Union, be agreed upon and approved by " the reſpective parliaments, ſubject, after the expiration of ſuch limited " time, to be diminiſhed equally with reſpect to both kingdoms, but in no " caſe to be increaſed; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be " imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, ſhall be importable through " either kingdom into the other, ſubject to the like duties and regulations " as if the ſame were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any " articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are ſub- " ject to any internal duty in one kingdom, ſuch countervailing duties (over " and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforeſaid) ſhall be impoſed " as ſhall be neceſſary to prevent any inequality in that reſpect; and that all " matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than ſuch " others as may before the Union be ſpecially agreed upon for the due encou- " ragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the reſpective kingdoms, " ſhall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

" VII. For the like purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the charge " ariſing from the payment of the intereſt, or ſinking fund for the reduction

" of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, " ſhall continue to be ſeparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland re- " ſpectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary " expences of the united kingdom, in peace or war, ſhall be defrayed by " Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to ſuch proportions as ſhall " be eſtabliſhed by the reſpective parliaments previous to the Union; and " that, after the expiration of the time to be ſo limited, the proportion ſhall " not be liable to be varied, except according to ſuch rates and principles as " ſhall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the Union.

" VIII. For the like purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that all laws in " force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil or eccleſiaſtical " juriſdiction within the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain as now by law " eſtabliſhed within the ſame, ſubject only to ſuch alterations or regulations " from time to time, as circumſtances may appear to the parliament of the " united kingdom to require."

Mr. Pitt at the ſame time moved an addreſs to accompany the reſolutions, ſtating, that the commons had proceeded with the utmoſt attention to the conſideration of the important objects recommended in the royal meſſage; that they entertained a firm perſuaſion of the probable benefits of a *complete and entire* Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; and that they were therefore induced to lay before his majeſty ſuch propoſitions, as appeared to them to be beſt calculated to form the baſis of ſuch a ſettlement, leaving it to his wiſdom, in due time and in a proper manner, to communicate them to the lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur in all ſuch meaſures as might be found moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of that great and ſalutary work.

Mr. Sheridan cautioned the houſe againſt the ſeductive force of the miniſter's oratory, which might miſlead ſome into an aſſent or concurrence, that their cooler reaſon would condemn. He contended, that in the alarming ſtate of Ireland, it was unſafe to drive a ſpirited nation into an experiment of ſo delicate and ſo important a nature. The fate of the queſtion, when it was lately agitated in Ireland, might reaſonably induce him to deſiſt from the proſecution of the ſcheme; but, as he had ſolemnly pledged himſelf for the exertion of his moſt ſtrenuous efforts to produce an Union of the two kingdoms, it might be apprehended, that he would purſue his courſe in defiance of

of every obſtacle, would make uſe of artifice to gain his point, flatter and delude the Iriſh, and, by ſeeming to reſpect their declared opinion, lull them into inactivity, the more completely to ſubjugate them to ſlavery. The Houſe, Mr. Sheridan hoped, would not be ſo inconſiderate as to adopt a ſyſtem, which would cheriſh animoſity and diſcord, where affection ought to be conciliated, and harmony eſtabliſhed, which would ſow diſſenſion between the commons and the peers of Ireland, irritate the whole parliament by holding it up to view as a feeble and inefficient body, duped by Engliſh factions, and array the Britiſh Houſe of Commons againſt that of another realm governed by the ſame ſovereign.

If the condition of Ireland were really as deplorable as it was ſtated to be, the houſe ought to be informed from what miſconduct ſuch evils had ariſen, amidſt the advantages which God and nature had beſtowed upon her. It might be concluded, indeed, that her poverty was chiefly occaſioned by the narrow unwiſe policy of Britain, a policy which, he was glad to find, the miniſter now diſapproved. Her weakneſs, perhaps, was not ſo great as it was ſuppoſed to be; and, if it were, it was ungenerous to inſult her. Such an inſult would not have been offered to her while her volunteers were in arms. He reproved Mr. Canning for pleading the cauſe of bold and barefaced corruption, and thus clouding and contaminating with its foul fog and baneful breath the pure morning of his political life; and cenſured, as wanton and unneceſſary, Mr. Pitt's pledge for the proſecution of his favorite meaſure. He animadverted on the conduct of the court in the diſpute reſpecting the Catholics. A lord lieutenant had been ſent to that kingdom to allay animoſities, and gratify the great bulk of the nation. The cup of conceſſion was preſented to their lips, but, when they were on the point of taſting, it was daſhed in their faces, and the new viceroy was recalled. Was that a proper prelude to an union?

In reply to the obſervations of Mr. Pitt on the adjuſtment of the year 1782, he maintained that it was intended to be final with regard to the conſtitution of Ireland; but he admitted that ſome regulations, chiefly commercial, were to have been propoſed for the improvement of the connexion between the kingdoms.

The aſſertions reſpecting the number of Iriſh who wiſhed for an Union were not well founded. A conſiderable majority of the peers, indeed, were inclined to promote it; but in the Houſe of Commons the court had little reaſon to

boaſt of its ſucceſs, as, notwithſtanding the apparent plurality of votes for the meaſure, the far greater number of independent members were adverſe to it, and out of parliament the approvers of it were very few. The inhabitants of Cork, it was ſaid, were friendly to the ſcheme, and thoſe of Limerick were likewiſe diſpoſed to favor it; but had not the lure of a dock-yard been thrown out to the former, and a menace to the latter on the ſubject of the linen trade? Thus, while ſome were to be bribed, others were to be intimidated into compliance. The Catholics were among thoſe, to whom favors were promiſed; but might not they be gratified without an Union? and might not every advantage, which was mentioned as the probable reſult of the ſcheme, be afforded without its adoption?

Mr. Sheridan recapitulated ſeveral of his former arguments, and concluded with reading two reſolutions, to which, he thought, no true friend of either country would object. They were couched in theſe terms: "that no meaſures can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connexion now exiſting between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their baſis the manifeſt, fair, and free conſent and approbation of the parliaments of the two countries;" and "that whoever ſhall endeavour to obtain the appearance of ſuch conſent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purpoſe of corruption or of intimidation, is an enemy to his majeſty and to the conſtitution."

Lord Hawkeſbury animadverted on the charge of intimidation, affirming it to be inapplicable to the proceedings of the miniſtry in the preſent caſe; denied that any corruption had been practiſed; and repreſented the diſmiſſion of Anti-Unioniſts from office as a proof of the ſincerity of the premier in the proſecution of an important meaſure. He controverted the finality of the adjuſtment of 1782, and declared his conviction, that the radical evils of the exiſting government in Ireland could not be completely removed without an Union. It would allay the jealouſies of the Catholics and the Proteſtants, promote in every reſpect the proſperity of Ireland, and add to the ſtrength and reſpectability of the whole empire.

Dr. Laurence conjured the houſe to relinquiſh a diſcuſſion, which might be productive of ſerious miſchief, while ſo high a degree of irritation pervaded the public mind in Ireland. The meaſure, he ſaid, was not neceſſary at the preſent moment, even if it promiſed to be more beneficial than he had reaſon to think that it would be. The ſettlement of 1782, according to the opinion

opinion of Mr. Burke, was to every conſtitutional purpoſe final and concluſive, though the mercantile concerns of the two countries might require ſome further arrangements.

The houſe then divided upon the queſtion for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair, when the ayes were 140, the noes 15.

The confident aſſurance of the miniſter in final ſucceſs encouraged him to the proſecution of this great deſign. Having allowed the interval of a week for the conſideration of the reſolutions he had ſubmitted to the houſe, on the 7th of February he propoſed a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject in a committee of the whole houſe, but before it was formed, he conſented to diſpoſe of Mr. Sheridan's motions reſpecting the fair and free conſent of both parliaments.

Mr. Sheridan then renewed his oppoſition to the ſcheme. Since the laſt meeting, he ſaid, many gentlemen had been induced to alter their opinions, and to agree with him on the impropriety and the danger of perſiſting in a meaſure, which was highly obnoxious to the people of Ireland; and as the houſe had not pledged itſelf to the ſupport of it, it was not too late to check the raſhneſs of its zealous advocates. The miniſter might wiſh to purſue it againſt the ſenſe of a nation; but the houſe ought to be ſo far guided by prudence and judgment as to diſregard all his perſuaſions, and reſcue the empire from the peril, in which he would involve it. It was curious to obſerve the coincidence of the miniſter's views and declarations, in ſeveral inſtances, with thoſe of a party, to which he was not generally ſuſpected of being attached. He agreed with the United Iriſhmen, in wiſhing to deſtroy the obnoxious conſtitution of Ireland. *They* alleged, that the parliament of that kingdom had occaſioned all the evils, which afflicted the country: *he* adduced a ſimilar charge againſt that body. *They* repreſented the Iriſh legiſlators as being the dupes of Britiſh faction: *he* imputed all the errors of the government, all the diſtractions and misfortunes of Ireland to the ſame ſource, to the ſway of a party, at the head of which was his friend the Duke of Portland, and to which another of his preſent aſſociates (Mr. Wyndham) belonged. Both were ready to exclaim, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, though they differed in the mode of deſtruction; as the United Iriſhmen wiſhed to depoſe their parliament, and eſtabliſh a republic with foreign aid, while the premier wiſhed to merge the delinquent legiſlature in that of Great Britain. In the purſuit of their aims, thoſe mal-contents had recourſe to menace and intimidation: he did not ſcruple to adopt means equally improper. He recommended the adoption

of

of a plan of honeſt incorrupt adminiſtration, as a remedy which had not yet been tried; and the preſent conjuncture was particularly favorable for the experiment.

Mr. Pitt proteſted againſt the reſolutions. One, which was ſelf-evident, it was not neceſſary for the houſe to record, and there was ſtill leſs reaſon to entertain it, as it appeared to contain practical falſehood under the form of literal truth; for it implied, that the meaſure was to be carried into effect without the fair and free conſent of parliament. The ſecond propoſition tended to ſtigmatize every miniſter, whoſe perſuaſions ſhould procure the diſmiſſal of officers of the crown on account of a difference of ſentiment upon any great political queſtion. That practice aroſe out of the very nature of regular government, and was neceſſary for the public ſervice.

Mr. Grey contended for the propriety of recording the propoſitions of his friend on the Journals of the houſe; they would ſerve as pledges, he ſaid, for the honorable intentions of the Britiſh government, and allay the jealouſy of the Iriſh nation.

On a diviſion upon the previous queſtion, the numbers were 25 againſt and 141 for it.

The committee was on the point of being formed for the diſcuſſion of Mr. Pitt's propoſitions, when

The honorable Mr. Saint John conjured the houſe to diſmiſs the queſtion for the preſent, as the agitation of it might be productive of miſchievous conſequences.

Mr. Grey conſidered the queſtion as the moſt momentous, that had ever been ſubmitted to the deliberation of parliament, either in point of conſtitutional right or of public policy; but as one of the parties whoſe conſent was neceſſary had declared againſt it, he recommended a ſuſpenſion of the ſcheme. He was earneſtly deſirous of the prevalence of the moſt cordial harmony, of the eſtabliſhment of an effective Union, not an Union of parliaments, but of hearts, of affections, and intereſts; of vigor, of ardor, of zeal for the general welfare. The ſcheme then offered ſeemed to be of a very different tendency. It threatened diſcontent, jealouſy, and diſtruſt.

The evils in queſtion might be imputed to the miſconduct of government rather than to the ſeparation of the parliaments; and for theſe the prime miniſter was reſponſible, unleſs he ſhould be able to prove, that obnoxious meaſures had been forced upon him by the ſturdy diſpoſitions of the Iriſh members.

bers. Who had foſtered the religious diſſenſions and political feuds, which diſtracted the nation? Who had raiſed hopes, and diſappointed thoſe hopes? Who had excited alarms, and created diſcontent? The proſpect of additional favours to the Catholics had given pleaſure to liberal men of all denominations; but a party, not diſtinguiſhed by talents or by real dignity, fomented animoſity and intolerance, and procured by intrigue a dereliction of the ſyſtem of conceſſion. From that moment affairs wore a gloomy aſpect; and the conſequences were violent and diſaſtrous.

Mr. Secretary Dundas (now Lord Melville) obſerved, that the meaſure, far from operating injurioufly on Ireland, would increaſe the political and commercial advantages of that country in the ſame proportion as thoſe of Scotland had been improved by the Union. That 'a ſpirit of clamor and diſſenſion, of treachery and treaſon,' menacing the overthrow of the government, exiſted in Ireland, no one, he thought, would have the boldness to deny; and, as the influence of widely-extended conſpiracies endangered the connexion between the countries, an immediate interference was neceſſary to reſcue the weſtern realm from the intrigues of the common enemy. For a due regulation of the affairs of any community, a mutual confidence ought to ſubſiſt between the governors and the governed; but that was not the caſe in Ireland, where the great body of the people did not repoſe in the parliament that confidence, which was eſſential to its utility. The reaſons of that defect grew out of the frame and conſtitution of that parliament. The whole power of that country being veſted in a fourth part of the nation, and that fourth being ſeparated from the reſt by religious diſtinctions, heightened and envenomed by ancient and hereditary animoſities: it was impoſſible that a proper confidence could exiſt between them. For the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a confidence, the grant of a free participation of all the privileges of Britons by the ſuperintending care of an imperial parliament, would be the moſt efficacious meaſure. The Proteſtants would then lay aſide their jealouſies and diſtruſt, being certain that againſt any attempt to endanger their eſtabliſhment the whole ſtrength of the united legiſlature would be exerted; and, on the other hand, the Catholics would expect that their cauſe would be candidly and impartially conſidered by a general parliament, the great body of which would be relieved from the apprehenſions and animoſities interwoven with the conſtitution of the exiſting legiſlature.

Mr. Dundas ſpoke largely of the Scottiſh Union, and referred to a letter of Queen

Queen Anne to the northern parliament, predicting the various bleſſings, with reſpect to religion, liberty, and property, which would reſult from the ſcheme of incorporation, and he ſaid, that not one ſyllable of her predictions had failed.

Two eſtates of the Iriſh parliament, the king and the peers, had 'pointedly 'expreſſed their deſire, that the ſubject ſhould be entertained and conſidered;' while 'only a very narrow majority' in the Houſe of Commons had embraced the contrary opinion. It could not therefore be ſaid, that the affair was ſo far decided as to render it unneceſſary or improper to ſubmit it again to the notice of the Iriſh nation. He could not help auguring well to the final ſucceſs of the meaſure, as eſſential to the happineſs of Ireland, when he contemplated the clamor and violence, by which the conſideration of it had been reſiſted. Theſe are not the weapons, by which truth and ſolid reaſoning maintain their empire over the hearts and underſtandings of men. Cool conſideration and ſober reaſoning were the arms by which the cauſe of truth was ſupported; and he had no doubt that theſe weapons, properly uſed, would ultimately ſucceed againſt clamor and prejudice. Thus the ſyſtem of exciſe, once highly unpopular, was at length reliſhed and approved of; and the union with Scotland, odious at firſt, became at laſt a popular meaſure.

Mr. Dundas expreſſed his wiſh, that the Iriſh would diſpaſſionately re-conſider the propoſal; and he was confident, that they would find it the beſt remedy for the diſorders of their country, their ſtrongeſt bulwark and their greateſt bleſſing. He concluded a very long and not altogether uninſtructive harangue with a ſtrong hint, of the probability of future indulgence being granted by an Imperial Parliament to the Catholics of both countries, and a ſketch of the bitter effects of French fraternity, which, he hoped, no Iriſhman would prefer to Britiſh liberty.

Mr. Sheridan replied to ſome of the arguments of Mr. Dundas with a mixture of reaſoning and raillery, and ſtill urged the impolicy of perſiſting in a meaſure, to which the Iriſh did not give a free aſſent.

Mr. Windham obſerved, that it had been inſinuated that the Union was a meaſure calculated for the excluſive advantage of Great Britain at the expence of Ireland; but the reverſe ſeemed to him to be the caſe. The diſorders of that kingdom might be aſcribed to various cauſes; they chiefly grew out of the nature of its conſtitution. That like a body diſtorted and mis-ſhapen, gave riſe to various diſeaſes, ſome chronical, and ſome acute, which, as they were inherent in its frame, no medicine could eradicate. The deformity of that conſti-

conſtitution was its coercive form; it was like a garriſon in the midſt of a conquered town: it was a mere proviſional government, deriving its exiſtence, form, and power, from another ſtate. Much of the miſery of Ireland alſo aroſe from the barbarous ignorance of its people, who had been rendered ferocious by the animoſities which exiſted among them. That ferocity had given occaſion to new reſtraints on the part of the government, which redoubled the fury of the people. The conſtitution, therefore, and the groſs ignorance which it encouraged, were the remote cauſes of the diſtractions of Ireland; but the proximate cauſe was undoubtedly the inoculation of French principles, which could never enter into the blood without producing death. Unfortunately the contamination had reached Ireland, and to its baneful influence might be attributed the late horrible diſorders of that kingdom.

Mr. Tierney was ſurpriſed that miniſters ſhould have propoſed an Union to this parliament without having been previouſly aſſured of the conſent of the Iriſh legiſlature; but he was ſtill more aſtoniſhed and even alarmed at their preſent perſeverance, after the ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure in Ireland. The Catholics perhaps might profit by the meaſure; but their expectations had not a very firm baſis. Induſtry might be more prevalent, wealth might increaſe, and good morals might become more general; but theſe points might be gained without an Union. He was among thoſe who doubted the competency of the Hibernian parliament on this occaſion: as a delegated body could not be juſtified in ſurrendering the truſt repoſed in it by the people.

Mr. Grant* ſpoke to three points. The firſt had reference to the aſſent of the Iriſh parliament, which Mr. Sheridan had hinted might be enforced by military terrors: he denied that there was any ground for ſuppoſing that the deliberations of the Iriſh legiſlature were or would be influenced or governed by force. If the army ſhould overawe the members, he allowed that a free aſſent could not be given; but it did not appear that the preſence of the troops in the country had any effect on the freedom of deliberation. The Iriſh did not ſeem to be under the leaſt reſtraint in the delivery or propagation of their opinions. The ſecond topic was the competence of parliament. This body, he ſaid, was morally incompetent to do any thing improper or unjuſt; but it was legally competent to do any thing whatever. The third point was, whether it were proper to diſcuſs the meaſure after the late proceedings in Ireland.

* Now Sir William Grant, maſter of the rolls.

He contended that the refuſal of taking the ſubject into conſideration in the Houſe of Commons of that realm ought to operate as an additional reaſon for ſtating the terms, that the offer might not be finally rejected before the true nature of the ſcheme ſhould be known to the public.

Mr. William Smith ſpoke ſhortly againſt the proſecution of the plan. The queſtion for the Speaker's leaving the chair was carried by 149 againſt 24, who oppoſed it. A committee of the whole houſe was immediately formed, and the reſolutions were moved and carried.

On the 11th of February, the miniſter having moved the order of the day for the houſe going into a committee for the further conſideration of his Majeſty's meſſage,

Mr. Sheridan recommended a ſubſtitute for legiſlative union. He was of opinion, that the abolition of all diſabilities, which had been incurred in civil affairs by religious diſtinctions, would tend more to the improvement of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland than the meaſure brought forward. He had the authority of the premier himſelf for the expediency of emancipating the Catholics of Ireland from the incapacities, to which they were ſubjected. Such was the opinion of the leaders of the cabinet in the year 1795; and, though Earl Fitzwilliam were not then deſired or permitted to propoſe the emancipation, he is allowed to have been expreſsly authoriſed to give it "*a handſome ſupport on the part of government.*" But a change of ſentiment ſoon occurred; and the conſequences of that change were deeply to be lamented.

Having cenſured the impolicy of neglecting that great object, and of recalling a viceroy, who was the avowed advocate of the Catholics, Mr. Sheridan contended that his propoſal would remedy much of the evil and miſery, which exiſted in Ireland, by extinguiſhing religious feuds, and promoting an union of intereſts; that no danger would attend the adoption of it, as all fears of the prevalence of popery were groundleſs; and that it would increaſe the ſtrength of both countries, without injuring the conſtitution of either. He then moved, that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the committee to conſider 'how far it would be conſiſtent with juſtice and policy, and conducive to the general intereſts, and eſpecially to the conſolidation of the ſtrength of the Britiſh empire, were all civil incapacities on account of religious diſtinctions to be done away throughout his majeſty's dominions.'

Mr. Pitt objected to what he called a very extraordinary propoſition. He

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was ſurpriſed that one, who profeſſed himſelf a warm friend to the independence of the Iriſh parliament, ſhould propoſe what would be an obvious encroachment on that independence, an act of dictation and control. The motion itſelf, and the declarations of the mover, were, he ſaid, inconſiſtent with each other. He denied that the rebellious diſturbances in Ireland originated in any degree from the refuſal of granting emancipation to the Catholics, or that Earl Fitzwilliam was authoriſed to hold out any hopes or make any promiſes which were afterwards withdrawn or retracted.

The motion was now rejected without a diviſion; and a freſh debate aroſe, when Mr. Pitt moved that the Speaker ſhould leave the chair.

Lieutenant-general Fitzpatrick, who had acted as ſecretary to the viceroy of Ireland (the Duke of Portland), aſſerted, from his own knowledge of the views of the cabinet in 1782, the conſtitutional finality of the compact which was then adjuſted, and completed in the following year. An incorporative union, from its tendency to a ſubverſion of that ſettlement, deſerved in his opinion the ſevereſt cenſure. What ſecurity would the Iriſh have for the continuance of any promiſed advantages? How would a minority be able to enforce the execution of the terms? In every caſe of rivalry Britiſh ſuperiority would overwhelm the intereſts of Ireland.

The honorable Mr. Dudley Ryder warmly defended the Union. Inſtead of violating or ſubverting the independence conceded in 1782, it was in itſelf a ſtrong recognition of that claim; and Ireland, after an Union, would be as independent as Great Britain. The apprehenſions of a ſubſequent inattention to the intereſts of Ireland were alſo ill founded, as all rivalry would be loſt in community of intereſt and mutuality of benefit.

Mr. Tierney, to prove that the ſettlement in queſtion was underſtood to be final, referred to an addreſs (voted on the 28th of May, 1782), in which the Iriſh Houſe of Commons aſſured his Majeſty, that 'no conſtitutional queſtions 'between the two nations would any longer exiſt, which could interrupt their 'harmony.'

Mr. Dundas allowed that the independence of the Iriſh parliament had been completely acknowledged in 1782, but denied that this agreement could preclude its free aſſent to any future meaſure whatever, and affirmed that it was the intention of government at that time to propoſe new arrangements.

The Solicitor General (Sir John Mitford*), ſpeaking of the adjuſtment, ob-

* Now Lord Redeſdale, chancellor of Ireland.

ſerved, that, from the nature of the tranſaction, it could not be complete or final, and that the expectations of ulterior arrangement were general at the time.

The honorable Mr. Percival* concurred with the gentlemen who denied the finality of the adjuſtment of 1782; he repreſented the Union as a beneficial ſcheme; and exhorted the houſe to adopt the reſolutions, that its ſentiments might be recorded and fully known.

Mr. Sylveſter Douglas† obſerved, that his opinion of the competency of the parliament of Ireland to adopt an Union, was confirmed by the opinions of the chiefs of the four great tribunals in Ireland.‡ Very few of the anti-unionists themſelves ventured to dispute the point.

Dr.

* Now ſolicitor-general. This gentleman ſpoke more fully and explicitly than any other gentleman in debate upon the caſe of Mr. A. O'Connor's trial at Maidſtone, and the nature and tendency of the evidence given by ſeveral gentlemen of the Oppoſition (particularly Mr. Sheridan) in his favor. He particularly animadverted upon Mr. Sheridan's aſſertion, that with what he then knew, he ſhould, if he were again called upon to give evidence to the character of the perſon in whoſe favor he appeared, hold the ſame language which he did at Maidſtone, and expreſs himſelf ſtill more ſtrongly in his favor, viz. "That Arthur O'Connor was one of the moſt open of mankind, and one "who was leaſt inclined to have recourſe to French aſſiſtance!" Such was the character which the honorable gentleman gave of that man upon his oath. If he reflected, he would ſurely admit that it was an unguarded manner of giving the character of a man guilty of the moſt atrocious treaſons; and the honorable gentleman was reduced to the dilemma of either admitting that he had been groſsly miſtaken in the character of O'Connor, as the moſt open of mankind, or that he did not ſtate the whole of what he knew upon oath.

† Now a peer of Ireland by the title of Lord Glenbervie.

‡ Theſe were, the Earl of Clare, Chancellor; Lord Kilwarden, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; Lord Carlton, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; and Lord Chief Baron Yelverton: who, he aſſerted, in preparing the bill for Legiſlative Independence in 1782, made no ſcruple to declare, that it was in his views and his wiſhes, that the tranſactions of that day ſhould lead to the happy meaſure of an Union. To thoſe opinions the honorable gentleman contraſted ſome of the United Iriſhmen's ſentiments upon the ſame ſubject (8 Parl. Reg. 37); that fraternity had from its firſt inſtitution, in 1791, been alarmed at the idea, that an Union between the two kingdoms might defeat their projects. In 1795, at a meeting in Dublin, where thoſe perſons, and others of the ſame ſort, had defamed the character of the Iriſh Catholics by aſſuming that deſcription, when many of them were, in truth, Atheiſts, and of no religious perſuaſion, the apprehenſion of an Union being then ſtrong in their minds, Mr. Lewins declared his opinion of the incompetency of the parliament to ſuch a meaſure, in the following terms: "*Who ſhall dare to aſſert that the Parliament of Ireland* "*can do this?* No man but an enemy to both countries; a traitor to the King and the People."

And

Dr. Laurence urged againſt the propoſal for an Union, that the people of Ireland were fond of their parliament; and their parliament was not, as it had been repreſented, torn by factions; the Oppoſition of it had done all that could be done for their country; they were, indeed, low in numbers, but not in eſtimation. When a lord-lieutenant had been recalled becauſe he had given his confidence to them, if in conſequence of it, and of being perpetually kept out of power, Mr. Grattan took up ſome queſtion in a light which he did not approve; it was only ſuch conduct as no man not more than mortal could help adopting. Since that time he had been made the ſubject of much miſrepreſentation, when his only fault was that of ſullen retirement from the ſenate. He then went at conſiderable length into moſt of the points connected with the ſubject.

On the diviſion of the houſe for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair 131 voted for it, and 19 againſt it. The houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committe *pro formâ*, and then adjourned.

When Mr. Douglas had taken the chair, on the 12th of February, Mr. Hobhouſe ſuggeſted the propriety of abandoning all further proceedings for the preſent, as not only the parliament, but the whole people of Ireland appeared to be decidedly againſt the meaſure of any Union at all. And Mr. Bankes grounded his objections to an union upon the diſordered ſtate of Ireland, which rendered it not only inexpedient but unſafe to coaleſce with her. An union, he ſaid, would not remedy her evils; but her own parliament might gradually redreſs her grievances. That legiſlature ought to retrace ſome of its ſteps, and, drawing a line between the diſaffected and the loyal Catholics, re-enact reſtrictive laws againſt the former, while the latter ſhould be admitted to all the privileges now enjoyed by the Proteſtants. Britiſh intrigue and faction ought alſo to be ſtudiouſly checked in Ireland, as they had been productive of much evil. The propoſed incorporation, he thought, would not tend to tranquillize that country.

The ſpeaker of the houſe (Mr. Addington*) viewed the ſubject very differently from Mr. Bankes. He was convinced, from the ſituation of Ire-

And Dr. M'Nevin expreſſed himſelf thus: "Parliament is incompetent to ſuch an act of national "ſuicide. Can the creature of the people, with parricidal arm, deſtroy the author of its exiſtence? "The attempt would be high treaſon againſt the nation, and put it out of the protection of ſociety." Theſe opinions were quoted from "The authentic Statement of the Proceedings of a Meeting held "in Francis-ſtreet Chapel, 9th April, 1795."

* Now firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury and chancellor of the Exchequer.

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land at that moment, not merely of the expediency, but of the urgent neceſſity of an union. Though the parliament of that kingdom might of itſelf redreſs ſome grievances and remove ſome cauſes of irritation, there were radical and inherent evils cloſely interwoven with the ſtate and condition of Ireland, and with the temper, the feelings, and the prejudices of the people, for which nothing but an incorporation of the two legiſlatures could provide a remedy. The ſtate of Ireland, he ſaid, had at no period of its hiſtory been ſuch as to afford ſatisfaction to any mind that could juſtly appreciate the bleſſings of a well-ordered, a flouriſhing, and a happy condition of civil ſociety. The bounty of Providence had, indeed, been diſplayed in that country by a fertile ſoil, and by abundant means of internal improvement and proſperity. Its inhabitants were not leſs diſtinguiſhed than thoſe of Great Britain, in correſponding ſtations of life, for eloquence, for literary and ſcientific attainments, and for thoſe talents and exertions, which had eſtabliſhed the naval and military renown of the Britiſh empire. Their form of government was the ſame as our own; but it wanted its true characteriſtics; it did not, like ours, beſtow and receive general confidence and protection; for it was not connected by ties, which he truſted were here indiſſoluble, with the obvious intereſts, the feelings and the ſentiments of the great body of the people.

He was not one of thoſe, who were unwilling to remove the real grounds of complaint againſt the Proteſtant aſcendancy; but he was ſtrongly diſinclined to a ſcheme, which might expoſe that eſtabliſhment to immediate and perhaps inevitable danger. Indeed, the only meaſure which promiſed to ſecure the Proteſtants, and at the ſame time to favor the Catholics in a reaſonable degree, was that of a legiſlative union. His opinion on this ſubject was 'ſanctioned by great and reſpectable authorities,'—by Sir Matthew Decker, Sir William Petty, Sir Joſiah Child—by Molyneux, the friend of Locke—and by many diſtinguiſhed men of the preſent time. With the ſentiments of theſe friends of an union he would contraſt thoſe, which were profeſſed by Dr. Mac Nevin and the united Iriſhmen, whoſe decided repugnance to a meaſure that tended to the fruſtration of their traitorous projects ſerved to demonſtrate its neceſſity. That it was calculated to avert much probable evil from both countries, and to produce poſitive and ſubſtantial advantages to both, he could affirm without heſitation.

No conſideration ſo forcibly impelled him to wiſh for an union, as his conviction

conviction of the beneficial conſequences, which would reſult from it to the internal ſituation of Ireland. He had no doubt of its leading to the removal of a principal ground of animoſity, by precluding that ſpecies of conteſt which had hitherto ſubſiſted for political authority and power; and, among the lower orders of ſociety, he was confident that its ſalutary effects would be found in that change of manners, the reſult of habitual induſtry, which would be produced by the transfer of capital from Great Britain to Ireland.

It had been ſaid, that the meaſure would not produce any immediate advantage to the Catholics of Ireland; but to this aſſertion he could not accede. The elective franchiſe, beſtowed on them in 1793, could hardly be conſidered as a boon; for the very right, with the limitation annexed to it, could not in general be exerciſed without ſome degree of violence to their opinions and their feelings, and could only be uſed for the purpoſe of contributing to form a houſe of commons, the whole body of which they conceived to be adverſe to their intereſts. But the ſame franchiſe, when employed in contributing to form the repreſentation in an united parliament, would be accompanied with the ſatisfactory reflexion, that the individual in whoſe behalf it was exerciſed would be mixed with thoſe, a majority of whom were uninfluenced by the prejudices, which had been imputed to the parliament and the great body of the Proteſtants of Ireland.

He did not deem it neceſſary to offer an opinion reſpecting the expediency of extending to the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, in the event of an union, a more ample participation of the rights and privileges of Proteſtant ſubjects; but he quoted a paſſage from one of the ſpeeches of Dr. Duigenan, importing, that an union would render it unneceſſary to curb the Catholics by any excluſive law.

He ſtrongly maintained the competency of the Iriſh parliament to adopt the meaſure, and reprobated the attempts to preclude the diſcuſſion of the ſubject, by the denomination of a final adjuſtment, which had been beſtowed on the proceedings of the year 1782.

Of danger to the commercial intereſts of this country he entertained no ſerious apprehenſion. It was not true, that Britain would neceſſarily loſe what Ireland would gain. He knew, beſides, the liberality and the good ſenſe of the merchants and manufacturers of this country.

After a diſpaſſionate conſideration of the ſubject, he was of opinion, that greater advantages were now offered to Ireland than had ever been afforded

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by any ſingle meaſure to any country; that the Union would greatly augment the national reſources, and place upon a rock which would be impregnable, as far as that term could be applied to any human eſtabliſhment, the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Britiſh empire. His ideas and hopes even extended farther, as he was fully perſuaded, that whatever tended to conſolidate and maintain the power and the independence of theſe kingdoms was of ſignal importance to the beſt and moſt valuable intereſts of mankind.

The five firſt reſolutions were then read by the chairman and agreed to without objection. The ſixth, which went to grant equal free trade to Ireland, called up Mr. Wilberforce Bird, who conſidered it as requiring particular deliberation, from the effect, which it might have on ſome important branches of manufacture carried on in this kingdom, and requeſted that it might not be precipitately ſanctioned. Mr. Pitt thought it a matter of indifference to the general welfare, in what part of the empire a particular manufacture ſhould be carried on, provided it were in a place, where it was moſt likely to flouriſh.

The remaining reſolutions were carried: and, on the 14th, upon the queſtion for bringing up the report,

Mr. Hobhouſe ſtated his reaſons very fully for oppoſing the meaſure. Firſt, it was obnoxious to a great majority of the people of Ireland. Next, he doubted the competency of the Iriſh parliament to its adoption. Then he urged, that a reſident legiſlature would be better qualified than a remote parliament to remove the internal evils of the country. And laſtly, the Iriſh members of the imperial parliament, ſenſible of their inferiority in point of number and intereſt, would ſervilely court the favor of the miniſter, and that acceſſion would tend to deſtroy the fair balance of the Engliſh conſtitution.

Lord Granville Leveſon Gower declared himſelf a cordial friend to an union, which he conſidered as neceſſary for the ſafety and welfare of both countries.

Mr. Robert Peel, who, in the year 1785, had appeared at the bar as a petitioner againſt the commercial propoſitions, declared that the ſupport which he now gave to the ſcheme of incorporation aroſe from a change of circumſtances rather than of ſentiments, as the former plan, in offering extraordinary advantages to an inferior ſtate, which had in ſome meaſure a diverſity of intereſt, was much leſs expedient than one, which would promote a community of intereſt by a completeneſs of union.

Affirming

Affirming that both kingdoms would derive additional ſtrength and ſecurity from union, he attributed the greater ſhare of benefit to Ireland. He ſtated the caſe of two commercial houſes; one being of the firſt reſpectability, having an immenſe capital, and extending its concerns to every part of the globe; the other in a comparatively low ſituation, with little property, limited credit, and confined connexions. A propoſal being made by the former to take the latter into partnerſhip on equal terms, it might be ſuppoſed that the offer would be eagerly accepted; and, each party loſing its diſtinct firm, the two houſes would then become one.

Lord Temple regarded an union as pregnant with various advantages, one of which gave him particular gratification: which was, its anti-jacobin tendency.

By union Ireland would exchange her nominal independence, under which ſhe had ſuffered the moſt calamitous misfortunes, for ſubſtantial benefits and permanent ſecurity.

Mr. Jones oppoſed the Union, and warned the miniſter of the danger of introducing 100 Iriſh members into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, to add to his muzzled majority. The day of their appearance might be rued as fatal to the independence and happineſs of both countries.

Lord Morpeth beſtowed high praiſe on the meaſure, both in point of policy and of benevolence; and, conſidering it as the only ſcheme, which could correct the vices and ſupply the defects of the Iriſh government, he gave it his moſt ſtrenuous ſupport.

Sir John Mitford (Lord Redeſdale) made ſeveral pointed alluſions to the doctrines of Thomas Paine, who aſſerted that parliament could not reform itſelf, or correct its abuſes, without having recourſe to the advice and authority of a convention of the people. The full competency of parliament for the enactment of an union could not be denied; the propriety of the meaſure was obvious. The preſent government of the Britiſh empire was, in one point of view, a ſoleciſm in politics. Two independent parliaments formed the organ, by which the ſovereign will of the ſtate was expreſſed. Such an eſtabliſhment reſembled a monſter with two bodies and one head, the power of the head being checked and limited by that of each body.

Colonel Wood agreed with Mr. Addington that the diſorders of Ireland were to be attributed to radical defects in the government of the country. In the late rebellion Catholics and Proteſtants ſeemed to have buried all

religious differences, conſpiring againſt the connexion between the kingdoms on true jacobinical principles. The return therefore of ſuch a rebellion would moſt effectually be prevented by an union.

Mr. Bankes, Lord Belgrave, General Fitzpatrick, Mr. Pitt, and ſome others ſpoke again to the ſubject on their former grounds. On a diviſion for bringing up the report, the ayes were 120, the noes 16.

When the firſt reſolution had been agreed to by the houſe, Mr. Tierney, alleging that this would ſufficiently indicate the diſpoſition of that houſe towards an union, moved that the further conſideration of the reſolutions ſhould be poſtponed for three months; the motion was not ſeconded, and all the reſolutions were agreed to.

The next procedure in this buſineſs was a communication of the votes of the commons to the lords, at a conference which took place on the 18th. The peers ordered the reſolutions to be printed, and ſome illuſtrative papers to be produced. And in order to avoid precipitancy on ſo important a ſubject, they allowed a month's interval for conſideration before they entered upon the diſcuſſion.

From the miniſter's exertions in the Britiſh ſenate to carry the great queſtion of Union, we muſt proceed to watch its progreſs in Ireland. In Dublin the defeat of the miniſter in the Houſe of Commons was conſidered as the death blow of the Unioniſts, and was celebrated in every quarter of the city with bonfires and other demonſtrations of joy. The violent oppoſition, which Mr. Foſter gave to the meaſure, had ſuddenly tranſlated him from very general diſlike and odium, to the pinnacle of frantic popularity.* Some ſhort time afterwards the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council went in ſtate to Moleſworth Street, where Mr. Foſter reſided, amidſt the acclamations of thouſands of ſpectators, the band playing "Long live the king," to deliver an addreſs to him as an honeſt man and lover of his country, for not voting away the liberty and independence of Ireland. And on the ſame day a numerous body of the merchants and traders of the city of Dublin went in proceſſion from the Royal Exchange to his houſe, and alſo preſented him a moſt reſpectful addreſs to the like purport.

* The public proceedings of the county of Louth on the 14th, and of the city of Dublin on the 18th of January, 1799, which are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CXVII. ſhew in what eſtimation Mr. Foſter then was.

On

On the 28th of January Lord Caſtlereagh in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons moved for an adjournment to the 7th of February, in order to engraft his further parliamentary proceedings upon the iſſue and reſult of the debates in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. Sir John Parnell oppoſed the motion, as there never was a moment, in which it was more neceſſary for the parliament of Ireland to remain vigilant at its poſt. For if he were to credit report that the Britiſh miniſter had declared, "that he would unceaſingly perſevere in "a meaſure reſpecting the internal ſituation of that country," to which the parliament of Ireland had ſo recently and ſo decidedly given its negative, he truſted the houſe would ſee the neceſſity of reſiſting the meaſure of adjournment, at leaſt until they ſhould know what were the ſentiments of the Britiſh miniſter and the Britiſh parliament, when they ſhould come to learn the ſentiments expreſſed, and the deciſion which took place in the parliament of Ireland on that ſubject; for it was impoſſible the Britiſh miniſter or parliament could have known the ſentiments of the parliament of Ireland, when they had diſcuſſed the meaſure on the very ſame day it was rejected there. The Britiſh miniſter, whom he knew to be a man of great talents and great wiſdom, he was convinced ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to know the deciſion, which had taken place in that houſe upon the ſubject, could not be either ſo impolitic or ſo raſh as to perſevere. That houſe and the people of Ireland had learnt, ſince the deciſion of Thurſday laſt, to conſider the queſtion as at reſt, but the declaration of the Britiſh miniſter could not fail now to excite new alarms, nor could theſe alarms ever be quiet in that country, ſo long as the people could conſider the meaſure as ſtill hanging over them; and if the Britiſh miniſter were to perſiſt in the declaration after the ſenſe of the Iriſh parliament and Iriſh people were known to him, it was impoſſible for any friend to his country, or Britiſh connexion, to contemplate the conſequences without the moſt ſerious alarm.

Lord Caſtlereagh roſe and ſaid, the right honorable baronet himſelf furniſhed by his arguments the ſtrongeſt reaſons for the neceſſity of the adjournment. That houſe would but ill ſupport its own dignity, if it were to be ruled in its proceedings by the unauthenticated reports of newſpapers; it ſhould wait for authentic documents, whereon to govern its conduct. But what was the language attributed to the Britiſh miniſter in diſcuſſing this topic in the Britiſh parliament? Nothing more than what had already been uſed by himſelf (Lord C.) in that houſe, merely recommending the meaſure

of Union to the conſideration of parliament, and declaring it to be a meaſure, in his conception, ſo eſſentially indiſpenſable to perpetuate the connexion between both kingdoms, to conſolidate their mutual ſtrength, and promote their mutual proſperity, that he ſhould never loſe ſight of it: certainly not meaning that he would, or could preſs it againſt the Iriſh parliament and the Iriſh people. Little would he deſerve to be a miniſter, who, though ſuch a meaſure might for the preſent be contrary to the ſenſe of parliament and of the nation, would bind himſelf by any declaration that might forever hereafter preclude him from propounding that or any other meaſure for the conſideration of parliament, which as a miniſter bounden to promote the good of the country, he ſhould conceive would tend to that deſirable end.

Mr. Barrington oppoſed the adjournment, and inveighed againſt the ſpeech of the Britiſh miniſter on the ſubject. There was not a man within either nation more zealouſly attached in loyalty to his king and government than himſelf, nor who would ſacrifice more chearfully to the maintenance of both; but if the honor and the dignity of the Iriſh parliament were to be again outraged, by an attempt to preſs upon them the odious meaſure of an Union, againſt which that houſe had already contended with ſo much ſpirit, virtue, and honeſt indignation, he declared, that he for one would go every length to oppoſe it in every ſhape and in all its ramifications. The people of Ireland ſhould be told, in the ſtrongeſt manner, of this daring attack on the independence of their parliament and the liberties of their country; and that houſe ought to come forthwith to ſome ſtrong declaration in aſſertion of its own authority and independence.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh ſupported the adjournment. The ſenſe of the country, he was convinced, was not generally againſt the meaſure; he had converſed that day with a gentleman of great reſpectability from the county of Cork, who aſſured him, all that province were decidedly in favor of the meaſure.

Honorable Mr. Trench was for the adjournment, as the beſt mode of preventing the agitation of the public mind, ſo long anxious upon this queſtion that it required time to repoſe.

Sir John Freke roſe in conſequence of what had fallen from (Sir H. Cavendiſh) touching the ſentiments of the people of Munſter. He had not that day converſed with many gentlemen from that country, but he had received

letters

letters from ſome of the moſt reſpectable and beſt informed gentlemen in that province, which ſo far from declaring the people there unanimous in favor of an Union, poſitively aſſured him of the ſtrongeſt perſuaſion, that had the vote of Thurſday night paſſed in favor of that meaſure, the whole province would have been the next day in open rebellion; and added, that it would not be very ſafe for the members, who voted for the meaſure to return to that part of the country.

Colonel Bagwell had received ſeveral letters from ſome of the beſt informed gentlemen in Tipperary, and ſo had his colleague, declaring the whole county to a man decidedly adverſe to the meaſure of an Union.

Mr. Plunket condemned the declaration of the Britiſh miniſter, which was made under the influence of ignorance and deluſion, as to what were the real ſentiments of the parliament and people of Ireland on the ſubject of Union. The noble lord had intimated that the time might come when the parliament and the country would be glad to ſolicit the meaſure, as the only means of effectually ſecuring tranquillity. He hoped the noble lord did not mean to inſinuate, that meaſures would be adopted to produce ſuch effects in the country, as would create the neceſſity of ſuch a ſituation, in order that "what was "ſpoken by the prophets might be fulfilled." He was not overfond of ſeeing a miniſter rule the country, who ſeemed to have a taſte for verifying his own predictions as to the neceſſity he foretold.

Several gentlemen, who did not oppoſe the adjournment, ſpoke for and againſt the Union.

The queſtion being now put, was carried in the affirmative without further oppoſition.

Colonel Maxwell Barry ſaid, he had no objection to the adjournment, but as from the declaration of the Britiſh miniſter, ſtratagem might be apprehended, gentlemen hoſtile to the project would ſee the neceſſity of the fulleſt attendance throughout the ſeſſion; and he ſhould therefore move a call of the houſe on the 8th of February.

Lord Caſtlereagh aſſured the honorable gentleman nothing could more ſatisfactorily accommodate the government than a full attendance of members at all times, as the beſt means of expediting the public buſineſs; and with reſpect to the queſtion of Union, he had already declared his determination explicitly, "that he ſhould never bring it forward ſo long as it appeared to "him repugnant to the ſenſe of parliament and the country.

Colonel

Colonel Maxwell Barry obſerved, the noble lord could not himſelf anſwer for what he might do, as he muſt act according to the inſtructions he received from the other ſide.

Mr. Martin wiſhed the call of the houſe poſtponed to a further day, in order to give ample time for gentlemen to take the ſenſe of their conſtituents.

Colonel Maxwell Barry amended his motion to the 11th of February, which was agreed to.

Sir H. Cavendiſh, after a ſhort preface, in which he ſtated, that the houſe of parliament had been degraded by perſonal outrage and inſult to ſeveral of its members, coming to and retiring from that houſe, in conſequence of votes given in that houſe, moved three reſolutions to the following effect:

" That any inſult or aſſault offered to any member of parliament coming " or going from that houſe, in conſequence of any thing ſaid or done in " parliament; or any attempt to intimidate any member from any vote in " that houſe; or any tumultuous aſſemblage of perſons meeting in the paſ- " ſages to that houſe, to awe or intimidate its members, to or from any vote, " or any meaſure, is an high infringement on the privileges of that houſe."

Colonel Maxwell Barry declared for himſelf perſonally he had neither witneſſed nor heard of any ſuch inſult or violence offered to any member. If the right honorable baronet alluded to the joy ſhewn by the people on a late occaſion, he thought, conſidering the exultation univerſally felt, the conduct of the populace extremely calm and patient before and during the diſcuſſion, and extremely moderate in their expreſſion of triumph on the defeat of the meaſure.

Doctor Browne agreed with Mr. Barrington, who ſaid he had heard it aſſerted that day in the hall of the Four Courts, that the right honorable baronet had declared his determination to move for the removal of the parliament to Cork, in order to ſecure ſafety in its deliberations.

The attorney general ſaid it was notorious that both the perſons of members had been aſſaulted and abuſed by the moſt opprobrious names, their houſes attacked by mobs, and themſelves declared traitors to their country, for having voted in favor of Union; and that certainly ſuch attempts to overawe the parliament would warrant its removal to Cork.

The Right Honorable Denis Browne, in proof of the daring inſults, which had been offered to the dignity of that houſe, read a paragraph from the Dublin

Dublin Evening Poſt, calling the miniſter of the country and thoſe members who voted for an Union "*a corrupt miniſter and his corrupt phalanx.*" It was, he ſaid, his intention to have called the printer to the bar, that night, and moved for his committal to Newgate, which he declared he would do the very next time he ſaw ſo daring and contumacious a libel in print. The houſe adjourned to the 7th of February.

Out of parliament, the viceroy with the ſtrength of the caſtle, neglected no means which ſeemed likely to promote the grand object of their wiſhes; by which he gained over occaſional proſelytes. He was, however, on the other hand ſtrongly oppoſed by many even of his former friends, and found the majority of the nation (however deſirous of a continuance of connexion) hoſtile to the ſcheme of Union.

Meetings, in the different counties were encouraged by the Anti-unioniſts; and ſtrong reſolutions were adopted with few diſſentient voices. The military commanders ſometimes interfered, on pretence of preventing the intruſion and violence of the lower claſſes; and in more inſtances than one, ſome over-zealous ſubaltern officers (without authority) uſed menace and intimidation in order to deter free diſcuſſion at thoſe meetings.

The freeholders of Fermanagh on the very day of the laſt ſitting of parliament, added their voices to thoſe of the other Anti-unioniſts; in the King's County and the ſhire of Limerick ſtrong declarations were voted againſt an Union; and in the counties of Monaghan and Clare, the electors thanked and applauded the members who had oppoſed it. In February, the like courſe was purſued by the freeholders of Cavan, Tyrone, and other ſhires; but, in that of Galway, the archbiſhop of Tuam and other reſpectable individuals warmly declared in favor of Union; and, in the town of Galway, an addreſs was voted by many of the inhabitants, maintaining the neceſſity of it in very conciſe and forcible language. "In the conſtitution of the empire, as "it at preſent ſtands, we diſcover the ſeeds of party animoſity and national "jealouſy. A Proteſtant parliament and a Catholic people! Hence religious "diſſenſion and civil diſcord. Two legiſlatures in the ſame empire! Hence "local prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the ſettlement of 1782, the "Iriſh parliament acquired the right of independent legiſlation—a right "equally unſafe to exerciſe or not to exerciſe. To exerciſe it would have "been to endanger the unanimity, and thereby to hazard the diviſion of the "empire; while, by declining to exerciſe this right, the Iriſh parliament "brought

" brought upon itſelf the imputation of abject ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh le-
" giſlature. This imputation begot contempt, that contempt diſcontent,
" and that diſcontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the
" empire, we can ſee but one remedy; and that remedy is an Union."

In the commercial city of Cork, a great diſunion prevailed; for, while many of the traders and other inhabitants were zealous for the miniſterial ſcheme, a great number were hoſtile to it. Above 700 of the latter ſigned and publiſhed an addreſs of thanks to the parliamentary Anti-unioniſts in general, and to the Earl of Charlemont and Mr. Foſter in particular, which were anſwered by thoſe two gentlemen.

While the public mind was in that ſtate of agitation, the ſpeech which Mr. Pitt delivered on the 23d of January, was circulated throughout the nation with more than ordinary induſtry, and ſome of that miniſter's remarks, as interpreted by the Anti-unioniſts, increaſed the public ferment.

When the Iriſh Houſe of Commons met on the 7th of February according adjournment, there not being forty members in it, the ſpeaker adjourned to the next day, when a complaint was made to the houſe of ſeveral paragraphs* that

* " *28th of January*, 1799.

" 18 Com. Journ. p. 17. A more diſorderly debate ſcarcely ever we believe took place in any " of the aſſemblies of France ſince the beginning of the revolution, than in the Iriſh Houſe of " Commons on the queſtion reſpecting the Union; the ſpeeches of thoſe who were in favor of the " meaſure were received with hiſſes and groans, and thoſe who were adverſe were cheared with " the plaudits and huzzas, not only of the members but of the galleries; the tribunes of the French " aſſemblies perhaps never interfered in a manner more likely to influence the deliberation than " the ſtrangers upon this occaſion are ſaid to have done; the moſt opprobrious language was held " by ſome of the opponents to the meaſure towards its ſupporters, and it is a fact that many of " the latter left the houſe, not chuſing to remain in ſo tumultuous an aſſembly."

" *29th January*, 1799.

" We are well aſſured that more than ten or twelve members of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons " who are favorable to the Union, left the houſe on the night the addreſs was debated, diſguſted " by the violent and licentious conduct which the ſtrangers in the galleries were allowed to purſue; " the moſt urgent entreaties were vain to induce them to ſtay; but had they ſtaid it is evident that " the queſtion would have been carried by a majority of more than a dozen."

30th of January, 1799.

" We ſhould have given much more weight to the deciſion of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons upon " the ſubject of a Union, if the point had been coolly and diſpaſſionately argued there; but to a " queſtion carried as it has been, we ſhall be excuſed if we ſay, that we cannot look upon it as the " deliberative opinion of that aſſembly or of the people at large.

" The

that had appeared in the Sun, an Engliſh newſpaper, generally conſidered to be under the immediate direction and controul of the Britiſh miniſter. This therefore was conſidered by the Anti-unioniſts as a part of the ſcheme of the Britiſh miniſtry to force the Union upon them, and they accordingly reſolved, *nem. con.* that thoſe Engliſh newſpapers, in which the falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious libels were contained and publiſhed, ſhould be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in College Green, and that the ſheriffs of Dublin ſhould attend to ſee the ſame done accordingly. Although the horrors of the late rebellion had now merged in the feelings and irritation created by the queſtion of Union, ſtill the old means of proclaiming different diſtricts to be in a ſtate of diſturbance were reſorted to: and it is not a little remarkable, that the firſt county proclaimed to be in that ſtate, was that of Galway, on the 12th of February, in which county the earlieſt and moſt vigorous exertions had been made in favor of Union: whence many concluded, that the advocates for that meaſure, ſuch as were the Earl of Clanricarde, and moſt of the nobility and gentry of that county, conſidered that it would be the more effectually carried, the more the people were ſubjected to *military rule and influence.

"The vote of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons goes to ſay, that they will not even entertain the "queſtion of a Union, they will not accept of any terms. Give them all the advantages and pri-"vileges of Britiſh ſubjects, they reject them with diſdain: nay the very offer they call an inſult. "Is this the voice of reaſon? or is it the clamor of faction?"

* It appears from a paper preſented by Lord Caſtlereagh to the Houſe of Commons on the preceding day (11th February) of the eſtimate of the charge of the regiments ſerving in Ireland, and belonging to the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, that they amounted to 23,201 men, viz. (18 Com. Journ. Appendix, No. XLIX.)

Numbers.	
1048	Battalion of firſt foot guards, ten companies, (flank companies not included.)
2096	Ditto of Coldſtream, and ditto of 3d foot guards, ſame rate.
712	Firſt battalion of 1ſt (or Royal) regiment of foot.
2136	Three regiments more at ſame rate, viz. 2d, 29th, and 92d, late 100th.
588	Second battalion of Breadalbane fencible infantry.
817	Bedford regiment of militia.
1159	Worceſter ditto.
1169	North Glouceſter ditto.
1634	Royal Bucks ditto.
1158	South Devon ditto.
1126	Dorſet ditto.

Perſonal applications were made by Lord Cornwallis to ſuch of the members of the Iriſh parliament, and perſons of influence and power in the country, as prudence directed: and the amiable and reſpectable qualities of the viceroy certainly procured a great preponderance of intereſt in favor of the Union from perſons, who probably would otherwiſe have oppoſed it.*

The

1047	South Lincoln ditto.
1448	Leiceſter ditto.
1278	Kent ditto.
1275	Hertford ditto.
1358	Weſt Suffolk ditto.
1280	Firſt Lancaſhire ditto.
1877	Warwick ditto.
23201	

* The avowed ſentiments of that great ſtateſman, the Marquis of Lanſdown, upon this ſubject, may well be preſumed to have ſtrongly affected many gentlemen leſs competent or likely to have formed their own opinions upon that important meaſure than the noble marquis. In his ſpeech upon the Union, on the 19th of March, he thus expreſſed himſelf. " (8 *Parl. Reg. p.* 285.) I " hate the word competence. I hate the word rights. I would not be within an hundred miles of " the diſcuſſion of either, if I could help it. I care nothing for your majority of five in the Houſe " of Commons. I would rather adhere to the opinion of one ſenſible, unbiaſſed man, than a ma- " jority of ſeventy others, who are heated by a party debate, or the views of a faction. I do not " think that miniſters have much real knowledge upon the ſubject; it is pretty clear they have not, " from what has happened. I have no knowledge myſelf upon this point. I am no Diſſenter; " nor am I Catholic. But for my own part, I ſhould have great confidence in the judgment, as " well as the conduct of the preſent lord lieutenant. He is of no party. He is brave, and he is " wiſe; for he is cautious as well as intrepid. Let him pledge his honor to the propriety of any " meaſure, and I ſhall be much diſpoſed to aſſent to it."

On the other hand, as Lord Rokeby was applied to by letter, his anſwer to the lord lieutenant will not be unintereſting to the curious reader:

" My Lord, *Horton, near Hythe, Kent, 22d Jan.* 1799.

" I HOLD myſelf highly honored by the application expreſſed to me in your " lordſhip's letter of the 11th inſtant; and the more ſo, as I am fully confident, that your lordſhip " expects or deſires from me no other than a plain and ſincere anſwer to it.

" Give me leave to ſay then, that conſidering, as I do, a peerage of Ireland to be conferred and " accepted as a great and almoſt ſacred truſt for the good, benefit, and advantage of the Iriſh na- " tion, and ſo to be executed, I cannot give my conſent and concurrence to remove from their " country their own legiſlature by a legiſlative Union with Great Britain. I ſpeak this, as being " my public duty towards the people of Ireland.

" As a Briton and Engliſhman, I cannot but frequently and feelingly reflect, how very different

The determined perſeverance of the Britiſh miniſter in a plan of ſo much utility to the empire at large, was not to be checked by the firmneſs of the Iriſh oppoſition.

On the 19th of March, Lord Grenville opened the buſineſs in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. In the performance of his duty, it afforded him ſome relief, he ſaid, to find that the two main points on which the reſolutions were founded, had been ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to preclude the neceſſity of dwelling upon them. Theſe were, that the legiſlature of Ireland had an independent right of deciding upon any propoſal of Union as fully as the parliament of Great Britain, and that the intereſt of the empire at large, and of every branch of it in particular, required the maintenance and improvement of the connexion between the countries. So far from being unſeaſonable, he was of opinion, that it was highly expedient and politic to enter upon a ſpeedy inquiry into the merits of the meaſure. Its nature had been miſconceived in Ireland; the views of its advocates had been miſrepreſented; prejudices and unfounded alarms had thrown an odium on the propoſition. To diſſipate ſuch deluſions, and repel ſuch aſſaults, early deliberation was neceſſary, that national ani-

" the ſtate of Ireland was about four or five years ago, from what it has been ſince; although it is, " beyond doubt, exceedingly bettered by the wiſe, mild, and benevolent government of your lord- " ſhip. Surely then it much behoves ſome men well and ſeriouſly to revolve within themſelves, " what and whoſe counſels and ſyſtem they have been, that have thus brought the Iriſh nation to " their preſent diſpoſition and ſituation from the temper and attachment to us, which ſo generally and " warmly prevailed with them no longer ago than in the time of Lord Fitzwilliam. What a change! " Are not ſuch ways of proceeding and governing, the doing ourſelves the work of our enemies.

" It is therefore moſt earneſtly to be deſired, that our reſponſible ſtateſmen and miniſters will " duly and deeply conſider, whether the propoſed ſtep is more likely to reconcile really our ſiſter " kingdom to England, or ultimately to exaſperate and inveterate it in a greater degree againſt us, " before they proceed in ſo extremely important, or, perhaps, almoſt deſperate meaſures.

" Whether this diſtant and remote parliamentary election may not, by an addition to the power " and influence of the crown, affect likewiſe our conſtitution at home; and whether no ſuch event " has, by a ſimilar circumſtance, ever already taken place in our own iſland, may, perhaps, be too " tender a point for me to enter into.

" Such are, however, the humble, but ſincere ſentiments of a retired old man, who is nearer to " ninety than to eighty years of age. I hope and truſt, that your lordſhip will be pleaſed to accept " them in good part as a reſpectful, although plain anſwer on the ſubject of the application made by " your lordſhip to me.

" I have the honor to be,
" My Lord, &c.
" ROKEBY."

moſity might not be embittered or inflamed into a deciſive rejection of the offer. It could not juſtly be thought an ill compliment to the commons of Ireland to diſcuſs a ſcheme which they had not finally exploded, though it did not appear to have received their ſtrong approbation.

In examining the ſtate of connexion between the kingdoms, his lordſhip obſerved, that the ſettlement in 1782 did not ſupply the link, which by the abrogation of the former ſyſtem was deſtroyed? It did not provide both for the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and for the cloſe connexion ſo eſſentially requiſite for the common intereſts of the two countries. The ſuppoſed identity of the regal power in both was the only bond and ſecurity of that connexion. That in a pure and unmixed monarchy might be ſufficient; becauſe the power of the ſovereign could be exerted in the ſame manner in every part. The caſe, however, was different in a mixed government, where the exerciſe of authority was limited by the different privileges of its component parts. In Holland, for inſtance, from the time of Sir William Temple to the late ſubverſion of the government of that country, every friend to the united ſtates had lamented the imperfect connexion which ſubſiſted between them, and every enemy had availed himſelf of the defect. The Americans, on the eſtabliſhment of their independence, had experienced a ſimilar inconvenience. The power which exiſted in each of the federal ſtates was found to be too great, and that of the whole too feeble. It had been thought neceſſary, therefore, to abridge the authority of the ſtates individually, to draw cloſer the general union, and to enlarge the authority, by which the whole was governed and holden together. Even now, perhaps, it was one of the principal defects in the conſtitution of the American ſtates, that the power of each was too extenſive, and that of the general legiſlature and government too weak for the public intereſt and ſecurity. The want of a general government, to direct the efforts and employ the reſources of the whole confederacy, had contributed to the ruin of Switzerland. Had that country poſſeſſed a government capable of employing and directing its united ſtrength, it might have oppoſed an effectual reſiſtance to the violence and injuſtice of its perfidious enemy.

Conſidering the ſuppoſed bond of connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, his lordſhip did not heſitate to ſay, that it was abſolutely null. If by the conſtitution the royal power could ſoar above the control of parliament, the regal identity might operate as a medium of connexion; but, if the parliament

liament could check that power, and the crown required the aid of the legiſlature even for ordinary occaſions of government, the connexion was nugatory while each realm had a diſtinct parliament.

The noble ſecretary proceeded to treat in detail of the chief branches of the royal prerogative, with a view of illuſtrating the manner, in which they were or might be exerciſed in the two kingdoms. He argued diſtinctly upon the exerciſe of the eccleſiaſtical, military, fiſcal, and political prerogatives of the crown, and plainly ſhewed how it might be checked and perverted from the conſtitutional ends of veſting them in the executive, by the poſſible (and as had actually happened in the caſe of the regency) diſcordance of independent parliaments. In the preſent ſtate of connexion, he contended, that the crown itſelf might give riſe to a conteſt. The title to the crown was created by parliament, which was at all times competent to alter it. On what foundation then did the ſucceſſion reſt? It was regulated by the act of annexation: the Iriſh parliament was independent, and might vary the tenure, as well as that of Great Britain. Hence it was neceſſary for the general intereſt of the empire, that ſome meaſures ſhould be taken for ſtrengthening this connexion. In the adjuſtment of a ſcheme of this nature, the local intereſts of Ireland claimed particular attention; and indeed the propoſed plan would conſolidate and extend thoſe intereſts. The evils of that kingdom obviouſly called for a ſpeedy remedy. The preſent government unfortunately had not grown up with the habits of the people. The Engliſh connexion was begun among them by the worſt of all conqueſts, one that was incomplete and partial. At different times the invaders made occaſional progreſs; and renewed hoſtilities kept alive the flame of animoſity.

His lordſhip then went into an hiſtorical diſquiſition of the progreſs of that country to civilization and its preſent ſtate. The good conſequences of Union would quickly appear, in the progreſs of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increaſe of induſtry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian Proteſtants would feel themſelves ſecure under the protection of a Proteſtant imperial parliament; and the anxiety of the Catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legiſlature. A free admiſſion of the Catholics into the Iriſh parliament might lead to a ſubverſion of its conſtitution; but all fear of their preponderancy would vaniſh under a general legiſlature, as they then would be far outnumbered by the

the Proteſtants. The animoſities of theſe rival parties would be allayed; and a tranquillity which Ireland had rarely enjoyed would be the pleaſing reſult. He then touched upon the real point in diſpute. It was abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the independence of Ireland would be ſacrificed in the event of an Union. It would ſtill remain, and even derive freſh vigor from being conſolidated with the proudeſt and moſt ſolid independence that ever was enjoyed. Before the Union which took place in 1707, England and Scotland were, in fact, leſs independent than when they afterwards compoſed the kingdom of Great Britain. By this Union, each kingdom had become more independent of foreign nations, and more independent, if he could ſo ſpeak, of human events; each had become more powerful, and had increaſed in proſperity. In like manner, if this legiſlative Union ſhould take place, no individual would ſuffer in dignity, rank, or condition; but, in a national view, all would receive an addition. When the Union with Scotland was in agitation, loud clamors aroſe againſt it; but time had ſhewn, that they were ill-founded. It was promotive of the general intereſts of the empire to conſult the intereſts of every component part of it; and, as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, in conſequence of an union with that country, ſo, he was perſuaded, a ſimilar meaſure would operate with reſpect to Ireland. Nothing could be adduced as a more powerful motive to Union, than that both countries were aſſailed by a common enemy, whoſe aim was to deſtroy Great Britain by making Ireland the medium of that miſchief. Before the Union with Scotland, it was alſo the aim of the French to render that country ſubſervient to their inſidious deſigns. At preſent, the chief hope of reſiſtance to the tyrannical power of France ſeemed to reſt on Great Britain; and Ireland, in her weak and diſordered ſtate, could look to this country alone for ſupport. Her independence was eſſentially involved in her connexion with Britain; and, if ſhe ſhould ſhake off that tie, ſhe would fall under the French yoke.

His lordſhip now moved the firſt reſolution, and intimated, that he ſhould afterwards requeſt the houſe to vote an addreſs favorable to the adjuſtment of a complete Union.

Earl Fitzwilliam declined an ample diſcuſſion of the ſubject, becauſe he deemed the agitation of it unſeaſonable. It would tend to inflame diſſention, and impair the ſtrength and vigor of the empire. The rebellion in Ireland had ariſen from a diſunion between the different ranks of the community,

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and a mixture of religious and political animoſity. The ſame cauſes had long been productive of evil; but it was not probable, that a meaſure repugnant to the feelings of the majority of the nation would operate as a remedy. If the evils of the country, as ſome alleged, aroſe from a ſeparate legiſlature, would an Union annihilate the Britiſh influence, which prevailed in that legiſlature? Would it not ſtill be paramount after the conjunction of the two parliaments?

Upon the ſubject of the diſtinctions between the orders, would they be remedied by an incorporated Union? Had the noble lord ſaid any thing to induce the houſe to believe, that theſe diſtinctions would be relieved by an Union? He had heard, indeed, ſomething of an inſinuation thrown out. But had the houſe, or the people of Ireland, any thing of greater weight than that inſinuation? If it were meant to conciliate the Catholics and the lower orders of people, and that was to be done by an incorporated Union, it would firſt be neceſſary to ſhew them how much they would be benefited by it. Many perſons, who were amongſt the brighteſt ornaments of the ſtate, were at preſent ſhut out of the legiſlature. Who would tell him, that the Proteſtant intereſt would be endangered by the admiſſion of a Catholic lord in that houſe: yet this, with all the niggard jealouſy, fit only for the darkeſt minds, was refuſed. Did any one at that time of day believe, that the family of the Stuarts would be ſupported by the Catholics? And yet the benches of the houſe were bare of thoſe, who, in point of birth-right, had as much right to a ſeat in the houſe as any of their lordſhips. The noble lord had ſaid, that the teſts required in the army of Ireland, and in the army of England, were different. They were ſo. In Ireland they had admitted the Catholics into the army; in England they were excluded. Would the Catholics then be conciliated by getting into a more narrow-minded legiſlature? An incorporated Union did not promiſe that which they required: it put them rather at a greater diſtance. The whole arguments of the noble lord tended to ſhew, that both countries, when incorporated, would be ſtronger and better. But the inconveniences, ſtated as likely to ariſe from a ſeparate legiſlature, had exiſted from the moſt ancient times. It was not from 1782 only, but long before that period, that all acts of imperial concern had been done by the Iriſh parliament. In the declaration of war in 1778 and 1757, their lordſhips would find, that his majeſty had communicated ſuch declarations to the Iriſh parliament. They had the power of deliberating upon it, and of courſe, as

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the noble lord had ſaid properly, of deciding. The houſe then had the experience of ages, that the dangers apprehended from a ſeparate legiſlature had not ariſen. Why, then, it was next to be conſidered, whether this were the proper time for an Union. On the part of Great Britain he would ſay—Do you wiſh to introduce into the Britiſh parliament the rebellion of Ireland? Do you wiſh to introduce the repreſentatives of Ireland—Repreſentatives elected by the free electors of Ireland? Oh! no, no, by Britiſh bayonets. By ſuch, ſhould there be a diſſolution under ſuch auſpices muſt the general election be carried on, with an army not only in poſſeſſion of the ſword, but having the law in its diſpoſal. Could Great Britain then have any thing but the repreſentatives of an army? Was this the body which their lordſhips deſired to have? Was this the period, in which it was wiſhed to introduce ſuch repreſentatives?

His lordſhip ſaid he ſhould now proceed to ſtate ſomething perſonal to himſelf, and for the mention of which, he had to apologize to their lordſhips. A repreſentation of the circumſtances, under which he went to Ireland had been given, and it was upon that point, that he begged to give ſome explanation. "I have underſtood (ſaid his lordſhip), that it has been ſtated in another "place, that during my adminiſtration in Ireland, I was never required to "retract what I had been directed by government to propoſe. If it has "been ſtated, that I never received orders to bring forward the queſtion of "Catholic emancipation on the part of government, I admit that ſtatement "to be true. But in juſtification of the part I took at that period, (and in "my conſcience I believe the events that occurred have led to the evils that "now exiſt, and have ſtamped the doom of that ill-fated country) it is neceſ-"ſary to theſe ſtatements I ſhould add a ſhort hiſtory of the tranſaction. "Yielding to the argument of not wiſhing to entangle government in diffi-"culties upon the ſubject at that period, I admit, that under orders clearly "underſtood by me, not to give riſe to or bring forward the queſtion of Ca-"tholic emancipation on the part of government, I aſſumed the government "of Ireland. But in yielding to this argument, I entered my proteſt againſt "reſiſting the queſtion, if it ſhould be brought forward from any other quar-"ter; and I made moſt diſtinct declarations, that in caſe of its being ſo "brought forward, it ſhould receive my full ſupport. With theſe declarations "I aſſumed the government of Ireland. This I ſtate upon my honor. I

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" ſhould not have introduced it, had I not deemed it neceſſary to give this " explanation."

Lord Grenville obſerved, in reply, that the noble earl admitted, that he went over with orders not to bring forward the Catholic queſtion: but he had no recollection of any ſuch proteſt and declaration, as were alluded to by the noble earl. Where was the paper? Earl Fitzwilliam replied, he was ſorry the noble lord ſhould not have it in his recollection, that he entered his proteſt, not on paper, but in his preſence, againſt aſſuming the government of Ireland but under the circumſtance, that if the meaſure ſhould be brought forward from any other quarter, he ſhould give it his full ſupport.

The Marquis of Lanſdowne ſaid, that he moſt cordially concurred in every thing that was aſſerted by the noble earl in favor and in praiſe of the Roman Catholics. He muſt obſerve, however, that this ſubject had no relation to the queſtion immediately before the houſe, or to the ſituation of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, though, indeed, the adoption of the propoſed Union might ultimately tend to do the Roman Catholics the juſtice they deſerved. But now, as to a large and general queſtion, he was by no means ſurpriſed that at firſt ſight it was objected to as improper to be diſcuſſed at the preſent moment. Moſt undoubtedly, ſuch a meaſure ſhould be the work of peace and of time; it ſhould be the reſult of diſpaſſionate judgment and of calm conſideration. It was not, however, the firſt queſtion to be examined: there were other queſtions, the conſideration of which ſhould precede that of the Union; and one of them was, whether it was poſſible for the affairs of Ireland to go on as they were governed; the other, if an Union were to take place, what ſhould be the nature of that Union. He enumerated the moſt remarkable events of the Iriſh hiſtory from the year 1767; and obſerved upon the caſe of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, that his poſthumous attainder was an act of flagrant tyranny. From the late prevalence of diſorder and calamity, he was confident, that ſuch a government could not much longer ſubſiſt. The evils of the country required a ſpeedy remedy; and an union promiſed a more efficacious cure than any other meaſure, which could be deviſed. It was at all times deſirable, at that indiſpenſable. The danger to which the Britiſh dominions were expoſed rendered ſuch a ſtep neceſſary, to obviate irreparable miſchief or prevent total ruin. The Orange and the Green, the Diſſenter and the Catholic; the Diſſenter, Catholic, and Churchman, when attacked by a common enemy, called out by inſtinct for an Union betwixt each other.

What ought the three kingdoms, when menaced by an inveterate and powerful foreign enemy, what muſt they do but unite, or be divided and cruſhed.

He then adverted to the proceedings of the year 1782, not from an idea of connection between that topic and the ſubject under diſcuſſion, but becauſe frequent reference had been made to that ſettlement in the debates of both parliaments. Its authors, he ſaid, had no idea of effecting a legiſlative union; nor did they by any means declare againſt ſuch a ſcheme.

In pointing out the chief requiſites* of an union, he mentioned the neceſſity of conſolidating the armies of the two countries† for, unleſs there ſhould be ſuch an union of the military eſtabliſhments as might afford an opportunity of ſaying with truth that there was only one army, it might be ſaid, with regard to the affairs of the Britiſh empire, "Chaos is come again." The navy alſo ſhould be one, furniſhed by the united zeal of the whole community; for it would reſemble patch-work, if one part of the empire ſhould ſupply a ſhip and a half, another a quarter, and a third a different quota. There ſhould, at the ſame time, be only one ſyſtem of law. Commerce was the next point to be conſidered; and this ought to be on an equal footing in both countries. The concerns of finance ought alſo to be aſſimilated; and, in ſhort, the union, to be effective, ought to be ſubſtantial and complete. Some might ſay, that moſt of theſe points were already gained; but, as they were in danger of being loſt by the jealouſy of the two nations, he wiſhed to render them permanent by an Union.

There was one point which was by no means ſettled, and which ought to be well ſettled before any Union could be of any avail—that was, the diſpoſition of the people of Ireland. He knew not how far they might miſunderſtand their true intereſts, nor to what violence they might be led: upon this ſubject it was manifeſt that miniſters had miſled themſelves; they were ignorant of the diſpoſitions of the parliament of Ireland; for, if they had thought they would have been out-voted, they would not have brought the ſubject forward; but ſince it was clear, that if they knew ſo little of the parliament, they muſt know very little of the diſpoſition of the people of Ireland of other

* The noble marquis referred to a pamphlet of Dean Tucker, which he obſerved in few pages contained more ſenſe, as well as more patriotiſm upon this ſubject, than the many volumes that had been written upon it.

† See what has been before ſaid upon the inconveniency of the effects of the exiſting laws relative to the army.

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deſcriptions. With regard to the Catholics, they were now in a ſtate of irritability and vexation: their emancipation was a thing, which it was vain to attempt to ſtop; it was too late to try. They crawled upon all fours; they had been allowed to ſtand upon two: and it was idle to think that they would not look their governors in the face. The thing was gone by: it was ſilly to ſay, they were ſorry that any thing was done for the Catholics; they ought to rejoice at it, and chearfully finiſh all they had begun upon that ſubject. There was nothing to fear from it. Thoſe who thought there was, ought to look at the condition of the Pope—ought to look at the ſtate of France; they would then ſee that there was no fear from any body of men, on account of the religion which they profeſſed. That ſpecies of deception was gone. "The queſtion, (ſaid the noble marquis) is not what religion we ſhall have, "but whether you ſhall be permitted to have any? It is not whether this, "or that, religion ſhall be deſtroyed? Under this ſituation of things, every "good man is called upon to join the ſtandard of Jeſus Chriſt—keep the reli-"gion of Jeſus Chriſt—any religion is better than none: at all events unite "to oppoſe and keep from entering among you thoſe who have no religion, "and who are enemies to all."

A member, whom he did not know perſonally, (Mr. Dobbs) but whoſe ſpeeches in the Iriſh houſe he admired, had ſaid of the people of Ireland, "treat them fairly and juſtly, avow at once your object, and if it be juſt, I "will pledge myſelf for their acquieſcence." He would add to the ſpeech of that ſenſible man, and ſay, do not come forward with your heſitating, "perhaps," or, "it may be," or, "we will conſider," or any ſuch ambiguity, but come boldly forward at once, and tell them ſincerely what you intend doing. Speak to them as men that are free, and determined to be free. In all the affairs of life ſincerity has ſucceeded nine times out of ten; and although the maſs of the people of Ireland were to be pitied for want of education, yet he knew, from the experience of forty years, that liberality was never ill requited by them.

There ought to be no tricking, no intrigue, in their proceedings; let them gain their point by manly and honorable dealing, not procure ſucceſs by corruption, or enforce acquieſcence by terror.

The preſent was an awful period—the conteſt was ſerious and alarming. If wiſdom ſhould not interpoſe, a rupture might ariſe between the rich and the poor, calamitous to both parties, but more particularly to the latter.

The greateſt prudence and the moſt vigilant caution were neceſſary to ſecure the Britiſh empire amidſt the convulſions of neighbouring ſtates. It was his earneſt wiſh that Great Britain and Ireland might ſtand like two rocks in the ſea unmoved by ſtorms, and that the inhabitants of both iſlands might form the moſt cordial and complete union for the preſervation of property, law, order, morality, and religion.

Earl Camden ſpoke chiefly in defence of his own adminiſtration of Ireland. He denied that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was productive of diſorder or diſaffection, and affirmed that the rigorous proceedings of the government were rendered neceſſary by that ſeditious ſpirit which exiſted independently of the Catholic queſtion. He declared, that all the ſeverities imputed to his adminiſtration, were preceded by acts of outrage, of inſurrection, or of rebellion. He allowed, that his conduct in adopting active and vigorous meaſures, and apprehending ſome of the leaders, did accelerate the rebellion; but, as the ſame ſteps facilitated its ſuppreſſion, he did not think that he could juſtly be blamed.

He then pronounced his decided opinion in favor of an Union, for the benefit of both countries. There was one part of this ſubject, upon which he could not ſpeak but with great delicacy, and that was, with reſpect to the Iriſh parliament. He had upon every occaſion during his reſidence in that country, obſerved the energy and vigor of the parliament of that country; but ſtill he felt himſelf bound to ſay, that he thought a better form of government neceſſary for Ireland, and therefore it was that he ſhould give his aſſent to this meaſure.

The Marquis Townſhend promiſed to vote for the meaſure; but he was apprehenſive that every attempt to render the Iriſh nation happy, would be inefficacious, unleſs a due obedience to the laws ſhould be enforced by reſident magiſtrates—unleſs the itinerant Catholic prieſts ſhould be prevented from giving abſolution for offences, the ſtewards, and other agents of the landlords be checked in their career of oppreſſion, and the morals of the lower claſſes of the people be improved by the care of their ſuperiors.

Lord Clifton (Earl of Darnley in Ireland) declared his preference of a legiſlative Union to any other mode of connexion, but doubted the practicability of the meaſure. The Engliſh, in general, he ſaid, knew little more of the affairs of Ireland than of thoſe of China; in the preſent caſe, they repreſented what was almoſt the univerſal ſenſe of the nation as the voice of cabal

or the cry of faction. The voluntary aſſent of the Iriſh, he feared, could not be obtained; and coercion would be highly impolitic and unjuſt. He therefore wiſhed that the ſcheme might be ſuſpended.

Lord Hobart,* while he approved the conduct, which the Iriſh parliament had purſued for many years, was convinced that a legiſlature, conſtituted as that was, could not give ſatisfaction to the people. His meaning was, that a Proteſtant parliament could never ſatisfy a nation, of which three-fourths were Catholics. On this ground his determination to ſupport the queſtion of a legiſlative Union principally reſted.

Lord Rawdon (Earl of Moira in Ireland) declared that no one would more heartily concur in the propoſed meaſure than himſelf, if it ſhould meet the approbation of the greater part of the Iriſh community: but, as it had excited general diſguſt and vigorous oppoſition, he was convinced of the danger of proſecuting the ſcheme. Even if the Iriſh parliament ſhould be diſpoſed to adopt it, the diſinclination of the people ought to have been deemed a ſufficient ground for relinquiſhing it: otherwiſe we might nouriſh in deluſive ſecurity a ſecret fire, which might ultimately conſume the vitals of the empire. If he ſhould admit the probability of a change in the diſpoſition of the people, he muſt contend, as the meaſure was to be ſuſpended, that it was at leaſt imprudent to pledge the Britiſh parliament to ſpecific reſolutions, which might be ſuperſeded by the future relative ſituation of the countries. Was it to be ſuppoſed, that the tenor of the reſolutions would alter the ſentiments of the Iriſh nation with regard to a meaſure, which they had contemplated in the aggregate with ſuch diſtaſte? Were the proviſions judiciouſly calculated to promote ſuch an effect? By one of the reſolutions the teſt act was to be ſtill operative againſt the Catholics and the Proteſtant Diſſenters of Ireland. Did not this go to eſtabliſh a ſtrong jealouſy, if not eſtrangement, in the breaſts of ſuch a majority of that community, whoſe confidence and concurrence were ſo deſirable? The earl had predicted, that the ſyſtem of government which had been purſued in that country could not go on, and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet. That, however, was not a conſequence flowing from the conſtitution of Ireland: it was ſolely the reſult of a frantic exerciſe of ſeverities on the part of government, as much in contempt of that very conſtitution as in defiance of every principle of policy, that had hitherto been current among men.

* Now ſecretary of ſtate for the war department.

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He animadverted on ſeveral parts of the ſpeech of Lord Grenville, particularly on that, in which the ſecretary had ſaid, that a caſe might occur in which the parliament of Ireland might refuſe to pay the troops, and ſeemed to think that his poſition on this ground of argument was ſtrengthened by the difference of the teſt taken by the military body of Ireland from that, which was taken by the troops of England: but a man might be a brave ſoldier, and a truſty ſupporter of his country's cauſe, even though he ſhould believe that there were ſeven ſacraments; in fact, there was no ſeparate regular Iriſh army; his majeſty might call away any regiment to this country, and replace it by another from England, without any explanation to the legiſlature of Ireland. There was, indeed, a ſtipulation that Ireland ſhould have a certain number of troops for her defence; and thoſe troops ſhe engaged to pay. But the ſecretary argued that ſhe might refuſe to pay them. So might the Britiſh parliament refuſe to pay the army in this iſland. The queſtion, by which the houſe ought to form an opinion reſpecting the expediency of bringing forward thoſe reſolutions, was not what the Iriſh ought to think, but what they did really think upon the ſubject. Whether juſtly or not, it appeared, they did think the demand upon Ireland was nothing leſs than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent parliament, the blood, the labor, the wealth and reſources of the people. And under what circumſtances did the maſs of the Iriſh nation come to weigh ſuch a ſuppoſed demand? Diſguſted by recent outrages, ſtill ſmarting from the laſh of late ſeverities, and irritated by threats of continued infliction, how was it to be ſuppoſed, that they could meet with temper the propoſition for drawing cloſer the ties by which, they had been miſchievouſly told, all their paſt ſufferings were occaſioned? For it was one of the moſt ſerious evils of the late troubles, that thoſe who were trampling upon the feelings, the properties, and the lives of their fellow-creatures, diſguiſed their own paſſions under the profeſſion, that ſuch acts of violence were neceſſary for the preſervation of Engliſh connection; thereby falſely repreſenting Engliſh connection, which ought to be the ſource of every bleſſing to Ireland, as the ſpring from which all their calamities had flowed. The Iriſh government ſtigmatized with the name of rebellion that which was only indignation at ſome unconſtitutional meaſures; and, having once made the charge againſt its opponents, thence deduced the right and the neceſſity of abandoning the paths of the law, and of making its own conception of expediency the excluſive rule of conduct towards the multi-

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tude. The legiſlature readily lent its aid in paſſing the moſt ſevere penal ſtatutes, and theſe even their angry and vindictive miniſtry ſoon refuſed to abide by. Any thing that bore the ſemblance of law was too tardy for their impatient ſpirit. Forgetting that the corrective conduct of a government ought to be ſober as well as firm, dignified and conciliating as well as vigorous, they even ſeemed to affect the peeviſhneſs of individual animoſity; and in that temper they proceeded with eagle ſwiftneſs and more than eagle fierceneſs to paſs a ſweeping condemnation of the whole people of Ireland. Mercy, juſtice, and policy, were left far behind, as unprofitable aſſociates.

He did not accuſe Earl Camden of having given directions for ſuch horrible outrages; but hinted, that the viceroy, being taught by the cabinet to believe that extraordinary rigor was neceſſary, had connived at exceſſes which aroſe from that ſyſtem. If it were true, that ſo great a proportion of the adult and effective population of the country as 500,000 had engaged in the traiterous conſpiracy, it was the greateſt cenſure that could be paſſed on any government. When to the miſconduct of the Britiſh miniſters he laid the evils and the miſeries of Ireland, it was to their miſinformation and ignorance of the ſtate of the country, not to deliberate inhumanity that he aſcribed them. He truſted, that the time would ſoon arrive, when remorſe would take place of apathy, and when they would earneſtly wiſh that their ſyſtem of conduct had uniformly enforced on their ſervants the neceſſity of reſpecting with awful veneration the rights of humanity.

Lord Grenville had imputed the rebellion in Ireland chiefly to the propagation of French principles; but the effect of theſe, without miniſterial miſconduct, would, ſaid the earl, have been inconſiderable. It was remarkable, that the noble ſecretary ſhould ſuppoſe mere barbarians, whom he repreſented as incapable of comprehending the meaning of Catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform, to be fully competent to the admiſſion of ideas reſpecting the principles and forms of government, and the ſovereignty of the people. Of that ſovereignty his lordſhip obſerved, that it did not, as ſome had ignorantly or invidiouſly aſſerted, imply the authority or the power of the mob. The miſconſtruction of the phraſe had produced much miſchief in that country, by aiding the views of certain zealots, who, from the moſt malignant motives, confounded the maintenance of conſtitutional doctrines with the ſupport of jacobinical tenets. The principle, properly underſtood, was oppoſed to the odious doctrine of divine indefeaſible right. It was not plebeian but national

national ſovereignty; the rights of the people, not of the populace were the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution.

Lord Holland, though he did not conſider the adjuſtment of 1782 as a bar to a new agreement, diſapproved the propoſal of an Union at a time when it excited ſtrong diſguſt in that kingdom. The policy of the meaſure, at any time, might be doubtful; the experiment would be hazardous, and the conſequences might be highly detrimental to the intereſts of both countries.

Lord Mulgrave thought it highly expedient to examine the propoſitions, and record them as the deliberate offers of this country, which would induce the Iriſh parliament to conſider the ſubject with coolneſs and complacency, inſtead of viewing it with prejudice.

The Earl of Carliſle ſaid, the diſcuſſion was expedient and ſeaſonable. A knowledge of the terms might allay the ferment of the Iriſh nation; the inſinuation of force was diſclaimed by the chief members of the cabinet; and there was no reaſon to apprehend, that they would ever have recourſe to it.

The Earl of Weſtmorland was induced, by ſome recent parliamentary elections in Ireland, to believe that many of the opponents of the Union had begun to think favorably of it, and that there was a chance of obtaining at leaſt a patient hearing of the terms, which, he truſted, would recommend themſelves by their beneficial tendency.

The Duke of Portland admitted, that though he deemed the adjuſtment in 1782, a ſufficient remedy, at the time, for the grievances of Ireland, he did not regard it as ſuperſeding a legiſlative incorporation or any other meaſure, which might be deviſed by the ſame or by ſubſequent miniſters.

The houſe agreed to the reſolutions without a diviſion; and a day was fixed for propoſing an addreſs on the ſubject.

As ſoon as Lord Grenville had moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty with the reſolutions, Lord Auckland roſe to diſcuſs the ſubject at large. As many of the former arguments were uſed, by different members who ſpoke in the ſubſequent debates upon the Union, the report only of what appears new, will be given. He obſerved, that, even if Ireland had a complete equality with Britain in extent, opulence and ſtrength, yet the exiſtence of ſeparate and independent legiſlatures, with one executive power, would render an union deſirable, rather than degrading or detrimental to either. Immediately previous to the attainment of a ſuppoſed freedom of conſtitution and trade in 1782, that kingdom was ſubordinate to this realm both in legiſlation

giſlation and judicature: it had no more than the name of the Britiſh conſtitution, the ſemblance and mockery of a free government. Even after the Iriſh freedom, as it was called, had taken place, their government was ſtill founded in the pretenſions of a ſmall part of the community to a monopoly of the repreſentation, patronage, and reſources of the whole, and could not therefore contribute to the proſperity, tranquillity, or ſafety of the nation.

The remaining part of his lordſhip's ſpeech chiefly related to the commercial advantages, which would flow to Ireland from the Union.

It was not to be expected that capitals and commercial credit ſhould be transferred to a country ſtruggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and diſturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt at any time adverſe connexions and intereſts? Nothing leſs than Union could ſatisfy theſe queſtions. They could not reſt on the flimſy and undefined proteſtation ſo often repeated, and ſo imperfectly realiſed, that, "the affections of Ireland "were inalienable, and that both kingdoms ſhould ſtand and fall together." Let the Union take place, and all commercial diſtinctions and political jealouſies would be annihilated; for there could be no competition between two parts of the ſame kingdom, having incorporated intereſts directed by one legiſlature.

The Biſhop of Llandaff, had ſo long ago as the year 1785, intimated his opinion to the late Duke of Rutland, that he and his friend the miniſter would gain immortal honor, if, inſtead of the propoſitions which were then under diſcuſſion, they could accompliſh, by honorable means and upon equitable terms, an Union of the two kingdoms; but his grace had anſwered, that the man who ſhould venture to bring forward a ſcheme of ſuch a nature at that time would have been *tarred* and *feathered*. Whether the repugnance to the meaſure were then general, or were confined to the leading men of the country, the prelate did not know; but was fully convinced of the policy and utility of the ſcheme at any time. It would enrich Ireland, and would not impoveriſh Great Britain. The conſolidation of Ireland with this country would render it the ſtrongeſt empire in Europe. If the lands in Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be well cultivated, as in the event of an Union they probably would be, they would maintain a population of thirty millions, ſix millions of which number would be capable of bearing arms; and this population, in caſe of neceſſity, might afford one million to be in arms, without diſtreſſing agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. Then we might with ſafety deſpiſe the

politics of the continent, and without contributing our forces or our wealth, allow the princes of Europe to ſettle among themſelves the equilibrium of deſpotic power, while, conſcious of the bleſſings of liberty, we muſt lament that deſpotiſm ſhould exiſt in any part of the world.

With regard to the Catholics, ſome contended, that, as they formed the moſt numerous claſs of the community, they had a right to ſome kind of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and to an exemption from political diſabilities. This point was rendered difficult by the diſtribution of property, which was in the hands of a ſmall minority, who would have no intereſt in, and would derive no benefit from ſuch eſtabliſhment. The point was of great delicacy and importance; but, the ſooner it ſhould be agitated, the better. In the mean time he would recommend to both parties the advice given by a father of the church on another occaſion, that both ſhould give up little things in order to ſecure great ones, tranquillity and peace.

The link which now held the two countries together was very imperfect; it was the ſameneſs of one of the branches of the legiſlature in both. This link, by what had been foreſeen, and what was unforeſeen, might be endangered, and the intereſts of Ireland might be expoſed to hazard; but, when three parts of the legiſlature of Ireland ſhould be incorporated with the legiſlature of this country, the failure of the link would be impoſſible, except in an event dreadful even to contemplate, the abſolute deſtruction of the whole government and conſtitution.

In urging the neceſſity of cloſe connexion, he affirmed, that Ireland, as a ſhoot from the ſtem of Great Britain, had brought forth fruit; but that, as a ſeparate plant, it would neither ſtrike its roots downward, nor ſpread its branches above; it would bear no fruit for at leaſt an hundred years. It muſt either be ſhaded by the Britiſh oak, or it muſt be poiſoned by the peſtilential vapor of the tree of French liberty—that tree which had brought forth no fruit but the apples of Sodom. That great ſtates ſhould allow the ſmaller to enjoy their independence unmoleſted; was more to be wiſhed than expected. Ireland could not ſtand alone. In the preſent ſtate of Europe ſhe muſt be united either to England or to France.

Fully convinced of the beneficial tendency of an Union, he looked forward with ſatisfaction to the change, which it would produce in Ireland. Engliſh capital would ſeek employment in Ireland, and diffuſe improvement and wealth. The bogs would be converted into fields covered with ſmiling harveſts;

veſts; the barren mountains would be covered with cattle; mines would be wrought, and canals would unite the moſt diſtant parts of the country; the old ſources of wealth would be extended; new ones would be diſcovered; and the inhabitants of Ireland, now poor, idle, and diſcontented, would be rendered rich, induſtrious, and happy. This change muſt be the work of time; and poſterity would bleſs the wiſdom and firmneſs of the parliaments of two countries, which effected ſo great a plan, and, generouſly ſuperior to partial views and ſelfiſh conſiderations, coaleſced into one for mutual intereſt.

Union was a contract that ought to be founded upon free conſent, ariſing from a perſuaſion of utility. He was afraid that Ireland was not yet perſuaded of the advantages, which ſhe might derive from it, and that ſhe had not taken that comprehenſive view of the ſubject, which would be quickly followed by her full conſent. In ſuch a caſe this nation and the parliament of this country ought to ſhew that they were not actuated by any narrow and ſelfiſh views, and that they diſdained to employ any corrupt influence for the purpoſe of obtaining that concurrence, which ought to be the reſult of conviction. At the ſame time, they ought to deprecate all oppoſition ariſing from partial views, local intereſts, ſelfiſh conſiderations, or what, with liberal minds, might have weight no leſs powerful, the love of popular applauſe: they ought to ſhew, that they reſpected the independence of the Iriſh parliament, and, that they were ready to acquieſce in that deciſion, which, after due deliberation, it ſhould embrace. Such alone was the courſe ſuited to the high character of the Britiſh nation; and ſuch, indeed, was the courſe which the legiſlature had avowed its determination to follow. This proceeding alone was conſonant with eternal juſtice and with the dignity of the country, fitted to conciliate the affections of the Iriſh, a high-ſpirited but warm-hearted people.

In the preſent conteſt, he ſaid, all our firmneſs and energy were required. France was ſupported in every country but her own, no leſs by the ſword than by her peſtilent doctrines, and by the corrupt ambition of the deſperate. Armed with theſe inſtruments of deſtruction, ſhe went on, ſpreading deſolation where-ever ſhe appeared, cruſhing in the duſt equally all civil government and all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. When he contemplated this hideous monſter at a diſtance, it was with horror; near, he viewed it with anxiety, but without deſpondence, truſting, that under the protection of Providence, this country would be able to meet the danger. No human means, he was con-

vinced, could contribute more to this end than a liberal, free, and equitable legiſlative Union between Britain and Ireland.

Lord Minto made a long, argumentative, and elaborate ſpeech in favor of Union.

The two countries ſeemed to him to approach each other by an irreſiſtible attraction, by a ſpecies of political gravitation: no human obſtruction, he thought, would long avail to keep them aſunder; and, when they ſhould once be in contact, another law of nature, a principle of adheſion and tenacity, would hold them together, and eternally cement and conſolidate their Union. But, though the event thus ſeemed to be predeſtined, the beſt means of accelerating it ought not to be neglected.

For the illuſtration of his argument, he had recourſe to the inconveniences and evils of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy which led to the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh monarchy; and the ſalutary effects of the change appeared in the ultimate preſervation of the kingdom from Daniſh conqueſt, by which the divided ſtates would otherwiſe have been enſlaved.

He acknowledged the loyalty, prudence, honor, and ſpirit, of a great part of the Hibernian nation, while he lamented that theſe qualities had not been able to prevent an extenſive conſpiracy for the avowed purpoſe of ſeparation. As this object had occaſioned a civil war, the evils of imperfect connexion were at their height; and the two governments were called upon, by the great danger of their countries, to ſnatch the people from the precipice, on which they ſtood, and conduct them into that path, which had led the Welſh and Scots to "more than ſafety," to dignity, proſperity, and happineſs.

Referring to the practical inducements which might recommend a legiſlative Union, his lordſhip divided into poſitive and negative the advantages derivable from it to Great Britain. To the former claſs, he ſaid, belonged the real and effective force, which would accrue from it, in a naval and military view; and, in uſing the latter term, he chiefly alluded to the advantage of avoiding, in times of conteſt and of war, thoſe embarraſſments and diſtractions which rendered Ireland, inſtead of a reſource, "only a dead weight hung "round the neck of Britiſh exertion." He did not ſay that Ireland would inevitably be loſt without an Union; but he feared that we ſhould have no ſecurity for her preſervation, if the bonds of connexion ſhould not ſpeedily be drawn much cloſer. With ſuch apprehenſions he deemed it not unſeaſonable to contemplate the conſequences of a total ſeparation of Ireland from Britain,

and

and of the probable attendant on ſuch a rupture, the alliance of the former ſtate with the French. As an Iriſh democratical republic, or rather anarchy, would be the firſt reſult of the ſeparation, we ſhould immediately feel the diſaſtrous effects of ſuch a change. Thoſe who ought to be our friends would then be our enemies; our weſtern coaſts would be greatly endangered; our trade would be injured; and a variety of evils would follow, all of which, if the French ſhould become abſolute maſters of the new republic, would be alarmingly aggravated.

He then enumerated ſome of the conſequences, which would reſult to Ireland from the ſeparation. As it could not be ſuppoſed that the nation would be unanimous in rejecting Britiſh connexion for the purpoſe of fraterniſing with the French, the event, he ſaid, would not take place before one party, now the ſtrongeſt, ſhould have been ſubdued. But ſubmiſſion to force would not change the mind; and the republican rulers of Ireland would find, that the Britiſh troops, when employed in the reſcue of that country from the Gallic yoke, would be ſeconded by a great portion of the inhabitants. Hence would ariſe the complicated miſeries of foreign and internal war. The charges of ſuch a conteſt would fall with oppreſſive weight on a people hitherto protected in a great meaſure by Britain; and the inſulated trade and wealth of Ireland would not furniſh a ſufficiency of men or of money for ſuch importunate demands.

He would not detain their lordſhips by deſcribing the extent or the violence of thoſe paſſions, which now inflamed and exaſperated both parts of the Iriſh nation againſt each other. Every one knew the firm and immoveable baſis, on which their mutual hatred ſtood, the irreconcileable nature of its motives, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character. In this frame and temper of mind, however, towards each other, one of thoſe portions of Ireland claimed and exerciſed what was felt by both to be a ſpecies of dominion over the other. It was hardly too much to ſay, that there were two nations in Ireland; the one ſovereign, the other ſubject. The ſovereign claſs or caſt of Iriſhmen claimed their ſovereignty as of right, and grounded it on an old title of conqueſt, confirmed, as they contended by poſſeſſion, acquieſcence, and preſcription. They claimed alſo the federal ſupport of Great Britain in maintaining that dominion, on the ſolemn grounds of fidelity to implied compact, compenſation for ſacrifices, and reward for ſervices. They ſhewed a cloſe alliance and identity of views between themſelves and the

Engliſh

Engliſh intereſt in Ireland at all times; and they relied as ſtrongly on recent and even on preſent exertions in a common cauſe, as on the uniform tenor of their ancient ſervices. In a word, they called at once upon the honor and gratitude of Great Britain, and ſupported that appeal by a ſtream and ſeries of facts. But he never could admit the aſcendency of one part of a nation over another part of the ſame nation, to the extent and to the purpoſe claimed in Ireland, as capable of aſſuming any character deſerving the denomination of right. That which was wrong on one ſide could never become a right on the other. Neither poſſeſſion, nor preſcription, nor any limitation of time which are ſuppoſed to cure the vices of bad titles, were at all applicable to the caſe of perpetually ſubſiſting, and, as it were, renovating wrongs, eſpecially ſuch as affected the political rights of great numbers of men. If poſſeſſion then would not conſtitute this ſingular right, which is claimed in wrong, as between the parties themſelves, neither could it be improved by the intereſts, the engagements, or the obligations of a third party; he could not ſee how the *jus tertii*, as it might be called, of England, could affect the relative claims of theſe two Iriſh nations, or of theſe two parts of the Iriſh nation. The Catholics of Ireland claimed not only political equality in the government of their country, a claim in which his lordſhip ſympathized with them; but they were thought to entertain, and to nouriſh yet more fondly and anxiouſly, claims on the *property* of proteſtants, the preſent poſſeſſion of which they treated as mere uſurpation; and theſe claims were of no trifling extent. If to the phyſical force already poſſeſſed by the Catholic body, were added (by any revolution) the advantages of political power, and the weight and influence which belonged to the authority of government and legiſlation, ſome danger might accrue to the property, the eſtabliſhment, and even the perſonal ſecurity of the proteſtants in Ireland; and, hence aroſe an alarming dilemma. The proteſtants could not be ſupported in that aſcendancy which ſeemed neceſſary even for their protection, without derogating from what might appear to be a natural right of the Catholics. The Catholics could not be ſupported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that aſcendancy, which equality of rights muſt draw to the larger body, and which from that moment muſt expoſe the Proteſtants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such ſeemed to be the practical difficulties in the way of abſtract juſtice, while the government of Ireland continued merely local. An Iriſh parliament

ment, in which the aſcendancy was either Proteſtant or Catholic (and it could not but lie on one ſide or the other), might be expected ſtill, he feared to gore and lacerate the country, by one or other of the horns of that dilemma: and he ſaw no perfect remedy for Iriſh diviſion, and its lamentable conſequences, while theſe two enraged and implacable opponents were ſtill ſhut up together, and ſtill encloſed within the very theatre, on the very *arena* of their ancient and furious contention. That divided and double condition of the Iriſh people required ſomething of an imperial *aula*, a legiſlature founded on a broader and more liberal baſis, to adminiſter impartial laws to all, and to reconcile ſecurity with juſtice. While one of theſe parties muſt judge the other, in which ever hand the faſces might be placed, there was reaſon to expect only violence in the ſuit, and, if not injuſtice, at leaſt ſlow and imperfect juſtice in the decree. A ſtrong conviction aroſe out of theſe conſiderations, that the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland would, in the peculiar circumſtances of Ireland, conſtitute a better legiſlature, and a more perfect becauſe a more impartial parliament for all Ireland, than any repreſentation of a minor part or ſection of that country, in a ſeparate local parliament, ever could. Laws therefore beneficial to the maſs of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general proſperity and happineſs, muſt be expected with greater confidence from the united parliament, in which local partialities, intereſts, and paſſions, would not divert the ſtraight and equal current of legiſlation, than from an Iriſh parliament, where theſe ſtumbling-blocks muſt for ever bend or impede its courſe. In the united parliament right may be done unaccompanied by wrong. Iriſh Catholics might be inveſted with their political capacities, without the ſlighteſt danger to Proteſtant eſtabliſhment or property. Theſe, on the contrary, muſt acquire a tenfold and hundredfold ſecurity in the Proteſtant parliament, and the genuine Proteſtant aſcendancy of the united kingdom. The Proteſtant church and property might be ſecured, without perpetuating the preſent humiliating and degrading excluſion of the Catholic part of the Iriſh nation.

For theſe reaſons, he adviſed the inſertion of an explicit article in the treaty or act of Union, providing for the juſt claims of the Catholic Iriſh; but he was not ſtrenuous or deciſive in his recommendation; for he added, that, " if any political peculiarities of the preſent time ſhould render it im-
" practicable to engroſs theſe wholeſome proviſions in the written treaty it
" ſelf,"

" ſelf,"* he would rather repreſs his wiſhes for the immediate accompliſhment of this deſirable end, than " expoſe this great tranſaction to needleſs " and

*. It appears that the Britiſh miniſters, in order to avoid any freſh difficulties or delays being thrown into the negociation for Union, reſolved not to introduce any ſtipulation for the Catholics, reſerving that meaſure to be brought before the imperial parliament, from whoſe juſtice and liberality they confidently expected concurrence and ſupport. That the Britiſh miniſters were ſincere in their intentions of bringing forward and confident in their expectations of carrying the queſtion of Catholic emancipation in an imperial parliament, is manifeſt from certain written communications made by them to ſome of the leading perſons of the Catholic body about the time of their retiring from office, which were to the following effect.

" The leading part of his majeſty's miniſters finding unſurmountable obſtacles to the bringing " forward meaſures of conceſſion to the Catholic body, whilſt in office, have felt it impoſſible to " continue in adminiſtration under the inability to propoſe it with the circumſtances neceſſary to " carrying the meaſure with all its advantages, and they have retired from his majeſty's ſervice, " conſidering this line of conduct as moſt likely to contribute to its ultimate ſucceſs. The Catho- " lic body will, therefore, ſee how much their future hopes muſt depend upon ſtrengthening their " cauſe by good conduct in the mean time; they will prudently conſider their proſpects as ariſing " from the perſons who now eſpouſe their intereſts, and compare them with thoſe, which they could " look to from any other quarter; they may with confidence rely on the zealous ſupport of all " thoſe who retire and of many, who remain in office, when it can be given with a proſpect of ſuc- " ceſs. They may be aſſured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmoſt to eſtabliſh their cauſe in the public " favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects: and the Catholics will feel " that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeleſs attempt to force it now, that he muſt at all times " repreſs with the ſame deciſion as if he held an adverſe opinion, any unconſtitutional conduct in " the Catholic body.

" Under theſe circumſtances it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the moſt loyal, " dutiful, and patient line of conduct, that they will not ſuffer themſelves to be led into meaſures " which can, by any conſtruction, give a handle to the oppoſers of their wiſhes, either to miſin- " terpret their principles or to raiſe an argument for reſiſting their claims; but that by their pru- " dent and exemplary demeanour they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of " their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occaſions, until their objects can be finally and " advantageouſly attained.

" *The Sentiments of a ſincere Friend (i. e. Marquis Cornwallis) to the Catholic Claims.*

" If the Catholics ſhould now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their ob- " ject by convulſive meaſures, or forming aſſociations with men of Jacobinical principles, they " muſt of courſe loſe the ſupport and aid of thoſe, who have ſacrificed their own ſituations in their " cauſe, but who would at the ſame time feel it to be their indiſpenſable duty to oppoſe every thing " tending to confuſion.

" On the other hand, ſhould the Catholics be ſenſible of the benefit they poſſeſs by having ſo " many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the ſervice of government, except on " the

" and unprofitable hazard by unſeaſonable pertinacity or impatience," and would be content to leave it to the mature deliberation and impartial judgement of the imperial legiſlature.

The Scots were ſoon reconciled to the Union of their kingdom with South Britain, and their patriotic feelings expanded to the whole compaſs of the iſland; and they did not conſider themſelves as degraded by their political amalgamation with the other natives of Britain.

If a ſeparate political exiſtence be contrary, nay fatal, to the real intereſts of the people of Ireland, and if a perfect incorporation and union with the Britiſh empire muſt be productive of ſecurity, aggrandiſement, and happineſs to Ireland, ſuch an Union ſhould, on that ſingle but deciſive ground of great and permanent utility, be the firſt and fondeſt wiſh of every Iriſh heart. If the Iriſh rejected the offers of Britain, according to every moral probability, the alternative would be union or ſeparation; union or ruin; union with Great Britain, or ſlavery to France. If the propoſal ſhould not be accepted, Ireland would not probably long remain as ſhe then was; her diſtinctions, her dignity, her independence, would expire; her political extinction would be accompliſhed; ſhe would become ſubject to the degrading yoke of the general tyrant and taſk-maſter of Europe.

Viewing Ireland as a ſeparate kingdom, it was impoſſible to diſannex from it the idea of its actual and neceſſary dependence, ſubordination, and inferiority to Great Britain. The king of Great Britain was, in virtue of that crown, king alſo of Ireland; and the whole executive government of the latter realm was adminiſtered by a viceroy, who was appointed in effect by a Britiſh miniſter, and reſponſible only to the Britiſh tribunals. To theſe inſtances of ſubordination it might be added, that the legiſlative functions of

" the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped, that on balancing the ad-
" vantages and diſadvantages of their ſituation they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour
" to any line of conduct of an oppoſite deſcription.

" The originals of theſe two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy and afterwards to Lord
" Fingall on the ſame day, by Marquis Cornwallis, in the preſence of Lieutenant Colonel Little-
" hales, in the beginning of May, 1801, ſhortly before his departure from the government of
" Ireland, and before the arrival of Lord Hardwicke, his ſucceſſor. His excellency deſired they
" ſhould be diſcreetly communicated to the biſhops and principal Catholics, but not inſerted in the
" newſpapers. They appeared, nevertheleſs, in the Engliſh prints ſoon afterwards, and were
" copied into the Iriſh papers.

the ſovereign of Ireland could be performed only under the great ſeal of Britain. Thus the Iriſh parliament was left dependent for the validity of every one of its legiſlative acts, firſt on the chancellor of England, and, through his reſponſibility, on that very parliament of England, an equal participation in the authority of which it had been lately contended was degrading to Ireland. Another circumſtance denoting inferiority was the following: "Ireland muſt take her part in all the wars of Great Britain: ſhe muſt "bear her ſhare of their burthens, and muſt incur all their hazards: ſhe may "loſe a province, or may become herſelf a province of the enemy; yet ſhe "cannot, by the utmoſt ſucceſs of the war, acquire an acre of new terri- "tory to the Iriſh dominion. Every acquiſition made by the forces of the "empire, however great her ſhare may have been in the danger or exertion, "accrues to the crown of Great Britain. Ireland claimed no ſovereignty in "any one of the foreign poſſeſſions or provinces of the Britiſh empire." The Iriſh parliament had never aſſerted or conceived the right of legiſlating for any of the conqueſts of the king of England, that is to ſay, of the king of Ireland. Ireland had planted no Iriſh colonies, but had furniſhed planters to all thoſe of Great Britain. He defined or at leaſt deſcribed an independent ſovereignty to be a ſtate, which could make war and peace, which could acquire dominion by conqueſt, and which could plant colonies and eſtabliſh foreign ſettlements? And he deſcribed a ſubordinate and dependent country to be one, which muſt contribute its quota to all the wars of a neighbouring kingdom, muſt incur all the riſques of thoſe wars, and partake in all their diſaſters, while all that was acquired by its ſucceſs fell, like the lion's ſhare, to that country, with which it claimed to be co-ordinate and co-equal.

Ireland, in various inſtances, had a very ſmall ſhare of the dignity of independence. But, Union would place the two countries on a footing of perfect equality, would neceſſarily improve the independence and dignity of the inferior, which, no longer ſubordinate, would then fully participate in all the rights of ſovereignty. As to the competency of parliament to adopt the plan, he obſerved, that the ſtrong and emphatic title of omnipotence of parliament, was not merely a bold figure uſed by ſome writers on our government, but ſeemed to be literally and correctly deſcriptive of parliamentary ſupremacy, and of the unlimited ſovereignty of the Britiſh legiſlature.

Other topics would have been diſcuſſed by Lord Minto, if he had not been conſcious of prolixity in the inveſtigation of former points. Having expreſſed

preſſed his gratitude for the attention of the peers to his arguments in ſupport of the expediency of the meaſure and of the competency of parliament to its execution, he concluded with praying for its ſpeedy accompliſhment.

Lord Boringdon and Lord Hay (Earl of Kinnoul in Scotland) argued on the ſame ſide. No one indeed ſpoke in oppoſition to the Union, though a proteſt againſt it were ſigned by the Lords Holland and King, and the Earl of Thanet.

The addreſs being voted, a conference was holden with the commons on the following day; and the deputed lords then propoſed, that it ſhould be offered to the throne as the joint addreſs of both houſes.

Before the commons concurred in the addreſs to the king, they once more brought the plan of Union to a freſh diſcuſſion.

On the 22d of April, when Mr. Pitt moved that the houſe ſhould join in the addreſs voted by the peers, Mr. Sylveſter Douglas (now Lord Glenbervie) delivered a long harangue in favor of the Union.

Lord Sheffield ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide. Making various commercial calculations with a view of promoting its ſucceſs, he contended that an infuſion of Britiſh capital and induſtry, of Britiſh arts and manufactures, would meliorate in every reſpect the condition of Ireland, but that without an Union ſuch a communication could not be expected.

Sir Francis Burdet conceived Mr. Pitt a very unfit miniſter to bring the meaſure to a happy concluſion; all his efforts, he thought, would inflame rather than heal the wounds of Ireland.

Mr. Buxton vindicated the premier from the cenſures thrown out by the Baronet. The miſeries and calamities of Ireland could alone be imputed to thoſe peſtilential ſocieties, of whoſe exiſtence Sir Francis could not be ignorant.

Mr. Hawkins Browne and Major-General Loftus declared themſelves friendly to an Union, though the former were doubtful of the expediency of introducing a hundred Iriſh members into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons.

Lieutenant-General Fitzpatrick thought it unneceſſary to vote the addreſs, as an appeal to the crown upon the difference between the parliaments would argue a want of delicacy, and might be productive of a fatal diſcord and diviſion.

Mr. Canning conſidered the refuſal of an anſwer to a ſolemn meſſage as a novel mode of ſhowing reſpect to the crown, and did not regard ſuch ſilence as more reſpectful to the Iriſh parliament. He aſked, how the valuable right

of impeachment could be exerciſed by an Iriſh parliament againſt the king's miniſters in Great Britain, his proper and conſtitutional adviſers in the affairs of Ireland. As to the power of limiting or altering the ſucceſſion to the crown, Ireland was deſtitute of that power which Britain enjoyed; and, indeed, the perfect equality and independence, which the parliament of that kingdom was now ſaid to poſſeſs, and would reſign in the event of an Union, did not appear to him to exiſt.

He took an opportunity of vindicating Mr. Pitt from the charge of having kindled the rebellion, for the purpoſe of bringing Ireland more completely under his yoke. He attributed the commotions principally to the influence of jacobinical doctrines, and ridiculed the abſurdity of aſcribing them to the recall of the Earl Fitzwilliam, or to the machinations and the conduct of the premier. He admitted, that no union but that of affection could be laſting or advantageous.

After ſome obſervations in favor of the ſettlement of 1782, from Lord William Ruſſell, and renewed objections to its finality from Mr. Pitt, the addreſs* was adopted by the commons; and, on the 26th, the ſentiments of both houſes on the ſubject were communicated in due form to his majeſty.

Whilſt

* The following was the form of the addreſs.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and " temporal, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, humbly beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, " that we have proceeded with the utmoſt attention to the conſideration of the important objects " recommended to us in your majeſty's meſſage reſpecting the connexion between this country and " Ireland.

" We entertain a firm perſuaſion that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and " Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution, and go- " vernment, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections, by promoting the ſecurity, wealth, " and commerce, of the reſpective kingdoms, and by allaying the diſtractions which have unhap- " pily prevailed in Ireland, muſt afford freſh means of oppoſing at all times an effectual reſiſtance " to the deſtructive projects of our foreign and domeſtic enemies, and muſt tend to confirm and " augment the ſtability, power, and reſources of the empire.

" Impreſſed with theſe conſiderations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before your majeſty " ſuch propoſitions as appear to us beſt calculated to form the baſis of ſuch a ſettlement, leaving it " to your majeſty's wiſdom, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as your majeſty, in your parental ſoli- " citude for the happineſs of your people, ſhall judge fit, to communicate theſe propoſitions to your " parliament of Ireland, with whom we ſhall be at all times ready to concur in all ſuch meaſures as

" may

Whilſt the queſtion of Union was pending in the Britiſh ſenate, that of Ireland continued to occupy itſelf in its other legiſlative concerns. Some very long and intereſting debates took place upon Mr. Dobbs's motion for a commutation of tithes; upon the loyaliſt's claim bill, and on the rebel diſqualification bill.* On the ſecond reading of which on the 29th of March, Sir H. Langriſhe expreſſed his diſapprobation of the ſpirit of the bill, which he ſaid had been brought in by the members for the city of Dublin, in conformity to the inſtructions of their conſtituents; but, as he did not profeſs to hold the corporation of Dublin in the ſame degree of reſpect with thoſe gentlemen, he could not bring himſelf to approve of the principle on which it had been introduced. He conſidered the bill as tending to countenance an opinion that parliament was deſirous of retracting the grant of the elective franchiſe to the Roman Catholics; as interfering with the royal prerogative of pardoning crimes by an *ex poſt facto* law, and as taking away from thoſe, who had been forced or deluded into rebellion every inducement to contrition and repentance. The particular proviſions of the bill he thought equally objectionable; the bill ordained that an oath ſhould be tendered, by which the elector ſhould ſwear that he had never been an United Iriſhman or a rebel; thus making a man's own oath the proof, from which his guilt was to be eſtabliſhed, and rendering him liable to a proſecution for high treaſon if he ſhould take the oath. The proviſion, ſubjecting the perſon taking the oath falſely to the penalties of perjury, he conſidered perfectly innocent; as a man's guilt in this caſe would infer the previous guilt of high treaſon, and when he was hanged the puniſhment of the pillory would not be very injurious to him. He moved, " that the committal be poſtponed to the 1ſt of June."

The bill was vehemently ſupported by Meſſrs. Ogle, J. C. Beresford, and Dr. Duigenan: The attorney general conſidered that to paſs this bill would

" may be found moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of this great and ſalutary work. And we " truſt that, after full and mature conſideration, ſuch a ſettlement may be framed and eſtabliſhed " by the deliberative conſent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the " ſentiments, wiſhes, and real intereſts of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Great Britain and " Ireland, and may unite them inſeparably in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of our free and in- " valuable conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honor and dignity of your majeſty's crown, and in " the preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire." 8 Parl. Eng. Deb. p. 542.

* The title of that bill was, for preventing perſons, who had ever taken the Oath of the United Iriſhmen, from voting for Members to ſerve in Parliament.

be to commit a breach of the convenant of pardon made with the country; it would, he ſaid, involve in its graſp many innocent and deluded perſons, whoſe return to loyalty was indubitable, but who in the early part of the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen, had entered into it from curioſity or from folly, and had retired the moment they perceived its wickedneſs; it would alſo involve all thoſe United Iriſhmen, whoſe uſeful diſcoveries had enabled government to meet and baffle the dangers which threatened the country; and it would involve others, who without ill intention, but from ignorance, had been members of the Union. Gentlemen well knew, that

Evil into the mind of God or man
Might come and go ſo unapproved as leaves
No ſtain behind.

And this bill went to exclude them from a poſſibility of being reſtored to their former ſituation.

A diviſion took place, and the bill was ordered for committal on the firſt of June (by which it was loſt.)

On the 6th of April came before the houſe a matter of notoriety, very illuſtrative of the ſpirit, with which the late rebellion was according to ſome opinions checked, and according to others provoked.

Lord Matthew preſented a petition from T. Judkin Fitzgerald, Eſq. late high ſheriff of the county of Tipperary, praying to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, not juſtifiable in common law. Lord M. bore teſtimony to the conduct of Mr. F. which, he ſaid, from a local reſidence in the county, he had frequent opportunities of obſerving; that he was an extremely active, ſpirited, and meritorious magiſtrate, and a very principal mean of putting down rebellion, preventing eſcapes, and preſerving the lives and properties of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects.

The petition was received and read at the table. It ſet forth, that the petitioner had undertaken the office of high ſheriff for the laſt year at the ſolicitation of the principal gentlemen of the county, with great hazard and inconvenience to himſelf, at a moment when the kingdom was menaced by invaſion and rebellion, and that whole county organized for inſurrection, and infeſted by United Iriſhmen, who held conſtant meetings, in co-operation with the plan of treaſon for ſubverting the ſtate. That about the month of May, 1798, after the proclamation of martial law, the petitioner, at the head of a party of militia and yeomen, had been obliged to fight a body of rebels in

that

that county, whom he cauſed to ſurrender; but finding it impoſſible to ſtop the progreſs of rebellion there, as in many other parts of the kingdom, or to diſcover the various and horrid plans intended by traitors for the deſtruction of his majeſty's liege ſubjects, he had been reduced to the neceſſity, in many inſtances, under the advice of ſeveral moſt reſpectable magiſtrates and gentlemen of the county, when all offers of pardon and pecuniary reward had failed, to order corporal puniſhment of whipping to many perſons, of whoſe guilt he had ſecret information from perſons, whoſe names he could not publicly diſcloſe, as many perſons both before and ſince had been murdered for giving ſuch information; and therefore, in order to encourage perſons to give ſuch information, the magiſtrates were publicly ſworn to keep ſecret the names of informants. That in conſequence of petitioner's exertions, in which he was obliged to do many acts not juſtifiable at common law, that county was ſaved from deſtruction. That for acts of notoriety done by him in ſuppreſſion of rebellion, many actions had been brought, and many more threatened, at the inſtance of perſons who had entered into ſubſcription to ſupport them. That two ſuch actions had been lately had at the aſſizes of Clonmel, in both of which verdicts had been obtained againſt petitioner, one for words ſpoken, and the other for corporal puniſhment, inflicted publicly on the 29th of May, in the town of Clonmel, which was to have been attacked two days afterwards by 8000 rebels. The learned judge, who preſided at ſaid trials being of opinion, in point of law, that unleſs petitioner produced information on oath of the ground, on which he acted, his caſe would not fall within the proviſions of the Indemnity Act paſſed laſt ſeſſion; but that the petitioner, not feeling himſelf juſtifiable to diſcloſe in a public court of juſtice the nature of the information on which he had acted, and knowing that many of the informations, on which he had acted were in the poſſeſſion of ſeveral generals and other officers, who had ſince been ordered out of the kingdom; that ſome of the perſons who gave ſuch informations had been ſince baniſhed to foreign parts; and feeling he ſhould be guilty of a breach of faith and duty in diſcloſing the names of his informants remaining in the kingdom, on whoſe informations ſecretly and confidentially given, he was induced to act as aforeſaid, he did decline ſuch diſcloſure. The petitioner therefore prayed, that, without expoſing the perſons, who had given ſuch information to the vengeance of their perſecutors, he might be at liberty to have the ſame and the whole of his caſe inveſtigated, and the truth thereof eſtabliſhed

in

in ſuch manner as to the houſe ſhould appear meet, ſo as that the ſtate might receive no injury, and that the petitioner, and thoſe under whoſe advice, aſſiſtance, and information he acted, might not be expoſed to vexatious and ruinous proceedings at common law, and that honeſt men might not be deterred thereby from acting in perilous times for the ſafety of the ſtate and protection of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects.

Mr. Holmes roſe to move, that the petition be referred to a committee, and bore teſtimony to the very meritorious conduct of the petitioner, who, by his vigilance, activity, firmneſs, and indefatigable exertions, had defeated machinations in that country, which had well nigh overwhelmed the lives and properties of its loyal inhabitants. There was ſcarcely a man, on whom corporal puniſhment had been inflicted to extort confeſſion, who did not acknowledge guilt, and diſcover wide-extended accompliceſhip in treaſon. Immenſe quantities of arms of every kind were diſcovered, and in conſequence cart loads were daily brought into Clonmel from all quarters of the county. Under thoſe important conſiderations, he thought the houſe in its wiſdom and juſtice could not heſitate to give its protection to a man, who had deſerved ſo well of his country.

Mr. Secretary Cooke fully concurred in the ſentiments expreſſed by Mr. Holmes, and was enabled from his own knowledge to ſtate, that the moſt eſſential ſervices had been rendered to the ſtate and to the country by Mr. Fitzgerald. Sunk in a dangerous ſecurity, the gentlemen of the county of Tipperary were wholly ignorant of the extenſive ſyſtem of organization, which prevailed in that county, when the activity, enterprize, and unwearied reſearch of Mr. Fitzgerald developed a ſyſtem of the moſt formidable treaſon, which would have been attended with conſequences much more fatal and extenſive, than in any other county in the kingdom.

A ſimilar indolence and ſecurity had in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford ſuffered, and in ſome degree nurtured, treaſon, into open and terrible rebellion. Had the early, prompt, and vigorous activity, ſo happily manifeſted by Mr. Fitzgerald, been adopted in thoſe ill-fated counties which he had mentioned, their principal inhabitants would not have loſt their lives or their fortunes.

The Attorney General bore teſtimony from official information, as well as from local knowledge of the very ſpirited and meritorious conduct of Mr. Fitz-

Fitzgerald, and he truſted the houſe would cheerfully accede to the prayer of his petition.

Honorable Mr. Yelverton ſaid, he ſhould be one of the laſt men to refuſe indemnity or protection to any deſerving magiſtrate or loyal man for acts warranted by juſtice or neceſſity, in putting down conſpiracy or rebellion, but he could not ſit ſilent and hear the falſhood attempted to be palmed on the houſe by this almighty ſheriff, in the petition now on the table. The petition ſtated, that the judges who preſided at that trial, who were Mr. Juſtice Chamberlain and Lord Yelverton, had given their opinion in point of law, that unleſs Mr. Fitzgerald could produce the information on oath, on which he could juſtify his flagellation of the plaintiff Wright, he could not come under the proviſions of the Indemnity Act. No ſuch thing was ever ſaid by either of the judges. He was preſent at the trial, and not a ſingle tittle of evidence had come out in defence of Mr. Fitzgerald, nor was even a pretence pleaded that could found a ſcintilla of ſuſpicion againſt the plaintiff Wright, to juſtify thoſe unparalleled cruelties exerciſed upon him, for which the jury, a moſt reſpectable one, awarded 500*l.* damages, and which the learned judges declared ought to have been conſiderably more than the ſum claimed.

With the permiſſion of the houſe he would ſhortly ſtate the facts, as they appeared on evidence of ſeveral moſt reſpectable witneſſes, and from thoſe facts he would appeal to the houſe, whether ſuch ſanguinary, wanton, and unparalleled cruelties were entitled to their ſanction and indemnity?*

The action brought by Mr. Wright was for aſſault and battery. It appeared that Mr. Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as profeſſor by two eminent boarding-ſchools at Clonmel, and in the families of ſeveral reſpectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood.

Mr. Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received ſome charges of a ſeditious nature againſt him, and with a promptitude not very characteriſtic of conſcious guilt, he immediately went to the houſe of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magiſtrate, who was alſo out, for the purpoſe of ſurrendering himſelf for trial; he went again the ſame day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the houſe of Mr. Fitzgerald, and being ſhewn into his preſence, explained the purpoſe of his

* As much of this caſe is omitted as is contained in a former note.

coming, when Mr. Fitzgerald drawing his ſword, ſaid, down on your knees, you rebellious ſcoundrel, and receive your ſentence. In vain did the poor man proteſt his innocence: in vain did he implore trial on his knees. Mr. Fitzgerald ſentenced him firſt to be flogged, and then ſhot. The unfortunate man ſurrendered his keys to have his papers ſearched, and expreſſed his readineſs to ſuffer any puniſhment the proof of guilt could juſtify: but no—this was not agreeable to Mr. Fitzgerald's principles of juriſdiction: his mode was firſt to ſentence, then puniſh, and afterwards inveſtigate. His anſwer to the unfortunate man was, "What, you Carmelite raſcal, do you dare to "ſpeak after ſentence?" and then ſtruck him and ordered him to priſon.

Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmell Street, to undergo his ſentence. He knelt down in prayer, with his hat before his face. Mr. Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him and trampled on it, ſeized the man by the hair, dragged him to the earth, kicked him and cut him acroſs the forehead with his ſword, and then had him ſtripped naked, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty laſhes.

Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty laſhes were completed, and aſked Mr. F. the cauſe. Mr. F. handed the major a note written in French, ſaying, he did not himſelf underſtand French, though he underſtood Iriſh, but he [Major Rial] would find in that letter, what would juſtify him in flogging the ſcoundrel to death.

Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addreſſed for the victim, tranſlated in theſe words:

"SIR,

"I AM extremely ſorry I cannot wait on you at the hour "appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parſons.

"Yours,

"Baron de CLUES."

Nothwithſtanding this tranſlation, which Major Rial read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty laſhes more to be inflicted, and with ſuch peculiar ſeverity, that, horrid to relate! the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulſed and working through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the application of his cat o'nine-tails on that part without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waiſtband of his breeches to be cut open, and fifty more laſhes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and ſuſpended, while he went to the barrack

rack to demand a file of men to come and ſhoot him; but being refuſed by the commanding officer, he came back and ſought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down, and ſent back to priſon, where he was confined in a dark ſmall room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of ſtraw, without covering, and there he remained ſix or ſeven days without medical aſſiſtance!

"Gracious God! (ſaid Mr. Yelverton) will any man ſay that ſuch a "conduct is to be ſanctioned and indemnified by this houſe? Are the laws to "be ſupported by trampling on them? Is the man who could commit ſuch "barbarities, without the colour of juſtice or neceſſity, or even the ſhadow "of juſt ſuſpicion, to come for protection to this houſe? I feel an indig- "nation on this ſubject, that almoſt deprives me of utterance. I have be- "fore ſaid, that I would be one of the laſt men to refuſe every reaſonable in- "demnity to loyal magiſtrates for acts done under the preſſure of apparent "juſtice or neceſſity for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, but I will never vote "for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whoſe conduct, though it "may have produced good in ſome inſtances, has been productive of infi- "nitely more miſchief, and on thoſe grounds I ſhall give the petition every "reſiſtance in my power."

The Attorney General in reply ſaid, the petitioner, whoſe exertions had been productive of the happieſt conſequences, only complained of the perſecutions, to which he was expoſed; his property, and what was infinitely of more importance to an honorable man, his character was at ſtake. What he claimed was inveſtigation, and what he offered was proof upon oath of the guilt which he had puniſhed. The honorable member would have acted more becomingly by awaiting in diſcreet patience the teſtimony offered by the petitioner, and deciding deliberately and diſpaſſionately thereon, than by becoming an accuſer in the firſt inſtance, and prematurely avowing ſtrong indignation againſt the petitioner. The conduct of Mr. F. and its ſalutary conſequences under the urgent neceſſity which prevailed, was vouched and approved of by the authority of the noble lord and the honorable member, who, from the circumſtance of local reſidence and experience, muſt be beſt able to judge, and therefore the authority in favor of the petitioner was at leaſt as reſpectable as that of the honorable member.

Mr. Yelverton ſaid a few words in explanation and reply.

Dr. Browne could not ſee what meaſures a committee could adopt to

ground any proceeding of the houſe for the indemnification of the petitioner againſt all future actions for damages for injuries done by him, whether juſtifiable or not. The bill of indemnity already paſſed allowed, he thought, ample indemnification to every magiſtrate, who could claim or expect it on any reaſonable ground, and therefore he could not ſee, why the houſe was to be called on to exceed that bill for the advantage of ſuch an individual.

Mr. Edgeworth ſaid, he would endeavour as far as it was in his power to repreſs that indignation, which he was taught in his early years to conſider as one of the beſt guardians of virtue. He would calmly give his negative to this motion, believing it to be of moſt dangerous tendency.

With reſpect to the general character of the petitioner, he knew nothing of it but from what he heard in that houſe, and from what he had ſeen in the public prints. He would take it for granted that the petitioner's private character fully juſtified the eulogium, which had been beſtowed upon him by the noble lord, and that his public ſervices had been as meritorious and as ſucceſsful as the honorable and worthy member [Mr. Holmes] had ſtated. But there were means in the power of the crown ſufficiently ample to reward every uſeful exertion, and, as a member of that houſe, to interfere between the ſentence of the law and its execution, was what he never could be reconciled to. A verdict had been given by a jury, with which two judges of the higheſt character had in the moſt explicit manner concurred. To interfere with that verdict was to call thoſe judges to the bar of the houſe. The indemnity bill had gone as far as poſſible to protect magiſtrates; but beyond the limits of that bill to preclude any of his majeſty's ſubjects from obtaining damages for perſonal injury, except where obvious miſtake of judgment had occaſioned thoſe injuries, was ſo groſsly unconſtitutional as to call upon every real friend to the ſafety of the kingdom to reſiſt it. He could not foretel what proceedings might be grounded upon this motion; he ſhould therefore oppoſe it in the firſt inſtance; and he could not ſit down without obſerving, that the right honorable gentlemen on the treaſury bench would ſerve their country better by leaving the execution of the laws to juries and judges, than by becoming partizans in ſupport of any favorite ſyſtem of men and meaſures.

Mr. Ormſby ſeverely cenſured the honorable member, who had endeavoured to excite the feelings and commiſeration of the houſe for the ſore back of a fellow, who, he believed, would be found, on enquiry, to have very well-

well-deſerved what he got: it was at leaſt well-known, that he had many bad connexions, and aſſociated with men of ſuch principles as fully warranted the ſuſpicion of his own.

Thoſe who condemned the petitioner for ſeverity to ſuch criminals ſeemed to forget that loyal men could hope for no mercy, who fell into their clutches. He truſted the houſe would extend ample protection to a man who had ſo well-deſerved it.

Colonel Bagwell (member for the county of Tipperary) ſaid, that it was not his intention to have ſpoken to the queſtion then before the houſe, but to let the petition quietly go to a committee, had it not been for what fell from the honorable member who ſpoke laſt. He was as ready as any perſon to give credit to the ſervices rendered to the county of Tipperary by the activity of the petitioner; but he was ſhocked and concerned to hear the ſufferings of an innocent and reſpectable man treated with levity and indifference. As inſinuations were thrown out againſt the character of Mr. Wright, he felt it his duty to declare what had come within his knowledge reſpecting that unfortunate and much-abuſed man. He was preſent during the trial of the action brought by Mr. Wright againſt the petitioner, and it was but an act of common juſtice to ſay, that in his mind, not the remoteſt ſhade of ſuſpicion attached to the character of the plaintiff in that caſe, nor did the inveſtigation which took place on that occaſion furniſh the moſt diſtant juſtification for the ſevere and terrible puniſhment inflicted on him. A ſimilar opinion of the unfortunate man's innocence and loyalty was expreſſed from the bench, by the revered characters who preſided. As to the general character of Mr. Wright, it was moſt unexceptionable in point of morality, religion, and politics; and to that character, the beſt evidence was the very high eſtimation, in which he was holden by the beſt and moſt reſpectable men in the town of Clonmell. He would beg leave further to add, that this unfortunate man, who had been thus ſo ſeverely dealt by, on the ground of a ſuſpicion, which it was, as yet, apparent his conduct had not juſtified, was nearly related to ſome of the moſt illuſtrious and beſt characters, which that country could boaſt of: the fact muſt be admitted in the ſenſe of rank allied to virtue, when he ſtated him to have been a near relation of the late Lord Clonmell, under whoſe patronage he had been educated, and ſent abroad; he was alſo a near relation to that worthy, reſpectable, and lamented man, Robert Shaw, Eſq. and likewiſe nearly related to the preſent Lord Dunboyne; and as far as he could

could gain acquaintance with his character, he had never diſgraced a relationſhip, which muſt have conferred honor on any man. Col. Bagwell concluded a ſhort ſpeech, dictated by humanity and juſtice, by ſaying, that he thought the conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald generally very meritorious, and deſerving the protection of government againſt the conſequences of errors committed in his zeal for the ſafety of the ſtate; but it was too certain, that many innocent perſons had ſuffered moſt ſeverely from that zeal, and he thought it but conformable to every principle of humanity, juſtice, and ſound policy, that that compenſation which was in the power of the laws to make them, ſhould be afforded;—a compenſation which, taken in every point of view, muſt fall infinitely ſhort of their ſufferings and their claims.

The queſtion being put, the petition was referred to a committee.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Holmes reported from the committee, that the object of the enquiry committed to them could not be ſo well obtained in an open committee, as it would be in a ſecret committee; the order was therefore diſcharged, and here the affair was dropped. Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald afterwards received a conſiderable penſion for his active ſervices in quelling the rebellion.

Very warm debates took place upon the bill for ſuppreſſing the rebellion, which authorized the lord lieutenant, during the rebellion, whether the courts of law were open or not, to take the moſt vigorous ſteps for ſuppreſſing the rebellion, and for puniſhing perſons furthering the cauſe of rebellion with martial law; and which ſecured the acts done in purſuance of the orders of the lord lieutenant from being queſtioned; and prohibited any court, civil or criminal, to take cognizance of any thing done in furtherance of that act. Theſe unlimited powers veſted in the lord lieutenant were ſubmitted to by ſome in the perſonal confidence of the humanity and diſcretion of the Marquis Cornwallis. They were oppoſed by ſeveral friends to government, as larger than neceſſary: and many urged ſtrongly an amendment propoſed by Mr. Dawſon (member for Monaghan), that the powers ſhould be co-extenſive only with the proclaimed counties.

Mr. G. Ponſonby obſerved generally on the clauſe, that the powers contained in it were undefined, and its expreſſion vague and general. There was no method, whereby to aſcertain when a rebellion might properly be ſaid to exiſt or to terminate; and it was entirely left to the chief governor to decide at his diſcretion on this momentous fact, and the continuation of martial law

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and abſolute power: it did not deſcribe to what rank of military officers orders to execute martial law were to be iſſued. He wiſhed to know, what was meant by "injuring the perſons or property of loyal ſubjects?" He obſerved, on the part of the clauſe, which made the military only ſubject to trial by courts-martial for any offence againſt the ſubject: as it was a ſort of French meaſure, he would apply to it a French appellation; and he would aſk, what expectation of redreſs the aggrieved could have from thoſe *military tribunals?*

Mr. Ponſonby concluded by ſaying, that he made thoſe obſervations for the purpoſe of giving the attorney general an opportunity for explanation.

The attorney general gave no explanation.

Lord Caſtlereagh, in enumerating the diſadvantages, that would attend the introduction of ſuch a paſſage in the bill, ſaid, that if the county of Monaghan, although at preſent apparently quiet, were to ſtart ſuddenly into rebellion, in like manner as the county of Wexford did, which was thought to be one of the moſt tranquil counties in the kingdom at that time, what was to be the conſequence? Was the military to remain inactive, and look tamely on, while the country was devaſtated by rebellion; or were they to oppoſe the progreſs of inſurrection, and be afterwards tried as for the murder of every rebel who ſhould fall? It had been urged, that this law, if diſpenſed by any other hands than thoſe now holding the reins of government, might be moſt fatally abuſed. Such an argument was certainly very complimentary to the preſent adminiſtration; but ſtill it was an argument of jealouſy, and the unhappy circumſtances of the times left no application of this jealouſy but to the government, or to traitors. If gentlemen thought, that they and the loyal inhabitants of the country would experience more mercy from united Iriſhmen, than from the perſons exerciſing the government of that country, in God's name, let them apply their jealouſy to the adminiſtration, and their confidence to the united Iriſhmen; for the ſtate of the country left no alternative, but to ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power to the utmoſt extent, or to ſubmit to the predominancy of treaſon.

At three o'clock of the morning Mr. Dawſon's amendment was negatived.

Fluſhed with confidence, the Anti-Unioniſts were determined to remove every obſtacle, that they conceived their opponents might avail themſelves of, in bringing the meaſure to bear. In order therefore to ſhut out the poſſibility of any future difference between the parliaments of the two kingdoms

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in the appointment of a regent, in caſe that neceſſity ſhould recur, they brought forward a regency bill.*

On the 11th of February, the right honorable Mr. Fitzgerald moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the regency bill, when Lord Caſtlereagh obſerved, that on the ſecond reading of the bill, he pledged himſelf not to offer any objection to it, provided it appeared adequate to the remedy it went to ſupply. His lordſhip's opinion was, that it would not prove a remedy for the inconvenience complained of. It went, in his mind, only to

* The following is a copy of that bill:

" *A Bill to provide for the Adminiſtration of the Government of Ireland, whenſoever and as often as* " *the Government of Great Britain ſhall be adminiſtered by a Regent or Regency.*

" FORASMUCH as this kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the imperial crown of " England, and by the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom is declared to be juſtly and rightly depend- " ing upon, and belonging, and for ever united to the ſame, and the kings and queens of England " are, by undoubted right, kings and queens of this realm, and ought to enjoy the ſtate, title, majeſty, " power, pre-eminence, juriſdiction, prerogative, and authority of kings and queens of the ſame:

" And whereas the exerciſe and adminiſtration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of " Great Britain may happen to be veſted in, and committed to a regent or regency, or to ſome " perſon or perſons by ſome other title, name, or deſcription:

" And whereas the exerciſes and adminiſtration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of " Ireland ſhould be veſted in, appertain to, and belonging to the perſon or perſons in whom the " adminiſtration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain ſhall be veſted, by " whatever title, name, or deſcription, the exerciſe or adminiſtration of the ſame ſhall be veſted in " him or them.

" We, therefore, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, " and commons, in parliament aſſembled, determined to contribute every thing in our power to " the firm and laſting eſtabliſhment of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, do moſt " humbly beſeech your majeſty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's moſt ex- " cellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and " commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that whenſo- " ever and as often as the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain ſhall be exerciſed or " adminiſtered by a regent or regency, or by any perſon or perſons by any other title, name, or " deſcription, that the regal power of this your majeſty's realm of Ireland ſhall be exerciſed or ad- " miniſtered by the ſame perſon or perſons, in whom the exerciſe and adminiſtration of the regal " powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain ſhall be veſted, by whatever name, title, or de- " ſcription, the ſame ſhall be ſo veſted in him or them.

" Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall " exerciſe and adminiſter the regal rights of the imperial crown of this realm, under the ſame re- " ſtrictions and limitations as ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be ſubject to, in the exerciſe and admini- " ſtration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and not otherwiſe."

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a part of the evil; namely, the effect, but left the cauſe of the evil untouched. Thus the great malady ſtill remained, and the connexion between both countries would in no inſtance be better ſecured. Two parliaments perfectly equal in point of rights, might at any future period differ reſpecting their choice of a regent, and therefore the bill could not effect that unity of the executive, which the meaſure propoſed to eſtabliſh.

Circumſtanced as the countries were, the queſtions of peace and war, of treaties with foreign powers, of different religions might, at ſome future period, lead to a difference of deciſion between both parliaments, and ſuch occurrence would ſhake the connexion, and in conſequence the empire, to its foundations.

If queſtions of comparative advantage between countries might ariſe, how could a regency bill operate as a remedy for the evil?

His lordſhip wiſhed to be informed, how a bill, which went to eſtabliſh the unity of the regal powers, could identify the neceſſary powers of a regent for other countries: might not the particular circumſtances of one country differ ſo materially from the other, that the regency for both kingdoms could not conveniently be exerciſed by the ſame perſon? Or did not the bill go to oblige the monarch to appoint one and the ſame regent, which in fact went to reſtrict the legal authory? Thus either the regal powers were curtailed, or the regency bill was inefficient to remove the inconvenience it went to remedy. The regent was to all intents and purpoſes a deputy; and could a regent in that caſe appoint a lord lieutenant? Could a deputy appoint a deputy? He preſumed he could not:—and ſhould a regent ſend over a lord lieutenant to that country, he was ſatisfied that the council could object to his authority.

His lordſhip read part of a ſpeech of Mr. Fox's, to ſhew, that the adjuſtment of 1782 was not conſidered as a final one, that it went merely to quiet the political ſtruggle which then exiſted; and that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to give up ſomething for that imperial purpoſe.

His lordſhip concluded by ſaying, that the meaſure was inefficient to the purpoſe it held forth; calculated to blind the country, and diſgrace the legiſlature.

Right Honorable Mr. Fitzgerald declared, that it was only in a caſe of imperious conviction, that he was led to differ from the noble lord. His idea in introducing the bill, aroſe from the arguments founded on the poſſible emer-

gency of the appointment of a regent; it being urged, that the parliaments of both countries were free to make different elections. He wiſhed, as far as his limited abilities could, to ſupply that deficiency, and conſequently to remove the cauſe of complaint. He had procured all the aſſiſtance poſſible in framing the bill; and all the law-authorities he conſulted, agreed with him in the opinion, that he had provided fully and completely for the deficiency complained of.

Mr. Fitzgerald concluded by moving an amendment to meet an objection of Lord Caſtlereagh's, viz. after the word *ſhall*, in the firſt clauſe, by adding the words, "according to the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain."

Mr. Foſter, for the firſt time, now delivered his ſentiments at conſiderable length. His firſt aim was to demonſtrate the finality of the ſettlement of 1782. He cenſured Mr. Pitt's* ſpeech, which he termed a paltry production, the mereſt tiſſue of general aſſertion without proof, high-flowing language without meaning, and aſſumptions without argument.

One point, he obſerved, was a new and incontrovertible ground of conſtitutional permanence and finality—namely, that modification of Poynings' law which ſecured the continuance of the connection between the kingdoms, by rendering the great ſeal of Britain neceſſary for every Iriſh law, and making the Britiſh miniſter reſponſible to the Britiſh nation, if any bill tending to injure the empire, or to ſeparate Ireland from it, ſhould receive the royal aſſent in the weſtern realm. This regulation, he argued, was intended to ſecure union and connection on a firm, laſting, and unalterable baſis. It gave to the Britiſh parliament, as Mr. Dundas had obſerved, a control over the third eſtate of the Iriſh parliament, but it was a control over the king's naked power of aſſent only; which gave to Great Britain an effectual pledge, that Ireland retained no power to do any act (i. e. without the concurrence of Great Britain) to weaken or impair the connection.

For his having recommended the commercial propoſitions of 1785, he had been accuſed of great inconſiſtency. But he denied, that an atom of the conſtitution would have been ſurrendered by the plan of 1785, but this new

* As various editions of that gentleman's ſpeech had been circulated, he ſelected that to which government had given its ſanction of authority, which had been printed by the king's printer under their direction, of which 10,000 copies had been circulated *gratis* by them at the public expence.

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ſyſtem would lead to its utter annihilation. *The meaſure of 1782 was all conſtitutional—that of 1785 all commercial.

The pretences for a legiſlative Union were ill ſupported. The riſque of a diſagreement on the ſubject of peace or war, or with regard to foreign treaties, would not juſtify the adoption of a meaſure ſo unconſtitutional. The caſe of regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the bill now under conſideration would remove all apprehenſions on that head.

The arguments adduced for an Union of the two legiſlatures were, he ſaid, equally applicable to the Union of the two houſes of either parliament. Theſe might diſagree, and ought, by parity of reaſoning, to be formed into one aſſembly. Where would then be our conſtitution? It would yield to monarchical or republican deſpotiſm. The balancing principle compoſed the chief excellence of our conſtitution; and why might not the two legiſlatures, guarded by one head, perform national and imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner than a combined parliament.

Mr. Foſter then took a very wide and minute review of the trade of Ireland, and declared his opinion, that it would not flouriſh more after an Union than under a reſident parliament. It was already in a thriving ſtate; it enjoyed all deſirable freedom, and required only the care and attention of its natural protectors.

On the ſubject of religion he barely remarked, that an Iriſh parliament might adjuſt all points in which the Proteſtants and Catholics differed, as judiciouſly and effectually as an imperial legiſlature.

He ſeverely cenſured that want of political wiſdom, which had induced the Engliſh miniſter to hold out Ireland to the enemy as the moſt vulnerable part of the empire, torn by internal factions, barbarous, weak, and contemptible. It was painful even to refer to the phraſes, by which he inſulted the feelings of every Iriſhman. They knew them to be unfounded. Had they been true, it was the duty of a diſcreet ſtateſman to have concealed with reverence the failings and weakneſs of ſo conſiderable and important a part of the empire. He tells the enemy the danger and the remedy; the danger immediate—the

* The ſpeaker imputed to the Britiſh miniſter great inſincerity in quoting his words in 1785, from Woodfall's Report, in having omitted the following pointed expreſſion of his ſentiment:—"He ſhould think himſelf indeed unworthy of a ſeat in that houſe, or of the name of Iriſhman, if "he could conſent to barter an atom of the conſtitution of his country for all the commerce in the "world."

remedy diſtant and uncertain. He deſtroys a conſtitution which the Iriſh hold, as the dear ſacred palladium of their liberty, and would perſuade the world there would be more zeal in Ireland, when the conſtitution ſhould no longer remain, to animate its ſpirit and invigorate its exertions.

Another advantage mentioned by the advocates of the meaſure was ſtill more ſtrange, namely, that it would tranquillize Ireland. If a reſident parliament, and reſident gentry, could not ſoften the manners, and amend the habits, or promote ſocial intercourſe, would no parliament, and fewer reſident gentry, do it? What was the great misfortune with reſpect to the tenantry of that kingdom? The middle-men, who intervene between the owner and the actual occupier, and theſe are moſtly to be found on the eſtates of abſentees. It had remained for Mr. Pitt to advance a new ſyſtem, that depriving a country of its native reſident landlords, encouraging land-jobbers and land-pirates, degrading the hoſpitality of the old manſion-houſes into the niggardly penury of agents dwellings, was become the approved modern mode of making happy and contented tenants, of forming good men and good ſubjects.

That the adding to the biſhop's duty of attending to his dioceſe the new and imperial duty of quitting the kingdom for eight months in the year, was the beſt way of making him acquainted with his clergy, and of enforcing attention to their pariſhioners.

That a parliament, unacquainted with the local circumſtances of a kingdom, ever at too great a diſtance to receive communication or information for adminiſtering in time to the wants or wiſhes of the people, or to guard againſt exceſſes or diſcontent, was more capable of acting beneficially than the one, which, by being on the ſpot, and acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and diſpoſitions of their fellow-ſubjects, beſt knew how to apply relief.

In adverting to the late treaſon and rebellion, there they applied to fact. Could any parliament ſitting in Great Britain have developed the ſecret ſyſtem of conſpiracy, animated the loyal, and ſupported the executive, with the effect that very parliament had done? What would the ridiculous exhibition have been at that time, of an united parliament walking through St. James's park with their addreſs, and yet what vigor and energy did the inſtant proceſſion of near two hundred members, with the mace, to the caſtle, give to the loyal ardor of the country; it animated the loyal ſpirit which cruſhed the rebellion before a ſingle ſoldier could arrive from England, notwithſtanding the uncommon exertions made there to expedite their ſailing.

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The extraordinary, wiſe and neceſſary meaſure of proclaiming martial-law, required the concurrence of parliament to ſupport the executive. The time would have paſt by, before that concurrence could have been aſked for, and received from London; and it would have given a faint ſupport, coming from ſtrangers, compared with the impreſſion of its ſpringing from Iriſhmen, all liable to every danger and inconvenience from its operation, and yielding themſelves and their properties to its control.

"The volunteers, ſaid the ſpeaker, the ſaviours of their country and terror of its enemies, when their great work was effected, and by the indiſcreetneſs of a few leaders, their zeal was miſled, and they began to exerciſe the functions of parliament, we ſpoke out firmly—they heard our voice with effect, and took our advice, inſtantly returning to cultivate the bleſſings of peace. I aſk you, would equal firmneſs in a parliament, compoſed five parts in ſix of ſtrangers, ſitting in another country, have had the ſame effect? You know it would not. Perſonal character, reſpect to individuals, opinion of their attachment to one common country, all impreſſed an awe which was irreſiſtible."

After having ſpoken very warmly to the incompetency of parliament to ſurrender their legiſlative powers, he cloſed his ſpeech with the following addreſs to his countrymen:

"Were I to addreſs the Catholics, the Proteſtants, and all religions, I would "ſay, your country is in danger; a deſperate attempt is on foot to ſeduce "you to ſurrender the independence of your parliament. You are all natives "of the ſame iſland, intereſted in its trade, its proſperity, its freedom, and in "all the bleſſings of a glorious and happy conſtitution—bounden by every tie "of duty to yourſelves, your country, and your poſterity, to preſerve it, join "all hands and hearts together, bring the veſſel into port, forget all family "differences, all local or partial jealouſies, and ſave Ireland, ſave your coun-"try. Tell the bold miniſter who wants to take away your conſtitution, that "he ſhall not have it, that you will not be his dupe; that you love Britain as "a brother, but you will be his brother, not his dependent; and that you "will not degrade yourſelves from an independent kingdom into an abject "colony.

"To any of you who have doubts on the meaſure, I would ſay, theſe very "doubts call on you to vote againſt it. Do not hazard a change where you "have a doubt, a change from which there is no return—accept it, you have "it for better for worſe, you never can untie the knot---no appeal, no parlia-

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" ment left, to hear, to argue, or to ſpeak for you; and if the ſtep you take " ſhould prove wrong, if it ſhould unfortunately end in the nation's calling " again for her old conſtitution, and the politics of the Britiſh cabinet ſhould " be ſo deſperate as not to liſten to that call, think of the dreadful conſe- " quences, of which you may be the cauſe, if fatally the ſhock of arms ſhould " follow. Even to you, whoſe conviction is clear, I would ſay, if the majo- " rity of your countrymen think differently from you, if even a reſpectable " part of them only think ſo, do not reſt ſo confidently on your own judg- " ments, as to riſque a meaſure which you cannot undo; remember then, if " the direful neceſſity ſhould ever arrive to make it expedient, you may em- " brace it when you pleaſe, but, if once adopted, it is irrecoverable. Were I " ſpeaking in another aſſembly, and if in ſuch aſſembly any member ſat re- " turned for a borough, where the wiſhes of the electors followed the voice " of ſome one individual, by which he became to have an habitual ſuperio- " rity, and of courſe a ſtrong intereſt in its preſervation (I do not ſay ſuch a " caſe exiſts here, though it might not be unparliamentary to ſuppoſe it), I " would tell him, he is a truſtee, and, without poſitive and direct deſire, he " ſhould not do an act which is to annihilate the intereſt he is entruſted with. " No, no—let all join in cheriſhing the parliament---it is a good one, and has " done its duty---it has proved itſelf competent to every purpoſe of legiſla- " tion, to procure peace, and to put down rebellion. Refuſe the meaſure, but " refuſe it with calmneſs and dignity. Let not the offer of it leſſen your " attachment or weaken your affection to Britain; and prove that you are, " and wiſh to be (as the Duke of Portland told you that you were) ' indiſ- " ſolubly connected with Great Britain, one in unity of conſtitution and unity " of intereſt.' But, above all, revere and ſteadily preſerve that conſtitution " which was confirmed to you under his adminiſtration in 1782, and which " has given you wealth, trade, proſperity, freedom, and independence."

Lord Caſtlereagh replied rather fully, and obſerved, that the ſpeaker and his friends, purſued a line of conduct more calculated to agitate and inflame the minds of the people, than to allay heats and ſoften animoſities.

Having combated the ſpeaker's aſſertions with regard to commerce and other topics, his lordſhip lamented that any doubts of parliamentary competency had been ſtarted. That principle might, he ſaid, be defined to be the right of parliament to conſult in every caſe the welfare and happineſs of the people; and no man could queſtion it, who knew or valued the conſtitution.

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The oppoſite doctrine was pregnant with miſchief, and might, if it ſhould be encouraged, be applied to the moſt ſeditious purpoſes. On the topic of religious diviſions, he vindicated the jealouſy which was felt by the Proteſtants, adding, that a more liberal ſyſtem of policy might be purſued after an Union with full ſecurity.

Mr. George Ponſonby concurred with Mr. Foſter. The true reaſon, which had induced the Britiſh miniſter to propoſe the ſcheme was, a deſire of obtaining a complete dominion over Ireland, and of drawing as much money as he could from that kingdom, that he might be enabled to continue a conteſt, which Britain could no longer ſupport alone. But he hoped that the ſpirit of the Iriſh would not ſuffer ſuch views to prevail, and that the members of the Houſe of Commons, as they were only truſtees, would not dare to ſurrender the rights of the people without their conſent.

About the half hour paſt four o'clock in the morning the queſtion was put and carried unanimouſly upon Mr. Fitzgerald's firſt amendment: but as he was proceeding to move the other amendments the attorney general moved the neceſſity of the chairman's reporting progreſs at that advanced hour; to which Mr. Fitzgerald having agreed, Mr. Rochford reported progreſs and obtained leave to ſit again.

When the regency bill was again diſcuſſed on the 18th of April, the majority did not find it an adequate remedy for the evils of parliamentary variance, and it was poſtponed to the 1ſt of Auguſt: and thus loſt for the ſeſſion.

Though the miniſtry had gained an advantage in the rejection of the regency bill, it did not inſpire them with ſufficient confidence to riſque another diſcuſſion of the ſubject, while the public mind was ſo much on the fret. It was therefore reſolved that the full developement of the unpopular ſcheme ſhould be deferred to the next ſeſſion; thus prolonging the chapter of accidents, ſo liable to be affected by the exertions, influence, and fiſcal reſources of government.

About this time commenced a very ſingular ſyſtem of members ſhifting their ſeats in parliament according to their various feelings and ſentiments, and in ſome inſtances according to the moſt unaccountable modes of ſquaring their honors and conſciences on this critical and important meaſure. It would be both falſe and ſtupid to deny that the whole powers of government patronage, influence, and emolument, were now devoted to the proſelytizing for the Union. Both in and out of parliament the oppoſite parties exerted their

their reſpective means of attraction and ſeduction with the utmoſt vigor and zeal, and it muſt be admitted, not in all inſtances, with the utmoſt delicacy and correctneſs. No political queſtion was ever moved, that more warmly intereſted its advocates and opponents: their exertions and means were proportioned to their earneſtneſs and zeal. An accommodating caſuiſtry reconciled ſome of the political combatants to quit the field for a valuable conſideration in order to let in others to fight the battle they were aſhamed to engage in: thus ſqueamiſhly refuſing the wages of proſtitution, whilſt they enhanced their demands for procuration.

On the 15th of May, Lord Caſtlereagh moved, that the houſe ſhould adjourn to the 1ſt of June: and amongſt other motions, of courſe, Mr. M. Maſon moved that the ſpeaker ſhould iſſue his writ for the borough of Kilmalloe in the room of Mr. Oliver, who had accepted the eſcheatorſhip of Munſter, when Mr. Dawſon ſaid, that he had no objection to the writ being iſſued, but at the ſame time would take occaſion to aſk the noble lord on the treaſury bench, why the eſcheatorſhip of Munſter had been given to the gentleman, in whoſe room the writ of election was required, and refuſed to an honorable friend of his, (Colonel Cole) who having been appointed to ſerve in the iſland of Corfu as a Britiſh officer, aſked the noble lord for that nominal place, the eſcheatorſhip of Munſter, in order, that as he could not diſcharge his duty to his ſovereign in that quarter of the globe, and fulfil the truſt repoſed in him by his conſtituents, they might not loſe an opportunity of having their intereſt fairly ſupported in parliament; and he had been refuſed! The fact was, and he called on the noble lord to deny it if he could, that the eſcheatorſhip of Munſter was, in this inſtance, refuſed, becauſe the electors of Enniſkillen had fixed on a relative of the honorable colonel as his ſucceſſor in that houſe, who would ſupport the independence of his country againſt the project of an Union, becauſe it was intended that Colonel Cole's ſeat in the Iriſh parliament ſhould be filled by a gentleman (Mr. Balfour) who had already conſpicuouſly manifeſted his reſpect and attachment to that parliament, by the reſolutions which he brought forward in the county of Louth in oppoſition to the meaſure of an Union; he called upon the noble lord as a miniſter acting upon fair and honeſt principles, to come forward and candidly avow what were his motives for acting by his honorable friend in a manner ſo apparently partial and unhandſome. It was an explanation which the noble lord owed to himſelf, to that houſe, and to the country.

Mr.

Mr. Prime Serjeant ſaid, that his right honorable friend who ſat beſide him, would be very much wanting to the duty he owed his ſovereign, and to the ſituation in which he ſtood, if he were to enter into any explanation, or aſſign to any individual of that houſe, the motives influencing him in the exerciſe of a prerogative of the crown; to do ſo were in effect to reſign that prerogative, and betray the intereſts of his ſovereign.

Mr. O'Donnel violently ſupported Mr. Dawſon.

Colonel Cole was refuſed the eſcheatorſhip of Munſter in the expectation that he muſt either ſtay at home and reſign his regiment, or go abroad, and thereby give a vote more to the miniſter on the next diſcuſſion of his favorite meaſure.

Mr. Arthur Moore did not conceive how miniſters could juſtify ſuch a partial and unfair exerciſe of the prerogative of the crown, unleſs they were determined openly and broadly to confeſs and declare (that which every day's events rendered uſeleſs for them longer to conceal) that they were reſolved to carry the meaſure of Union by any, and by every means, and to uſe all the engines and influence of power, and the inſidious practices of fraud and unfair dealing, to bring about its completion. Sir, there is no man who is an attentive obſerver of public occurrences, and who keeps an eye on the meaſure of the adminiſtration, who muſt not have ſeen, and ſeen with affliction, that the meaſures which had been taken, and were now in daily and unremitting practice, to effectuate the Union, were ſuch as no honeſt man could juſtify, which, while they ſtamped the authors of them with indelible diſgrace, muſt render the incorporation of the legiſlatures of the two countries, if carried, impermanent, and the diſcontents and calamities of that nation eternal. Was it not enough that the whole authority of the court, both ordinary and extraordinary, was exerted to bring about the meaſure, and that upon a full and fair diſcuſſion of its merits, it was rejected by the unbought and uninfluenced ſenſe of the repreſentatives of the people? Was it not enough that ſince that period, the efforts of corruption had been redoubled, that promiſes were laviſhed, and ſtipulations made for offices and honors, that their liberties were brought to market overt, where every diſhoneſt man might ſell and buy, but where no honeſt man was permitted to ſhew his face? Is it not enough that the public ſenſe was daily miſrepreſented by fables and falſe reports of change of ſentiment, of converſion from error, of majorities in favor of the meaſure in that houſe? Was it not enough that the ſiſter kingdom and the Britiſh ca-

binet, were evidently and deſignedly miſled and miſinformed, as to the real ſtate of public opinion in that country? Was it not enough, that the public money was perverted to the purpoſe of extinguiſhing the free and fair communication of opinion, and of corrupting the preſs, to become the vehicle of falſe ſtatement, of perſonal calumniation, and of libel on the Iriſh parliament? Would not theſe means, theſe efforts, content them? Were they not ſatisfied with having the purſe and the power of the country in their hands, and actively employed in forwarding their views? Were they not content with purchaſing the mercenary aid of every hireling ſcribbler, and circulating gratis the wicked, ſeditious, (he thought in ſome inſtances little ſhort of) treaſonable publications of intereſted or ignorant men, through the medium of the public poſt-office, to all parts of the kingdom, while the communication of every publication in favor of the legiſlative independence of Ireland was not only withholden but forbidden? Were they not ſatisfied to ſap and undermine their conſtitution by the ſlow and ſilent approaches of unremitting corruption, but muſt it be openly and boldly aſſailed by an undiſguiſed aggreſſion upon the privileges and independence of parliament? So unjuſt and partial an exerciſe of the prerogative was highly diſgraceful to the adminiſtration, and an unpardonable invaſion of the privileges of that houſe; the eſcheatorſhips of the provinces were become mere nominal offices, excluſively applicable to the purpoſe of occaſional vacation of the ſeats of this houſe, in order either to accommodate any member who might wiſh to retire from parliament altogether, or be eligible for another ſeat, or to gratify the electors of any particular place, by giving them an opportunity of electing whatever perſon they ſhould think moſt worthy of the truſt of repreſenting them. Was this the uſe made of the like nominal offices in England, viz. the ſtewardſhips of the three Chiltern hundreds, &c. which Mr. Hatſell ſtated had been, ſince the year 1750, made uſe of for the convenience of all parties, and which the miniſters of England have uniformly and impartially ſo applied for the purpoſe of accommodation, where the ſeat has not been vacated for any pecuniary conſideration.

If that houſe convinced as it muſt be of the fact, would not reprobate and puniſh it, it would be better to ſubmit at once to the vaſſalage and ſervility prepared for them, it would be better to yield the conſtitution with a good grace, than to have it taken from them by fraud, foul dealing, and indirect means, it would be better to embrace with courage the inſtant death of an union, than

than to enjoy for a time a precarious and painful exiſtence, with the melancholy certainty before their eyes of cloſing their career in ultimate and inevitable diſſolution.

Mr. Plunkett ſpoke with great warmth on the ſame ſide, the queſtion had been brought into that houſe accompanied by the execrations of the people of Ireland, but at the ſame time with the proud boaſt, and childiſh hope, on the part of the noble lord, that it would be carried by a triumphant majority; it was diſmiſſed and defeated by the inſtinct, and the reaſon, and the virtue, and the talents, and the property of the country. Let it not then be ſaid that the Union had been defeated by a faction, unleſs it were that faction, to whom it was owing, that a veſtige of the Britiſh government was ſtill to be traced in the country, without whom they would have loſt Ireland in the laſt year, and without whom they could not hold it during the next. At firſt the noble lord profeſſed that no man ſhould be allowed to vacate, unleſs he gave ſatisfactory aſſurance that his ſeat was not to be ſold. He ſtated it as a fact, and deſired to be contradicted if it were not ſo, that the noble lord had totally abandoned that principle, which he admitted was a fair and honorable one; he ſtated it as a fact, that ſince he made that profeſſion he had allowed ſeats to be vacated, where he knew that money was to be given by the ſucceſſor, and that he had refuſed permiſſion to vacate as in the inſtance of the honorable colonel, where he knew that no money was to be given. He ſtated it as a fact, that it was publicly avowed by government, that voting or not voting for the Union, was the ſole rule by which the permiſſion to vacate ſhould be regulated. Would any man after that be ſo ſenſeleſs, as to believe that government wiſhed for the fair ſenſe of the parliament or of the people; would they deny, that they had purchaſed the newſpapers to admit publications only on one ſide? Would they deny, that they had inſtructed ſheriffs to prevent the ſenſe of the counties being collected by the convening of county meetings? Were they ready now to have the counties of Ireland convened and to abide the teſt of their declarations on the queſtion? It was notorious that the power of government had been ſtrained in every corner of the kingdom, to prevent the ſenſe of the people from being declared. He was informed, that their emiſſaries actually deſcended ſo low as to threaten a publican in the city of Cork, that his licence ſhould be withdrawn, if he ventured to receive into his houſe a number of gentlemen, who afterwards affixed their ſignatures to an addreſs, thanking the parliament for having rejected the Union. They were told diſtinctly, that the meaſure was not to be preſſed againſt the ſenſe of par-

liament and people, but whilſt they ſhewed that they were ſtraining every nerve to corrupt the ſenſe of parliament, and to ſtifle the voice of the people, they could not be believed.

The attorney general ſtrongly recommended to the miniſter to keep the diſpoſal of offices to himſelf, and not to betray that part of the prerogative of the crown, by anſwering the interrogatories of any member of that houſe.

Mr. J. C. Beresford aſked how would it appear to the people of the country when they ſhould ſee members of that houſe, who were adverſe to the meaſure of an Union, and who happened to hold rank in the Britiſh army, ſent out of the country in order to thin the houſe, and give a majority to government, and when it ſhould be ſeen that the place bill was made a tool of in the hands of government, to enſlave parliament, inſtead of maintaining it free.

Hon. F. Hutchinſon, called Mr. J. C. Beresford to order, for the purpoſe of recalling his attention to the queſtion under debate, and not from an apprehenſion that his honorable friend could ſucceed in his endeavour to inflame the people. The ſeaſon for that deluſion was now paſt: the diſcuſſions, which had taken place in both countries had informed the public judgment, and it was too late now to practiſe any deluſion upon it with effect. He ſaid, that to the beſt of his obſervation, there was a ſtrong growing ſentiment in favor of the Union in many parts of the kingdom. He ſpoke more particularly of the South, where his connexions lay; he ſaid he *believed* it to be true, that fifteen parts out of ſixteen of the property of the county of Cork had, by public reſolutions, declared *their* opinion in favor of the meaſure, that the ſentiment of a moſt numerous and reſpectable meeting holden in Cork had been long ſince known; that he had taken pains to inform himſelf of the opinion of the county of Kerry, and that he had the beſt grounded reaſons to think that nearly the whole weight of the property of that county was favorable to the Union. He ſaid, he referred to thoſe parts of the kingdom only, with which he happened to be particularly connected; that from theſe and ſimilar facts, which other gentlemen might ſtate from their local knowledge, he deſired permiſſion to controvert the aſſertion ſo often repeated, that the ſenſe of the majority of the nation was adverſe to the Union. He ſaid, he could not help obſerving, that this aſſertion contained in itſelf a monſtrous aſſumption, when it was a fact which could not be controverted, that the Catholics, who compoſed that majority, had, as a body, cautiouſly refrained from delivering any public opinion upon the queſtion. Having mentioned the Catholic body, he ſtated, among other grounds of argument, that he ſuſtained

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the Union, principally becauſe it was his firm perſuaſion, that it would have the effect of reſtoring to the Catholics their juſt rights, and would place them in a ſituation of perfect equality with their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects; that in ſpeaking of Ireland, it ought always to be remembered, that no nation had ever been in this reſpect ſimilarly circumſtanced. He ſaid, it was time to apply a remedy to the evils ariſing from that excluſion, and that conceiving the Union to be that remedy, he would ſuſtain it whenſoever brought before parliament, conſidering it as a meaſure calculated, among other wiſe purpoſes, to heal the diſſentions of that country, and to ſtrengthen and cement the force of the empire. He begged leave, before he ſat down, to advert to ſome obſervations, which had been made on the conduct of ſheriffs. He had the honor of ſtanding in that ſituation for the county of Tipperary. He had been applied to to call a meeting of certain baronies, and afterwards had received a requiſition to convene the county, to conſider of the queſtion of a legiſlative Union: he had declined to comply with either of theſe requiſitions; but in ſo doing, he acted in compliance with the opinion and advice of the majority of the rank and property of that great county, whoſe ſentiments he had thought it his duty to conſult, and by whoſe ſentiments he had been directed. They conceived, from the diſturbed ſtate of the country, among other reaſons, that the time for this meeting was inopportune; they had ſtated this opinion to him in a public paper, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms. His opinion coincided with theirs, and he had acted accordingly.

Mr. G. Ponſonby, and alſo Mr. W. B. Ponſonby ſpoke very warmly againſt this abuſe of the prerogative for the unfair purpoſe of biaſſing the parliament; and a very irregular and intemperate debate enſued. Amongſt the ſpeakers Mr. Martin took an opportunity of enlarging upon the merits of Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration.

Was it not by his wiſdom, more than by his arms, that the rebellion had been put down? Had not the expectation of his clemency done as much to preſerve Ireland, as the terror of his power? Had he liſtened to intemperate, bigoted councils, and counſellors, when the French landed at Killala, the rebellion would have raged in every county as much as it had in Wexford and at the battle of New-Roſs; by his mercy he conquered the rebels, for he ſeparated from them thoſe who were forced by terror, or even thoſe who were deluded. But his excellency boaſted a better conqueſt: it is one over himſelf, over his own nature, when his duty forbad him to ſpare thoſe, who by irreclaimable wickedneſs

wickedneſs became the proper objects of puniſhment; and where real objects of puniſhment had been found, he defied the calumniators of his adminiſtration not to allow, that his excellency conſidered with a mild firmneſs what was due to juſtice as well as to humanity.

There were three or four individuals, who blamed, what almoſt as many millions approved. The Marquis Cornwallis did not ſubmit to be the pliant, docile pupil of thoſe, who uſed to command when it was their duty to obey, but without ſuch aſſiſtance, and in defiance even of their own machinations, he had ſaved Ireland. That he had ſaved Ireland, witneſs the confidence of a diſciplined army: witneſs the confidence which the country had in them, and which both had in the name of Cornwallis. That he had ſaved Ireland, witneſs again the repoſe of every part of the Iſland, with an enemy hovering on the coaſt, and known to be deſtined for invaſion. Why did they not hear of a rebel army aſſembling? For this reaſon, that no country was ever in a better ſtate of preparation. Did his excellency accompliſh that by conſulting any of the great parliamentary undertakers? No, he was enabled only to accompliſh it by ſeparating from them, from that faction who expelled one commander in chief, and obliged the late lord lieutenant to apply for his recall. Thoſe were the acts, on which the public would decide the merits of his excellency's adminiſtration, and not on hearing to whom the office of eſcheator had been granted or refuſed.

The debate was put an end to by the queſtion of *adjournment*, which was carried by the miniſter, there having been on the diviſion 47 for, and 33 againſt it.

The houſe having adjourned to the 1ſt of June, the commons attended their ſpeaker to the Houſe of Lords, where his excellency delivered the following ſpeech * from the throne.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE received his majeſty's commands to releaſe you "from your further attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts "of the kingdom, which are ſtill agitated by the projects of the diſaffected "may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.

"I am at the ſame time to thank you in his majeſty's name for the con-"tinued and undiminiſhed zeal, which you have manifeſted for counteracting

* 19 Com. Journ. p. 145.

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" the wicked plots of internal conſpirators, and for the defeat of every hoſtile
" attempt, which the deſperation of the enemy may meditate.

" The ſituation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in
" the period, which has elapſed ſince the commencement of the ſeſſion. The
" ſignal advantages already obtained by the Auſtrian arms, and the vigorous
" and deciſive exertions on the part of Ruſſia, muſt be ſubjects of great joy
" and congratulation of all, who can eſtimate the value of eſtabliſhed order and
" legitimate government. I know the pleaſure you muſt derive from the
" conſoling proſpect that Ireland may be ultimately reſcued from the ra-
" vaging arms and the deſolating principles of France.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I THANK you in his majeſty's name for the large and
" extraordinary ſupply, which you have ſo honorably voted to meet every
" wiſh of the government and every exigency of the ſtate. You muſt reflect
" with the higheſt ſatisfaction upon the liberal co-operation, which in every
" moment of difficulty you have experienced from the Britiſh parliament;
" and I have the fulleſt confidence, that the public ſpirit of this country will
" not be found inferior to that of Great Britain in ſubmitting to ſuch tem-
" porary burthens as the ſafety of the community may require.

" I ſincerely regret that ſo extenſive a demand ſhould be made upon your
" liberality, but when no meaſure has been left untried by the malice of our
" enemies to ſever this kingdom from the Britiſh empire, and to involve you
" in all the horrors of rebellion and maſſacre, you have diſplayed true wiſ-
" dom in proportioning your exertions to the bleſſings you have to preſerve,
" and the miſeries you have to avert.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I AM to return you his majeſty's acknowledgments for
" the many important meaſures you have accompliſhed this ſeſſion. Your
" liberality and juſtice to thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty will con-
" firm the exertions of the well-diſpoſed, and your judicious proviſions for
" the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preſerve its credit from
" depreciation without diminiſhing the neceſſary circulations.

" I am ſenſible of the confidence, which you have repoſed in me, by ena-
" bling me to exerciſe the powers of martial law in the manner beſt adapted
" to the preſent circumſtances of the country. It will be my care to employ
" thoſe powers for the purpoſes, for which they were given, by taking the moſt

" effectual

" effectual and ſummary meaſures for the ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of re-
" bellious proceedings interfering as little as poſſible with the ordinary
" adminiſtration of juſtice among his majeſty's peaceable ſubjects.

" I have his majeſty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint
" addreſs of the two houſes of parliament of Great Britain has been laid
" before his majeſty, accompanied by reſolutions propoſing and recom-
" mending a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland,
" to be eſtabliſhed by the mutual conſent of both parliaments, founded on
" equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution and
" government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſt and affections. His ma-
" jeſty will receive the greateſt ſatisfaction in witneſſing the accompliſhment
" of a ſyſtem, which by allaying the unhappy diſtractions too long prevalent
" in Ireland, and by promoting the ſecurity, wealth and commerce of his
" reſpective kingdoms, muſt afford them at all times, and eſpecially in the
" preſent moment, the beſt means of jointly oppoſing an effectual reſiſtance
" to the deſtructive projects of foreign and domeſtic enemies; and his ma-
" jeſty, as the common father of his people, muſt look forward with earneſt
" anxiety to the moment when in conformity to the ſentiments, wiſhes and real
" intereſt of his ſubjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inſe-
" parably united in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of a free conſtitution,
" in the ſupport of the honor and dignity of his majeſty's crown, and in the
" preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole
" Britiſh empire.

" I feel moſt ſenſibly the arduous ſituation, in which I am placed, and the
" weight of the truſt, which his majeſty has impoſed upon me at this moſt im-
" portant criſis; but if I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to carry this great meaſure,
" I ſhall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the ſervice of
" my country amply repaid, and ſhall retire with the conſcious ſatisfaction
" that I have had ſome ſhare in averting from his majeſty's dominions
" thoſe dangers and calamities, which have overſpread ſo large a portion of
" Europe."

Violent as were the effects of the oppoſite exertions to forward and reſiſt the Union in Ireland, in Great Britain the project excited but a ſlight degree of attention or intereſt. Many conſidered it as a meaſure, that promiſed little benefit and threatened little inconvenience to either country. Even the moſt violent Unioniſts were not ſo ſanguine, as to conclude that all its good

effects

effects would be rapid or immediate; though ſome leſs attentive to the real ſtate of Ireland, vainly imagined that her evils and miſeries would inſtantly diſappear upon her union with Great Britain.

When the ſeſſion of the Britiſh parliament cloſed on the 12th of July, the king, after expreſſing his joy at the comparatively tranquil ſtate of Ireland, obſerved, that the ultimate ſecurity of that country could alone be eſtabliſhed by its "intimate and entire union" with Great Britain.*

Ireland was now neither convulſed with rebellion, nor perfectly tranquil. Several counties (the Anti-unioniſts ſaid for carrying the union) were proclaimed. The preſence of numerous troops kept the mal-contents in awe and repreſſed diſorder; the extraordinary powers of courts martial diffuſed through the realm an effective terror. Some inſults, outrages, and depredations, however, were committed; inveterate animoſity inflamed the public mind, and the queſtion of union aggravated the bitterneſs of conteſt.

If credit be allowed the reports of the Anti-unioniſts, the meaneſt artifices were practiſed to obtain ſignatures to the ſeveral addreſſes; and the loweſt of the rabble were invited to ſubſcribe their names or affix their marks. On the other hand, the Unioniſts accuſed their opponents of having had recourſe to ſcandalous miſrepreſentations, and of having abuſed the credulity of the populace by ſhameleſs impoſitions. Theſe mutual charges and recriminations were unfortunately but too well founded.

The influence of government was ſurpriſingly forwarded by the progreſs

* Thus his majeſty ſpoke with reference to Ireland. (9 *Eng. Deb. p.* 578.) "I have the "ſatisfaction of ſeeing, that internal tranquillity is in ſome degree reſtored in my kingdom of "Ireland.

"The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a diſtant quarter muſt nearly "extinguiſh even the precarious hope, which the traitorous and diſaffected have entertained of "foreign aſſiſtance.

"But our great reliance for the immediate ſafety of that country muſt ſtill reſt on the experi-"enced zeal and bravery of my troops of all deſcriptions, and on the unſhaken loyalty and volun-"tary exertions of my faithful ſubjects in both kingdoms.

"Its ultimate ſecurity can alone be enſured by its intimate and entire Union with Great Britain; "and I am happy to obſerve, that the ſentiments manifeſted by numerous and reſpectable deſcrip-"tions of my Iriſh ſubjects, juſtify the hope, that the accompliſhment of this great and ſalutary "work will be proved to be as much the joint wiſh, as it unqueſtionably is the common intereſt of "both my kingdoms."

which the lord lieutenant made through many counties which he conceived to be well-diſpoſed to the meaſure.

While this great imperial meaſure was advancing to maturity, the legiſlature of Great Britain re-aſſembled as early as on the 24th of September. His majeſty then repreſented the experience of every day as confirming him in the perſuaſion,* that ſignal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important meaſure; and he truſted, that the diſpoſition of the parliament of Ireland would be found to correſpond with that, which the national council of Britain had manifeſted for the accompliſhment of the ſcheme. The Marquis of Buckingham, when he moved the addreſs of thanks, obſerved, that, from the opportunities of accurate judgment afforded to him by a reſidence in Ireland at different periods, and from the very attentive conſideration, which he had beſtowed on the ſubject, the probable benefits of the meaſure ſtruck him in a forcible light. He was confident that the happieſt effects would reſult from it. The people of Ireland, he ſaid, had long thought themſelves injured by the domineering influence and ſelfiſhneſs of Britain; but all ſuch prejudices would be removed by an union; and a cloſe conjunction of intereſts, with the prevalence of the ſame laws over the whole empire, would eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity, contentment and happineſs. The popular ſentiment in favor of Union was rapidly gaining ground.

In proceeding to the year 1800, the exertions of the Marquis of Downſhire and other Anti-unioniſts demand particular notice. In the firſt month of that year, that marquis, the Earl of Charlemont, and William Brabazon Ponſonby, member for the county of Kilkenny, ſent circular letters to the Iriſh gentry and yeomanry, to the following effect. They were authoriſed, they ſaid, by a number of gentlemen of both houſes of parliament, thirty-eight of whom were repreſentatives of counties, to intimate their opinion, that petitions to parliament, declaring the real ſenſe of the freeholders on the ſubject of a legiſlative union, would at that time be highly expedient; and, if ſuch a proceeding ſhould meet with the approbation of any one of the individuals, to whom the letters were addreſſed, it was recommended to him to uſe his influence in procuring ſuch a petition without delay from his county. It was reported that the ſame gentlemen, together with ſome other enemies

* 10 Parl. Reg. p. 3.

to

to the Union, had formed a ſtock purſe for defraying the expences of oppoſing it.

The conduct of the Marquis of Downſhire was ſo diſpleaſing to government, that he was removed from the government of the county, the colonelcy of the royal Downſhire regiment of 1200 men, and was alſo eraſed from the liſt of privy councellors. The Anti-unioniſts highly reſented this diſgrace of the marquis, and availed themſelves of it as an additional and flagrant proof of the corrupt bias and intimidation, with which it was the determination of government to carry the Union.

From the prorogation of parliament to the cloſe of the year both parties buſied themſelves with unceaſing induſtry in advancing their reſpective cauſes. The great body of Roman Catholics had rather kept themſelves back upon the queſtion. Many of that body thought for themſelves upon the point, and promiſcuouſly with their fellow ſubjects ſigned addreſſes and reſolutions, ſome for and ſome againſt the Union, under the general deſcriptions of freeholders or inhabitants of particular diſtricts.* In all large bodies of any religious or civil diſtinction will be found a gregarious diſpoſition or bias, ariſing out of ſome fact or principle common to the ſpirit of their general union and incorporation. When therefore the Catholics perceived that the greateſt number and the moſt violent oppoſers of the legiſlative Union were the moſt virulent of the Orangemen and the real malcontents or ſeparatiſts, their feelings were not keenly excited to coaleſce with the Anti-unioniſts. The lord lieutenant had uniformly ſhewn them protection and kindneſs, and ſo gratified were they with this pleaſing novelty, that the affections and gratitude of moſt of the body were firmly attached to his adminiſtration and to the meaſures, which his excellency ſo warmly eſpouſed and recommended.

It may indeed be ſaid, that a very great preponderancy in favor of the Union exiſted in the Catholic body, particularly in their nobility, gentry, and clergy. The ſeverities and indignities practiſed upon them after the rebellion by many of the Orange party, and the offenſive affected confuſion and uſe of the terms *papiſt* and *rebel* produced freſh ſoreneſs in the minds of many, the pointed recollection of the long ſufferings of their body from their

* In ſome counties and diſtricts the Roman Catholics came forward under their diſtinct appellation, as may be ſeen by ſome addreſſes in the Appendix, No. CXVIII.

own legiſlature, and the grateful ſenſe of the benefits they had received from the parental tenderneſs of their ſovereign, after the indignant rejection and contumely of the Iriſh parliament, all naturally tended to inſpire the Catholics with plenary confidence and attachment to the Marquis Cornwallis and this favorite meaſure of his government. Some highly reſpectable members of the Roman Catholic communion were certainly very warm Anti-unioniſts. It probably is owing to the kind and liberal conduct of Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration towards that body, and to the oppoſite treatment, which they experienced from the rigoriſts, that ſo many Roman Catholics ſolicited the Union. For unqueſtionably no diſtinct deſcription of perſons had ſo intereſting and ſtrong an argument to ground their oppoſition upon, as the body of Roman Catholics, who by the Union evidently forfeited all the conſtitutional advantages of a moſt decided majority in an independent nation, to ſink into an inſignificant minority of the united kingdom.

As Dublin appeared to be expoſed to more loſs and local prejudice from the Union, than any other part of the kingdom, ſo was the oppoſition to it there more vigorouſly ſupported than in any other part of the kingdom. Here indeed a large portion of the Roman Catholic reſidents came forward in their diſtinct capacity of Catholics to oppoſe it, which in other parts of the kingdom they had not done, although ſeveral Catholic individuals had ſigned addreſſes and reſolutions promiſcuouſly with their Proteſtant brethren againſt the meaſure. This ſtep was productive of ſome diſunion in the Catholic body; as the clergy and many other reſpectable inhabitants of the city of that communion were for ſupporting the lord lieutenant in the meaſure. The effects of this difference of opinion in the Catholic body was perceived by their innate adverſaries the Orangemen, who, in order not to weaken their body by any ſuch internal diſunion, warily publiſhed an advertiſement from their grand lodge to prevent even the diſcuſſion of the queſtion amongſt them.*

Before

* GRAND ORANGE LODGE.

To the Orangemen of Ireland.

Dublin, Jan. 21, 1800.

The grand lodge of Ireland obſerve with heartfelt ſatisfaction, that their former recommendation to their brethren, to abſtain, as Orangemen, from any diſcuſſion of the queſtion of Union, has had the happieſt effects, inaſmuch as it has diſappointed the ſanguine and malignant hopes entertained by

Before the meeting of the parliament in January, ſuch Catholics of Dublin as were Anti-unioniſts, held a meeting at the Royal Exchange on the ſubject of the projected Union. Some difficulties aroſe in the way of the meeting from the military, but which were removed the moment his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis became acquainted with the attempt made to prevent an expreſſion of the popular opinion on a queſtion big with the fate of the popular intereſts.

The aſſembly having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak, Mr. Moore was unanimouſly called to the chair, when Counſellor O'Connel opened the buſineſs of the meeting, with obſerving, that under the circumſtances of the preſent day, and the ſyſtematic calumnies flung againſt the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to ſtand entirely aloof, as a mere ſect, from all political diſcuſſion, at the ſame time that they were ready as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and expreſs their opinions in conjunction with their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. This reſolution, which they had entered into, gave riſe to an extenſive and injurious miſrepreſentation, and it was aſſerted by the advocates of Union, daringly and inſolently aſſerted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the meaſure of Union, and ſilent allies of that conſpi-

by the enemies to religion and good order, that ſuch diſcuſſion would be productive of diſcord amongſt Orangemen. They now feel it their duty to offer ſome further obſervations on the preſent juncture of affairs.

Orangemen in different capacities, as members of parliament, grand jurors, freeholders, and members of corporate bodies, have opportunities of debating the important queſtion of an Union—but it is the earneſt entreaty of the grand lodge, that as a ſociety they will continue ſilent—for as every Orangeman, however zealous, may, and no doubt will, from local circumſtances, conceive different ideas on this ſubject, the diſcuſſion of a queſtion of ſuch magnitude, involving not only great imperial topics, but alſo matters of local advantage and local diſadvantage, muſt unavoidably create a diviſion in opinion—and "an houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand." It is therefore recommended to all Orangemen to keep in mind the great object for which they have aſſociated, to wit:—"We aſſociate to the utmoſt of our power to ſupport and defend his majeſty King George "the Third, the conſtitution and laws of this country, and the ſucceſſion to the throne in his ma-"jeſty's illuſtrious houſe being Proteſtants, for the defence of our perſons and properties, and to "maintain the peace of our country; and for theſe purpoſes we will be at all times ready to aſſiſt "the civil and military powers, in the juſt and lawful diſcharge of their duty," and to avoid as injurious to the inſtitution all controverſy upon ſubjects not connected with our principles.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Maſter.
JOHN C. BERESFORD, Grand Sec.

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racy formed againſt the name, the intereſts, and the liberties of Ireland. This libel on the Catholic character was ſtrengthened by the partial declarations of ſome mean and degenerate members of the communion, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and unfortunately it was received with a too general credulity. Every Union pamphlet, every Union ſpeech impudently put forth the Catholic name as ſanctioning a meaſure, which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the ſpeeches and pamphlets of Anti-unioniſts, it was rather admitted than denied, and at length the Catholics themſelves were obliged to break through a reſolution which they had formed, in order to guard againſt miſrepreſentation, for the purpoſe of repelling this worſt of miſrepreſentations. To refute a calumny directed againſt them as a ſect, they were obliged to come forward as a ſect, and in the face of their country to diſavow the baſe conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the aſſertion of their being favourably inclined to the meaſure of a legiſlative incorporation with Great Britain, was a ſlander the moſt vile; a libel the moſt falſe, ſcandalous and wicked, that ever was directed againſt the character of an individual or a people.

"Sir," continued Mr. O'Connel, "it is my ſentiment, and I am ſatisfied it is the ſentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our oppoſition to this injurious, inſulting, and hated meaſure of Union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet a proſcription and oppreſſion, which would be the teſtimonies of our virtue, and ſooner throw ourſelves once more on the mercy of our Proteſtant brethren, than give our aſſent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although excluſive advantages may be ambiguouſly held forth to the Iriſh Catholic to ſeduce him from the ſacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland ſtill remember, that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a *ſect*, which would debaſe and deſtroy them as a *people*."

After which Mr. O'Connel moved the reſolutions inſerted in the newſpaper, which were unanimouſly agreed to.*

The

* "*Royal Exchange, Dublin, January* 13, 1800.

"AT a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Dublin, convened purſuant to public notice.

AMBROSE MOORE, Eſq. in the Chair.

"*Reſolved*, That we are of opinion that the propoſed incorporate Union of the legiſlature of

"Great

The lord lieutenant had every reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his tour through the kingdom during the courſe of the ſummer. The great odium and horror of the meaſure had abated in moſt places, and in many thoſe who had at firſt ſhewn themſelves againſt it, had now become warm advocates in its favor. If it had not become generally popular, it had ceaſed at leaſt to be generally unpopular. Active preparations were made to meet the parliament, which was to open on the 15th of January. In the mean while many new members had been choſen in lieu of others, who had retired upon terms. Mr. Grattan had been elected for the borough of Wicklow on the death of Mr. Gahan deceaſed, and was ſworn in on the 15th, being the firſt day of the meeting of the laſt parliament of Ireland. The lord lieute-

" Great Britain and Ireland, is in fact an extinction of the liberty of this country, which would be " reduced to the abject condition of a province, ſurrendered to the mercy of the miniſter and legiſ- " lature of another country, to be bound by the abſolute will and taxed at their pleaſure by laws, in " the making of which this country could have no efficient participation whatſoever.

" *Reſolved*, That we are of opinion that the improvement of Ireland for the laſt twenty years, ſo " rapid beyond example, is to be aſcribed wholly to the independency of our legiſlature, ſo glori- " ouſly aſſerted in the year 1782, by the virtue of our parliament co-operating with the generous " recommendation of our moſt gracious and benevolent ſovereign, and backed by the ſpirit of our " people, and ſo ſolemnly ratified by both kingdoms as the only true and permanent foundation of " Iriſh proſperity and Britiſh connexion.

" *Reſolved*, That we are of opinion, that if the independency ſhould ever be ſurrendered, we " muſt as rapidly relapſe into our former depreſſion and miſery; and that Ireland muſt inevitably " loſe with her liberty, all that ſhe has acquired in wealth and induſtry and civilization.

" *Reſolved*, That we are firmly convinced that the ſuppoſed advantages of ſuch a ſurrender, are " unreal and deluſive, and can never ariſe in fact; and that even if they ſhould ariſe, they would " be only the bounty of the maſter to the ſlave, held by his courteſy, and reſumeable at his plea- " ſure.

" *Reſolved*, That having heretofore determined not to come forward any more in the diſtinct " character of Catholics, but to conſider our claims and our cauſe not as thoſe of a ſect, but as in- " volved in the general fate of our country, that we now think it right, notwithſtanding ſuch de- " termination, to publiſh the preſent Reſolutions, in order to undeceive our fellow-ſubjects, who " may have been led to believe by a falſe repreſentation, that we are capable of giving any concur- " rence whatſoever to ſo foul and fatal a project; to aſſure them that we are incapable of ſacrific- " ing our common country to either pique or pretenſion; and that we are of opinion that this " deadly attack upon the nation is the great call of nature, of country, and poſterity, upon Iriſhmen " of all deſcriptions and perſuaſions, to every conſtitutional and legal reſiſtance; and that we ſa- " credly pledge ourſelves to perſevere in obedience to that call as long as we have life.

" Signed by order,

" JAMES RYAN, Sec."

nant

nant made a long ſpeech from the throne, which avoided any mention of or reference to the Union.* Lord Viſcount Loftus moved the addreſs, and was

* "My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE received his majeſty's commands to aſſemble you in parliament.

"Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have diſtinguiſhed the period, which "has elapſed ſince I laſt addreſſed you, the moſt gratifying and encouraging reflections preſent "themſelves to our conſideration.

"By the brilliant courſe of victories achieved by the combined imperial armies, the various "kingdoms and ſtates of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of the French. "The throne of Naples, and our friendly connexions with that kingdom, have been reſtored.

"The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkiſh "arms, aſſiſted by a ſmall detachment of his majeſty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic "commander.

"The hoſtile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total deſtruction of the "power, which had been miſled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous, and deciſive "counſels of the Marquis Welleſley, and the conſummate ſkill and valour of his majeſty's generals, "officers and troops, the Britiſh poſſeſſions in that quarter of the Globe have been beneficially ex- "tended and effectually ſecured.

"By the deſcent of his majeſty's forces and of his Ruſſian allies on the coaſt of Holland, the "Dutch fleet has been happily reſcued from the power of the enemy; and although the ſeaſon, "peculiarly unfavorable to military operations, produced the neceſſity of relinquiſhing an enter- "prize ſo fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accompliſhment of his majeſty's views, "yet the reſult of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all "fear of attack on our coaſts from a quarter whence it had been ſo often planned, and enabling his "majeſty's fleets to direct their vigilance excluſively to the ſingle port, from which the enemy can "attack this country with any hope even of a temporary ſucceſs.

"My utmoſt care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers, which you "have committed to my diſcretion with vigor, and at the ſame time with moderation; all tendency "to inſurrection has been effectually repreſſed: but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that "the painful neceſſity of acting with ſeverity has been too frequently impoſed upon me; and al- "though public tranquillity has been in a great meaſure reſtored, yet I have to lament that diſpo- "ſition to outrage and conſpiracy ſtill continues in ſeveral diſtricts, that much induſtry is uſed to "keep alive the ſpirit of diſaffection, and to encourage among the lower claſſes the hopes of French "aſſiſtance.

"I truſt the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of ſuch of his majeſty's ſub- "jects, as have been deluded by the artifices, which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw "them from their allegiance, and that it will reſtore and increaſe the love of conſtitutional order "and of regulated freedom, by demonſtrating that the principles of falſe liberty tend ultimately to "deſpotiſm, and that the criminal ſtruggles of democratic faction naturally cloſe in military uſur- "pation.

"So

was ſeconded by Colonel Croſbie. His lordſhip hinted only in oblique terms at the meaſure of Union, by obſerving that after his majeſty had rallied and inſpired

" So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, ſhall perſevere " in ſchemes of deſtruction and projects of ambition, ſubverſive at once of the liberties of Europe " and of the ſecurity of his majeſty's dominions, there can be no wiſe alternative but to proſecute " the war with encreaſing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggran- " diſement can be fruſtrated or ſolid peace procured.

" His majeſty has therefore availed himſelf, with peculiar ſatisfaction, of the cordial and great " aſſiſtance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the emperor of Ruſſia, and has thought " right to make every exertion for augmenting the diſpoſeable military forces of his own dominions, " his majeſty, therefore, has been highly gratified in accepting the ſervices ſo generouſly offered by " his Engliſh militia, and I am to expreſs to you the entire confidence which his majeſty feels that " the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding at this important criſis the " active operations of the empire, will not be leſs prompt and conſpicuous.

" The apprehenſions of general ſcarcity, which ſome time ſince took place, called for my early " attention to this moſt important ſubject, and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to " offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This meaſure will, I flatter myſelf, meet your " approbation, and I have full confidence in your wiſdom, if it ſhall be neceſſary to reſort to any " further extraordinary means for procuring a ſupply.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" THE evident neceſſity of ſecuring this kingdom from every danger, whether " foreign or domeſtic, and of rendering the ſucceſs of invaſion, if attempted, impracticable, will " demonſtrate to you the wiſdom of continuing that enlarged ſyſtem of defence you have ſo wiſely " adopted.

" I have therefore ordered the public accounts and eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid be- " fore you, and have the fulleſt confidence that in the ſupply which the ſituation ſhall appear to you " to require, you will equally conſult the ſafety of the kingdom and the honor of his majeſty's " government.

" I am induced to hope that the great increaſe of the revenue which has taken place in the pre- " ſent year may enable you to raiſe the ſums which may be wanted for the current ſervices without " any diſtreſſing addition to the burthens of the people.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I RECOMMEND to your uſual attention agriculture, the manufactures of " Ireland; and I doubt not that the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and thoſe public inſtitutions, whe- " ther of charity or of education, which have been protected by your liberality, will ſtill receive a " judicious encouragement.

" It will be for your wiſdom to conſider how far it will be neceſſary to continue any of thoſe ex- " traordinary powers with which you have ſtrengthened the authority of his majeſty's government " for the more effectual ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of rebellious conſpiracy and outrage.

" His majeſty places the moſt entire reliance upon your firmneſs and wiſdom, and he has no

inſpired his continental allies with a glorious ſpirit and perſevering vigor, he had at the ſame moment improved the condition of Britiſh ſubjects, on the broad and generous baſis of the empire, and thus derived the warmeſt affection of a free people, and the unceaſing gratitude of a virtuous poſterity, whoſe happineſs and intereſts their gracious ſovereign had by ſuch undeviating and undaunted means ſecured. Sir Lawrence Parſons deſired the lord lieutenant's ſpeech at the concluſion of the laſt ſeſſion to be read. This ſpeech, ſaid he, recommended from his majeſty the meaſure of an incorporating Union with England. The miniſter had prevented them from giving an anſwer to his majeſty at the time, by a ſudden prorogation. He wiſhed to prevent them from giving an anſwer by having ſtudiouſly omitted any mention of the ſubject in that ſpeech. The reaſon was obvious: from the time they had rejected that meaſure laſt ſeſſion, the miniſter had employed every engine of the government, and endeavoured by the moſt unwarrantable practices to pervert the ſentiments of the parliament on that ſubject, and did not wiſh that they ſhould take it into conſideration until his machinations were complete. It mattered not, whether the repreſentatives of that great nation were turned out of that door by the ſword of the army, or the gold of the treaſury—by a Cromwell or by a ſecretary; in both caſes the treaſon againſt the conſtitution was the ſame. One of the greateſt offences of James the II. was attempting to pack a parliament; of that offence he now arraigned the miniſter of the crown, by proſtituting the prerogative in order to pack a parliament. A ſtring of men, who were againſt the Union, were to go out; that a ſtring of men, who were for it, might come in. Were they to ſit ſupinely there until thoſe practices were matured? To wait while the ſerpent was collecting himſelf in his coils, to ſpring upon them with greater violence? The Britiſh miniſters evidently intended to take an unfair advantage of Ireland. While the ſpirit of the people was depreſſed by recent troubles—the country covered with armies greater than ever were known there before—while martial law prevailed, and a formidable invaſion was menaced—in ſhort while apprehenſions from without and from within precluded all free exerciſe of the public

" doubt that you will anxiouſly purſue ſuch meaſures as ſhall be beſt calculated for bringing the " preſent war to an honorable termination, and for reſtoring the country to permanent tranquillity.

" It will be my conſtant object to attend to your ſuggeſtions and advice, that I may by this means " moſt beneficially accompliſh the commands I have received from his majeſty, and moſt effectually " forward the intereſt and happineſs of this kingdom."

mind

mind upon that fatal project, they forced the diſcuſſion of the meaſure regardleſs of the unfitneſs of the time, thinking only of the preſent ſtrength of one ſtate and the accidental weakneſs of the other.

It was only in conſequence of the late rebellion, ſaid the advocates of Union, and in compaſſion to Ireland, as a cure for all its diſorders, that the meaſure was propoſed. The idea of the ſcheme aroſe from the ambition of the Britiſh cabinet, which, regretting the ceſſion of independence to Ireland in 1782, attempted a partial recovery of its authority three years afterwards, and, failing on that occaſion, ſought to recover it completely by an Union; for, that ſuch a meaſure was in contemplation above three years before the rebellion broke out, was evident from a letter of the Duke of Portland to Earl Fitzwilliam, though it were not ſo expreſsly mentioned.

Ireland would gain nothing but might loſe much by an Union. Her loſs by abſentees, on a moderate computation, would be nearly doubled. The country would be more liable to diſorder and convulſion from the abſence of the landholders. Theſe, when reſident on their eſtates, might be conſidered as the binding-ſtones of ſociety, keeping by their ſtrength and weight all the parts of government firm and compact; but, if they ſhould be removed, the fabric on the firſt ſtorm might fall to the ground.

He then moved an amendment to the addreſs, connecting the deſire of a continuance of Britiſh connexion with the wiſh for the preſervation of an independent reſident parliament.

Lord Caſtlereagh ſpoke contemptuouſly of the arguments of Sir Lawrence. The ſilence of the lord lieutenant on the ſubject did not ariſe from any conviction of the impolicy of proſecuting the ſcheme. The queſtion had been withdrawn, when the Houſe of Commons ſeemed unwilling to entertain it; but, as a great majority of the people now approved the meaſure, and as there was reaſon to believe, that many of its late parliamentary opponents had renounced their ideas of its demerits, his majeſty's counſellors had reſolved to give it a new chance of regular inveſtigation. The reaſon of its not having been mentioned in the viceroy's ſpeech was merely, that it was to be made a ſubject of diſtinct communication to parliament. As the queſtion claimed a full diſcuſſion, it ought not to be extinguiſhed by anticipation. As the amendment tended to preclude inquiry, he truſted that the good ſenſe of the houſe would reject the motion.

Mr. Latouche, the privy counſellor, recommended an Union as the moſt

promiſing remedy for the diſorders of Ireland; but it was reprobated by Lord Cole as a pernicious meaſure and promoted by improper means. Mr. John Claudius Beresford would only conſent to it in caſe of the invaſion and occupancy of Ireland by a French army; and even then he would inſiſt on the reſtoration of the parliament, in the event of a total expulſion of the enemy.

Mr. George Ogle again declared his unwillingneſs to ſurrender the Iriſh conſtitution. Mr. Denis Browne ſpoke againſt the amendment, as did alſo Mr. Martin and the junior Mr. Bagwell.

Mr. Fitzgerald adviſed a poſtponement of the diſcuſſion till the agitations and troubles of the realm ſhould have ſubſided. He hoped that the majority of the members would not extinguiſh the light of the realm, as he knew not where, if they ſhould repent, they would find "the Promethean heat which "could that light relumine."

Mr. O'Hara lamented the effects, which the Union would have in point of trade and revenue; ſtating, that, inſtead of an annual balance of 600,000*l.* in favor of Ireland, there would then be a balance of 900,000*l.* againſt her.

Mr. George Ponſonby ſpoke with much point and ſeverity of Lord Caſtlereagh's arguments.*

Government ought to endeavour to make the parliament wiſer and better, not to ſeek its deſtruction on pretence of its errors or misfortunes. But, notwithſtanding all its efforts, "I firmly believe," ſaid he, "that the gentlemen "of this houſe will never conſent to yield themſelves up to the miniſter. I "am ſatisfied that the people of Ireland will never conſent to the annihilation

* It is indeed very cruel, he ſaid, that a motley oppoſition ſhould impede the wiſhes of the miniſter; it is very cruel that ſome who have approved and ſome who have oppoſed parliamentary reform ſhould reſiſt a meaſure, which will leave them no parliament at all; it is very cruel, that thoſe who have ſubmitted plans of emancipation to traitors ſhould agree in oppoſing an Union; it is a moſt ſad and deplorable thing, that thoſe who may have differed in ſpeculative improvement of the conſtitution ſhould agree in reprobating its total deſtruction; and ſtill more ſad, becauſe the very circumſtance of a motley oppoſition ſhows, that the ſmalleſt preſumption in favor of an Union cannot be deduced from it. How ingeniouſly and logically the noble lord argues! "A legiſlative Union, gentlemen, is a moſt excellent thing; for yonder ſtands a man who has ſupported parliamentary reform; an Union is an excellent thing, for yonder is a man who propoſed to divide the country into French departments; this Union is a moſt powerful remedy for all your evils, for yonder ſits an honorable gentleman, who would have emancipated the Catholics of Ireland!" Theſe, it muſt be allowed, are very concluſive arguments, why you ſhould relinquiſh that parliament, which alone can ſecure the liberties of the people!

"of

" of their parliament. If ever this aſſembly ſhould conſent to its own im-
" molation; if ever the members of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons ſhould
" aſſent to an act for turning themſelves out of doors, hope ſhall not quit me,
" until the laſt man ſhall have paſſed the door, which the miniſter would cloſe
" upon our liberties. When they ſhall approach that door, if they but caſt a
" look behind; if they but view that chair, where integrity now ſits en-
" throned; if their eyes but linger on that floor, were patriot eloquence has
" been poured forth for their country; if they but recollect the ſtruggles of
" honorable legiſlation, which theſe walls have witneſſed; they will ſtop before
" they take the laſt irretrievable ſtep; they will cling to this houſe, the tem-
" ple of their honor, and will ſay to the miniſter: You have taken an unjuſt
" advantage of our confidence, to deſire us to ruin our country; you have
" taken a moſt ungenerous advantage of the ſtate of that country, to ſeduce
" its parliament to annihilate itſelf and the liberties of its conſtituents; but
" we will ſhow you, that you have deceived yourſelf in the calculation of our
" baſeneſs; we will ſhow you that we repreſent an honeſt, brave, and gene-
" rous people, and are worthy to repreſent them; we will not flatter, but we
" will ſerve them, and eſtabliſh an eternal claim to their gratitude and to the
" gratitude of poſterity."

The attorney general entered into a hiſtory of the progreſs of faction in Ireland, and largely indulged in invective againſt the leaders of oppoſition, and the whig club.

Mr. Buſhe cenſured the laſt ſpeaker for his endeavours to identify anti-unioniſm with diſaffection to the ſovereign. He cautioned the miniſtry againſt propounding the dangerous doctrine of the incompatibility of Britiſh connexion with Hibernian independence; a doctrine which would paralyſe the loyalty of the Iriſh, and ſhake the firſt and beſt principles of politics in the iſland to their foundations. He expoſed the injuſtice, with which Ireland had long been treated by Great Britain, and affirmed, that all the conceſſions of the latter had been wrung from her like drops of her heart's blood.* He could

* Thus Mr. Buſhe expreſſed himſelf upon this point, which more materially affects the general ſubject of this hiſtory, than the particular queſtion of Union. " You are called upon to give up
" your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which for ſix hundred years
" has treated you with uniform oppreſſion and injuſtice. The treaſury bench ſtartles at the aſſer-
" tion,—*Non meus hic ſermo eſt.* If the treaſury bench ſcold me, Mr. Pitt will ſcold them,—it is
" his

could not think without horror of the provincial deſpotiſm which would ſucceed the preſent government of Ireland; and he exhorted Britain to beware of the formidable precedent of uncontrolled power holding five millions of people in chains. He ridiculed the various pretences for the meaſure, as ill-founded and abſurd; aſſerted the full ſufficiency and ſuperior qualifications of the Iriſh parliament for every purpoſe of juſt and equitable government; and concluded a very long and impreſſive diſcourſe with an appeal to the ſpirit of 1782, and to the protecting care of Providence for the preſervation of his country.

When Mr. Prendergaſt had ſpoken in favor of an union, Mr. J. M. O'Donnel declared that he oppoſed it becauſe he conſidered it as ruinous and diſgraceful, becauſe he knew the foul means which had been practiſed to carry it into effect, and becauſe he did not conceive that the parliament had a right to ſacrifice the conſtitution of the country.

Mr. Oſborne repreſented the inefficacy of the ſettlement of 1782, and the riſque of ſeparation, as ſtrong grounds for a legiſlative union.

Mr. Hardy ſpoke againſt the Union;* as did alſo Mr. Arthur Moore. He condemned the miniſterial practices of corruption and intimidation, the wicked and unconſtitutional means to which the government had reſorted, in order to impoſe upon the country, deſtroy the parliament, and overturn the conſtitution. If the meaſure ſhould be carried under all the circumſtances he had alluded to, it would be a robbery, and not a treaty; an act of conſtraint and violence, not of compact and volition; a conqueſt, not an Union. An Union formed upon ſuch principles, and accompliſhed by ſuch means, policy never could require, juſtice never could ſanctify, wiſdom never approve,

" his aſſertion in ſo many words in his ſpeech.—*Ireland*, ſays he, *has been always treated with in-*
" *juſtice and illiberality.*—Ireland, ſays Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppreſſed. This
" is not the ſlander of Junius, or the candor of Mr. Pitt; it is hiſtory. For centuries has the Bri-
" tiſh nation and parliament kept you down; ſhackled your commerce; paralyſed your exertions;
" deſpiſed your character; and ridiculed your pretenſions to any privileges commercial or con-
" ſtitutional. She never conceded a point to you which ſhe could avoid, or granted a favor which
" was not reluctantly diſtilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood,
" and you are not in poſſeſſion of a ſingle bleſſing, except thoſe which you derive from God, that
" has not been either purchaſed or extorted by the virtue of your own parliament from the illibe-
" rality of England."

* This gentleman as well as Mr. O'Donnel denied the aſſertion made from the treaſury bench, that nineteen counties had petitioned for the Union.

patriotiſm

patriotiſm never reconcile, time never cement, force never eſtabliſh. It might be an Union for a few days, a few months, perhaps for a few years; but it would be followed by ages of ill blood, generations of hoſtility, centuries of conteſt and deſolation, and miſery to that iſland to all eternity. It would be an Union founded on the violation of public faith, erected on national degradation, equally ſubverſive of the moral, phyſical, and political fitneſs of things, and equally odious and abominable in the ſight of God and man.

Sir John Parnell ſaid, that he would ſupport the amendment for the purpoſe of preventing thoſe diſturbances and that ſeparation from Great Britain, which ſome gentlemen had accuſed the Anti-unioniſts of promoting.

Sir John Blaquiere recommended an Union chiefly for the convenience of Great Britain, which was now obliged, by the diſtractions and diviſions of Ireland, to employ for her internal ſafety a force, that might be more beneficially uſed in ſupport of the general intereſts of the empire.

Dr. Browne had become more inclined to an Union than he had been in the preceding ſeſſion, becauſe he thought it more neceſſary from intermediate circumſtances. After the ſcenes which he had witneſſed in that country during the rebellion, and for ſome time after, he expreſsly declared to ſome very reſpectable and dignified friends, who well remembered it, that he thought ſuch an Union under the then exiſting circumſtances deſirable, and he never did at any time ſhew the heat and fury upon the ſubject, which other men had done. The diſpoſition of the college in general was againſt it; but was ſo far from being univerſal, that nearly half of the governing part of the ſociety favoured it. And ſome of them had ſaid, they would never vote for the man who oppoſed the Union.

It did not ſeem to him a good method of promoting the Union, to perſecute every man with calumny and abuſe, who ſaid, that he thought they ought to hear what England propoſed, even though he reſted that opinion merely on his notion of its propriety. If oppoſition to the Union proceeded from love of the nation, he reſpected it; if from regard to individual power, or perſonal aggrandizement, he concerned not himſelf about it.

Had he ſeen after the rejection of the Union laſt year any meaſures brought forward to conciliate the people, or to heal the diſtractions of the country; had he ſeen any reviviſcence of that ſpirit, which produced the conſtitution of 1782, coming forward to preſerve it, he ſhould not have liſtened to propoſals of Union. But for gentlemen to ſuppoſe, that if parliament did not

ſupport

ſupport itſelf, it could be ſupported; to ſuppoſe that without domeſtic virtue, the nation would trouble itſelf about its exiſtence, was abſurd. The truth was, apathy had gone through the nation upon the ſubject; in 1782, the idea of an Union could not have been brought forward; in 1785, it could not have been brought forward; why could it then? Becauſe then the parliament had the warm affections of the nation, and now it had not.

The method of preventing Union was not by rebellion, nor by Orange ſyſtems: nor by looking for republics, nor by holding up every man as a rebel, who diſapproved of particular meaſures; it ſhould have been by regular obedience to the laws, and conſtitutional parliamentary oppoſition to the propoſed meaſure.

The meaſures of laſt ſeſſion to which he had alluded particularly, were the rebellion bill and the Fitzgerald bill. The firſt, which he knew was rather forced upon the government than ſought for by it, and which therefore was not imputable to the executive power, enabled any petty officer to take up any perſon on the vague charge of aſſiſting the rebellion, on his mere ſuſpicion founded on any fooliſh word or indiſcreet trifling action, try him, and execute him, without the poſſibility of appeal to any other tribunal. This law ſtill exiſted. Why did they not feel it? Why not know it? Why were they ignorant that they lived under ſuch power? Becauſe the wiſdom, the prudence, the temper, the humanity, the goodneſs of the chief governor prevented it; he could not forget, that he lived under ſuch law; he could not forget that the parliament, while it contended againſt the ademption of its rights, voluntarily relinquiſhed them all, or that to-morrow a hot, or impudent, or weak ſucceſſor might make them feel this unbounded power in its exceſs.

The other, which he called the Fitzgerald bill, made for a particular inſtance, as it was thought it would, ſcreened the greateſt outrage upon private innocence that was ever known. To his certain knowledge, no meaſure ever ſo much promoted the Union, nor made ſo many converts among the diſpaſſionate viewers of their conduct in England, and that country. The abuſe upon that occaſion neither tended to peace, nor was true; he had found in England, and ſo he ſaid a year ago to his conſtituents, more coolneſs, more kind diſpoſition to their country than among the ſons of Ireland, and to repreſent it as always hoſtile evidently tended to ſeparation.

Mr. Plunket in a very long and animated ſpeech reflected ſeverely on Dr. Browne's change of opinion. He went over the old field of argument; traced the

the proceedings of the government from the firſt mention of the ſcheme, cenſured both the meaſure and the means; and earneſtly exhorted the miniſtry not to offer violence to the ſettled principles or ſhake the ſettled loyalty of the country.

The prime ſerjeant took notice of the arts, which had been practiſed by the Anti-union faction, to delude and inflame the people. He accuſed the leaders of that party of having reſorted to the uſual auxiliaries of a bad cauſe—virulence, miſrepreſentation, clamor, and ſedition. He then appealed to the well-meaning and highly-reſpectable gentlemen, who had oppoſed the Union from a ſincere opinion of its impolicy, whether it were juſt or candid to cooperate with the faction in preventing a cool diſcuſſion of the meaſure. As a great proportion of the kingdom had declared in its favor, he thought it the duty of the repreſentatives of the people to give it a fair inveſtigation.

Mr. Barrington, by ſerious reflection, was confirmed in his opinion that a revolutionary meaſure ariſing from the aſhes of a rebellion, and grounded on the diſtractions of a nation, could not be permanent; and he dreaded the ultimate loſs of Britiſh connexion from the pertinacity of thoſe miniſters, who wiſhed to deprive Ireland of her independence.

Sir John Macartney and Mr. Egan ſupported, and Mr. Luke Fox oppoſed the amendment.

Mr. Grattan entered the houſe between Mr. William B. Ponſonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, whilſt Mr. Egan was on his legs actually referring to the conſtitution of 1782. The re-appearance in parliament of the founder of that conſtitution at that critical moment and under thoſe awful circumſtances, electrified the houſe and galleries with an indeſcribable emotion of terrific joy and expectation. On riſing to ſpeak, he referred to the adjuſtment of 1782. The miniſter of Great Britain, he ſaid, had come forward in two celebrated productions; he declared his intolerance of the parliamentary conſtitution of Ireland; that conſtitution, which he ordered the ſeveral viceroys to celebrate, in defence of which he recommended the French war, and to which he ſwore the yeoman, that conſtitution he now declared to be a miſerable imperfection, concurring with the men, whom he had executed for thinking the Iriſh parliament a grievance; differing from them in the remedy only: they propoſing to ſubſtitute a republic, and he the yoke of the Britiſh parliament. They had ſeen him inveigh againſt their projects; let them hear him in defence of his own: he denied in the face of the two nations a public

fact regiſtered and recorded; he diſclaimed the final adjuſtment, as being no more than an incipient train of negociation. That ſettlement conſiſted of ſeveral parts, every part a record, eſtabliſhing on the whole two grand poſitions: firſt, the admiſſion of Ireland's claim to be legiſlated by no other parliament but that of Ireland: ſecondly, the finality impoſed upon the two nations; regarding all conſtitutional projects affecting each other. Finality was not only a part of the ſettlement, but one of its principal objects; finality was the principal object of England, as legiſlative independency was the object of Ireland.

Having ſpoken very largely to the two points of regency and war, on which the Unioniſts reſted their ſtrongeſt arguments againſt the conſtitution of 1782, he thus continued: "I will put a queſtion to my country. I will "ſuppoſe her at the bar, and I will then aſk, Will you fight for an Union as "you would for a conſtitution? Will you fight for thoſe lords and commons, "who in the laſt century, took away your trade, and in the preſent your con-"ſtitution, as for that king, lords, and commons, who reſtored both? Well, "the miniſter has deſtroyed this conſtitution. To deſtroy is eaſy. The edi-"fices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but aſk "only minutes to precipitate; and, as the fall is of no time, ſo neither is it "the effect of any ſtrength. That conſtitution, which with more or leſs vio-"lence has been the inheritance of this country for ſix hundred years; that "*modus tenendi parliamentum*, which laſted and out-laſted of Plantagenet the "wars, of Tudor the violence, and of Stuart the ſyſtematic falſehood; even "the bond and condition of our connexion, are now the objects of miniſ-"terial attack. The conſtitution which he deſtroys is one of the pillars of "Britiſh empire; dear in its violation, dear in its recovery. Its reſtoration "coſt Ireland her nobleſt efforts; it was the habitation of her loyalty, as "well as of her liberty, where ſhe had hung up the ſword of the volunteer; "her temple of fame, as well as of freedom, where ſhe had ſeated herſelf, as "ſhe vainly thought, in modeſt ſecurity and in a long repoſe. I have done "with the pile which the miniſter batters, I come to the Babel which he "builds; and, as he throws down without a principle, ſo does he conſtruct "without a foundation. This fabric he calls an Union; and to this his fa-"bric there are two ſtriking objections. Firſt, it is no Union: it is not an "identification of people, for it excludes the Catholics: Secondly, it is a "conſolidation of the legiſlatures; that is to ſay, it merges the Iriſh par-

"liament,

" liament, and incurs every objection to an Union, without obtaining the " only object which an Union profeſſes: it is an extinction of the con- " ſtitution, and an excluſion of the people."

What was the language of the miniſter's advocates to the Catholic body? " You were before the Union, as three to one; you will be by the Union as " one to four." Thus he founds their hopes of political power on the extinction of phyſical conſequence, and makes the inanity of their body and the non-entity of their country the pillars of their future ambition. He afterwards obſerved, that the miniſter, by his firſt plan, as detailed by his advocates, not only excluded the Catholics from parliament, but alſo deprived the Proteſtants of a due repreſentation in that aſſembly; that he ſtruck off one half of the repreſentatives of counties, and preſerved the proportion of boroughs as two to one; thus diſmiſſing for ever the queſtions of Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform: that, inſtead of reforming abuſes in church and ſtate, he wiſhed to entail them on poſterity; that, in lieu of Proteſtant aſcendancy and Catholic participation, he propoſed to conſtitute borough aſcendancy in perpetual abuſe and dominion; that it was his aim to reform the Britiſh parliament by nearly ſixty boroughs, and that of Ireland by nearly five hundred and fifty-eight Engliſh and Scotch members, and thus by mutual miſ-repreſentation frame an imperial Houſe of Commons, who would become the hoſt of miniſters, not the repreſentatives of the people.

Of the predicament in which the new members would be placed, he ſaid, never was there a ſituation, in which men would have ſo much temptation to act ill, and ſo little to act well. Subject to great expence and conſequent diſtreſſes, having no ſupport from the voice of an Iriſh public, no check, they would be in ſituation a ſort of gentlemen of the empire, that is to ſay, gentlemen at large, unowned by one country, and unelected by the other, ſuſpended between both, falſe to both, and belonging to neither. The ſagacious Britiſh ſecretary of ſtate had remarked, how great would be the advantage to the talents of Ireland, to have this opportunity in the Britiſh empire thus opened! that was what they dreaded: that the market of St. Stephen would be opened to the individual, and the talents of the country, like its property, draughted from the kingdom of Ireland to be ſold in London. Theſe men, from their ſituation (man was the child of ſituation), though their native honor might ſtruggle, would be the adventurers of a moſt expenſive kind, adventurers with pretenſions, dreſſed and ſold, as it were, in the ſhrouds and grave-clothes of

the Iriſh parliament, and playing for hire their tricks on her tomb, the only repoſitory the miniſter would allow to an Iriſh conſtitution; the images of degradation and the repreſentatives of nothing; he then noticed the bribes offered by Mr. Pitt. To the Proteſtant Church perpetual ſecurity was promiſed; but a meaſure that would annihilate the parliament by which that church was upholden, and disfranchiſe the people who ſupported that eſtabliſhment, would rather tend, he ſaid, to its diſgrace and ruin.

To the Catholic clergy ſalaries were promiſed. Thoſe who had been ſtrongly accuſed of diſloyalty were to be rewarded for imputed treaſons againſt the king, if they would commit real treaſons againſt the people. Salaries, he allowed, might reaſonably be given to thoſe ſectaries for the exerciſe of religious duty; but he could not appprove the grant of wages for political apoſtacy. According to this plan, the Catholic religion would ſeem to diſqualify its followers from receiving the bleſſings of the conſtitution, while their hoſtility to that conſtitution qualified them to receive a ſalary for the exerciſe of their religion, which would thus be at once puniſhed by civil diſability and encouraged by eccleſiaſtical proviſion: as good Catholics they would be diſqualified, and, as bad citizens, would be rewarded.

A commutation of tithes formed another bribe. It had formerly been obſerved by ſome of the king's miniſters, in oppoſition to a propoſal of that kind from Mr. Grattan, that it would tend to the overthrow of the church; but now, he ſaid, the premier was not unwilling to overturn the church, if he could at the ſame time overturn the conſtitution.

Bribes were alſo offered to the mercantile body. Commercial benefits were holden out for political annihilation; and an abundance of capital was promiſed; but firſt, a great part of the landed capital of the country would be taken away by the neceſſary operations of an Union. This rival being removed, commercial capital, it was ſuppoſed, would quickly take its place. But theſe and other promiſes of the miniſter would probably be found viſionary. He goes on (ſaid Mr. Grattan) aſſerting with great eaſe to himſelf, and without any obligation to fact, upon the ſubject. Icarian imagination is the region in which he delights to ſport. Where he is to take away your parliament, where he is to take away your firſt judicature, where he is to take away your money, where he is to increaſe your taxes, where he is to get an Iriſh tribute, there he is a plain direct matter-of-fact man; but where he is to pay you for all this, there he is poetic and prophetic; no longer a third-hand financier,

financier, but an inſpired accountant. Fancy gives him her wand; Amalthea takes him by the hand; Ceres is in his train. The Engliſh capitaliſt, he thinks, will ſettle his family in the midſt of thoſe Iriſh Catholics, whom he does not think it ſafe to admit into parliament; as ſubjects, he thinks them dangerous; as a neighbouring multitude, ſafe. The Engliſh manufacturer will make this diſtinction: he will dread them as individuals, but will confide in them as a body, and ſettle his family and his property in the midſt of them; he will therefore, the miniſter ſuppoſes, leave his mines, leave his machinery, leave his comforts, leave his habits, conquer his prejudices, and come over to Ireland to meet his taxes, and miſs his conſtitution. The manufacturers did not do this when the taxes of Ireland were few, or when there was no military government in Ireland: however, as prejudices againſt this country increaſe, he ſuppoſes that commercial confidence may increaſe likewiſe. There is no contradicting all this, becauſe arguments which reaſon does not ſuggeſt reaſon cannot remove. Beſides, the miniſter in all this does not argue, but foretell; now you cannot anſwer a prophet, you can only diſbelieve him. The premier finds a great abſentee draught: he gives you another; and, having ſecured to you two complaints, he engages to cure both. Among the principal cauſes of complaint, we may reckon another effect ariſing from the non-reſidence of the Iriſh landlords, whoſe preſence on their own eſtates is neceſſary for the ſuccour, as well as the improvement of their tenantry; that the peaſants may not periſh for want of medicines, of cordial, or of cure, which they can only find in the adminiſtration of the landlord, who civilizes them, and regulates them in the capacity of a magiſtrate, while he covers them and huſbands them in that of a protector, improving not only them but himſelf by the exerciſe of his virtues, as well as by the diſpenſation of his property, drawing together the two orders of ſociety, the rich and the poor, until each may adminiſter to the other, and civilize the one by giving, and the other by receiving; ſo that ariſtocracy and democracy may have a head and a body; ſo that the rich may bring on the poor, and the poor may ſupport the rich; and both contributing to the ſtrength, order, and beauty of the ſtate, may form that pillar of ſociety where all below is ſtrength, and all above is grace. How does the miniſter's plan accompliſh this? He withdraws the landed gentlemen, and then improves Iriſh manners by Engliſh factors. The miniſter propoſes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity to make laws for your own people, and

and to regiſter this proclamation in an act, which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal diſability; and he accompanies theſe monſtrous propoſals by undiſguiſed terror and unqualified bribery; and this he calls no attack on the honor and dignity of the kingdom. The thing which he propoſes to buy is what cannot be ſold---liberty. For it he has nothing to give. Every thing of value which you poſſeſs you obtained under a free conſtitution: if you reſign this, you muſt not only be ſlaves but idiots. His propoſitions are built upon nothing but your diſhonor. He tells you (it is his main argument) that you are unfit to exerciſe a free conſtitution; and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobiniſm grows, he ſays, out of the very ſtate and condition of Ireland. I have heard of parliament impeaching miniſters; but here is a miniſter impeaching parliament. He does more; he impeaches the parliamentary conſtitution itſelf. The abuſes in that conſtitution he has protected; it is only its exiſtence that he deſtroys: and on what ground? Your exports ſince your emancipation, under that conſtitution, and in a great meaſure by it, have been nearly doubled; commercially therefore it has worked well. Your concord with England ſince the emancipation, as far as it relates to parliament, on the ſubject of war, has been not only improved, but has been productive; imperially, therefore, it has worked well. To what then does the miniſter in fact object? that you have ſupported him, that you have concurred in his ſyſtem: therefore he propoſes to the people to aboliſh the parliament, and to continue the miniſter. He does more; he propoſes to you to ſubſtitute the Britiſh parliament in your place, to deſtroy the body that reſtored your liberties, and reſtore that body, which deſtroyed them. Againſt ſuch a propoſition, were I expiring on the floor, I ſhould beg to utter my laſt breath, and to record my dying teſtimony."

Mr. Corry replied at large to Mr. Grattan. The inferiority of the Iriſh conſtitution was obvious in the want of that power of controlling the exerciſe of the royal prerogative in queſtions of peace and war, which the Britiſh lords and commons poſſeſſed. Where, he might aſk, was the control of the Hibernian parliament over the Britiſh miniſter adviſing the king to declare war, when even with reſpect to the miniſter in Ireland the power of that body was totally inoperative over what the honorable gentleman himſelf had ſo often expreſſively termed the fugacious reſponſibility of thoſe, who could elude the graſp of parliament, and ſcoff at its authority by ſtepping on board of the packet?

On

On the diviſion about ten o'clock in the morning, 96 voted for the amendment, 138 againſt it. This majority of 42 exceeded the warmeſt expectations of government; and the viceroy hoped to increaſe it by allowing an interval of ſome weeks to paſs, before he ſent to either houſe a copy of the reſolutions of the parliament of Great Britain.

The defeat of the Anti-Unioniſts by a majority of 42, fluſhed the miniſter with confidence, and drove their opponents almoſt to deſperation. The members were now ſo far marſhalled into their ranks, that conſiderable changes or converſions were not to be expected on either ſide: ſome ſolitary inſtances of converſions did appear. No means of converſion or confirmation were omitted on either ſide. In order to counteract the firſt effects of this miniſterial triumph in the capital, within an hour or two after the adjournment of the Houſe of Commons (at ten o'clock on the 16th of January) an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin was convened by inſtant requiſition, at which they paſſed very ſtrong reſolutions,* and amongſt

* The following were the proceedings of the meeting, which ſhew the ſpirit of that day.

AGGREGATE MEETING.

16th January 1800.

At a moſt numerous and reſpectable meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, aſſembled this day by requiſition, at the Seſſions-houſe,

The HIGH SHERIFFS in the Chair,

The following gentlemen were conſtituted a committee, who reported the following reſolutions and addreſs, which were unanimouſly agreed to by the meeting; Mr. Hartley, Mr. Deaſe, Mr. Rawlins, Mr. R. M'Donnell, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Alderman Howiſon.

" 1. That the conſtitution of Ireland, as eſtabliſhed at the memorable period of 1782, is the indefeaſible and unalienable right of ourſelves and our poſterity.

" 2. That we do moſt ſolemnly and firmly proteſt againſt any act, which in deſtroying that conſtitution, exceeds the powers with which our repreſentatives in parliament have been inveſted; and we do aſſert, that they have no right to adopt the diſgraceful propoſal of this our extinction for ever. *Their* powers are limited in time and extent, but the rights of the people are unpreſcriptable and immortal.

" 3. That the re-propoſal of the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain to the ſame parliament, which not a year ſince rejected even its diſcuſſion with indignation, is as inſulting, as its conſequences may be dreadful.

" 4. That the means reſorted to for the purpoſe of procuring a parliamentary concurrence in this meaſure, and a deluſive approbation of the people, are baſe and unconſtitutional; and we call

" on

amongſt others a moſt enthuſiaſtic panegyric on the talents, virtue, and patriotiſm of Mr. Grattan, their late member. The quick ſhiftings of the *popularis*

" on thoſe who ſupported the meaſure, to recollect, that while they think they can violate the " conſtitution with impunity, we remember we have taken a ſolemn oath to maintain it.

" 5. That we contemplate with horror, the ungenerous language held to us in the hour of our " diſtreſs. The manner in which we acquired our glorious conſtitution is openly avowed; it re- " mains only for us to ſay, that a conſtitution which we proudly aſſerted, ought never to be baſely " ſurrendered, and we pledge ourſelves moſt ſolemnly, while we have life, we never will be the " willing ſlaves of diſhonorable negociation.

" 6. That we hail the auſpicious moment of internal unanimity, when the cordial concurrence " and co-operation of all ſects and perſuaſions, as common brothers in a common cauſe, ſhall " render any attempt upon our liberties, from whatever quarter it may proceed, diſgraceful and " ineffectual.

" 7. That the grateful thanks of this meeting be returned to the virtuous minority of the Houſe " of Commons, who ſupported the independence of Ireland, by oppoſing a Legiſlative Union with " Great Britain.

" 8. That our worthy repreſentatives, J. C. Beresford, Eſq. and the Right Hon. George Ogle, " highly merit, and we do hereby tender them our ſincere acknowledgments for their uniform and " ſteady oppoſition to an attempt to annihilate the independence of Ireland.

" 9. That our warmeſt thanks and gratitude are due, and are hereby given, to the Right Ho- " norable John Foſter, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, whoſe virtuous and patriotic conduct " have endeared him to every Iriſhman, who loves his country; and that we can never deſpair of " the ſucceſs of a cauſe, ſupported by the talents and virtue of a man, who has on all occaſions " proved himſelf the ſteady friend of Ireland.

" 10. That we feel the moſt lively ſatisfaction at the return of our late able and virtuous repre- " ſentative, H. Grattan, Eſq. to our ſenate, at this alarming criſis of our liberty; and that we de- " rive the moſt encouraging preſage from the addition of ſuch ſplendid talents, and ſuch well-tried " virtue, to the honeſt friends of Ireland, who, unſeduced by corruption, and unawed by power, " have continued firm to the truſt repoſed in them by their country; and that the following addreſs " be preſented to Mr. Grattan:

" SIR,

" FOR your ſpirit and patriotiſm, accept our moſt grateful acknowledgments. " You have come forward at a time moſt critical to Iriſh liberty, to ſave the conſtitution.

" This attempt of the miniſter, the annexation for ever of the kingdom of Ireland to the Britiſh " parliament, is hateful to every lover of his country. When you ſo illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed " yourſelf in eſtabliſhing the independence of the Iriſh legiſlature, the ſupport of the people was " not wanting. You will have it on this occaſion, and with your virtues and talents, it would be " criminal to deſpair of ſucceſs."

" Reſolved, That the high ſheriffs be requeſted to preſent ſaid reſolutions and addreſs, accom- " panied by ſuch freemen and freeholders as chuſe to attend.

" Reſolved,

pularis aura ſhould not here paſs unnoticed. The ingratitude and calumnies of Mr. Grattan's late conſtituents had weighed not lightly in the ſcale, which turned that gentleman's reſolution to retire from parliament. They now placed him at the head of the triumvirate of their affections and adoration with Meſſrs. Foſter and Ogle, who had been unceaſing objects of Mr. Grattan's oppoſition during the whole courſe of his political career in parliament.

On the 15th of February 1800, petitions againſt a legiſlative Union with

" Reſolved, That the aforeſaid reſolutions, with the anſwers of the ſpeaker, our repreſentatives, " and Mr. Grattan, (when received) be printed."

The high ſheriff having quitted the chair, it was taken by Mr. Alderman Crothers, and the unanimous thanks of the meeting were returned to the high ſheriffs, for their patriotic conduct diſplayed by their readineſs in calling this meeting, and their highly proper conduct in the chair.

The high ſheriffs were pleaſed to appoint Saturday, at one o'clock, to meet at the Royal Exchange, to proceed to the ſeveral gentlemen with the reſolutions of thanks, &c.

The following are the anſwers to the above reſolutions:

" GENTLEMEN,

" I AM truly thankful for your approbation of my conduct, and the very flat- " tering terms in which it is expreſſed.

" A ſincere conviction of the ruinous conſequences attendant on a Legiſlative Union, bound me " to oppoſe it. Every day's reflection ſince has ſerved to increaſe that conviction, and to ſhew me " that the great ſafeguard and true ſecurity of our own liberties, and of what is equally dear to " every loyal Iriſhman, our perpetual connexion with Great Britain, lie in the preſervation of a " ſeparate independent parliament within the kingdom, under the conſtitution eſtabliſhed and rati- " fied in 1782.

" Accept my warmeſt thanks, and believe me to be with the moſt ſincere reſpect and attachment " your very faithful and obedient ſervant, JOHN FOSTER."

" GENTLEMEN,

" YOUR reſolution does us great honor: we are grateful for it. When we " ceaſe to deſerve your confidence, we hope you will withdraw it from us for ever.

" J. C. BERESFORD.
" GEORGE OGLE."

" GENTLEMEN,

" I AGREE with you in thinking the preſent criſis to be truly alarming. After " conſidering the project of an Union fully, fairly, and diſpaſſionately, with every advantage pro- " miſed and profeſſed, I do really and ſincerely think it the worſt meaſure ever propoſed in this " country. I ſhall contribute my mite to oppoſe it; I have no confidence in the powers of my " own broken and ſhattered exertions; but I have ſufficient ſtrength remaining to bear my laſt " teſtimony againſt an Union. HENRY GRATTAN."

Dublin, Jan. 18, 1800.

Great Britain were received from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath and Fermanagh, as alſo from the city of Limerick, and the town of Belfaſt, and ſeveral others. When on the introduction of the Tipperary petition,

Mr. Bagwell (one of the repreſentatives of that county) declared, that notwithſtanding the ſupport he had been induced to give the meaſure of a legiſlative Union, on the firſt night of the ſeſſion, from the reſolutions of a number of his reſpectable conſtituents, in favor of it, having been preſented to him by the high ſheriff; yet, on inſpecting the liſt of names affixed to the petition before the houſe, he obſerved ſo large a majority of the independence and property of the county, among whom he diſcerned the names of ſeveral, who had before declared a different ſentiment on the queſtion, that he was now determined to oppoſe the meaſure whenever brought forward in parliament.

Sir L. Parſons ſtated to the houſe an act, which he conſidered as the greateſt enormity, an high infringement of the privileges of parliament, and a violation of the liberties of the ſubject. He ſaid he had it from a moſt reſpectable authority, which he named, that ſome time ago Major Rogers, who commands at Birr, having been told that there was an intention of aſſembling the freeholders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning againſt a legiſlative Union, the major replied he would diſperſe them by force if they attempted any ſuch thing; that the major, however, applied to government for direction: what anſwer or directions he received could only be judged of by his immediate conduct. On Sunday laſt ſeveral magiſtrates and reſpectable inhabitants aſſembled in the ſeſſion-houſe, when the high ſheriff (Mr. Derby) went to them and ordered them to diſperſe, or he would compel them; they were about to depart, when a gentleman came and told them the army was approaching; the aſſembly had but juſt time to vote the reſolutions, but not to ſign them; they broke up, and as they went out of the ſeſſion-houſe, they ſaw moving towards it a column of troops with four pieces of cannon in front, matches lighted, and every diſpoſition for an attack upon the ſeſſion-houſe; a building ſo conſtructed, that if a cannon had been fired, it muſt have fallen on the magiſtrates and the people, and buried them in its ruins. A gentleman ſpoke to Major Rogers on the ſubject of his approaching in that hoſtile manner; his anſwer was, that he waited but for one word from the ſheriff, that he might blow them

them to atoms! Theſe were the dreadful meaſures, Sir Laurence ſaid, by which government endeavoured to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by ſtifling their ſentiments and dragooning them into ſubmiſſion. He then propoſed two reſolutions to the houſe to the following effect:

1ſt. "That to prevent by military force the freeholders of any county "from meeting to petition parliament, is a groſs violation of the privileges "of this houſe, and a ſubverſion of the conſtitution.

2d. "That Verney Derby, Eſq. and Major Rogers do attend at the bar "of this houſe on Wedneſday next."

Mr. Bowes Daly ſeconded the motion. He reprobated ſuch violent conduct, and hoped country gentlemen would make a common cauſe of it.

Lord Caſtlereagh ſaid, that he had never before, either in his official or parliamentary capacity, heard a ſyllable of the matter then ſtated to the houſe. The honorable baronet ought to have come prepared with proofs of the facts alleged; but his manner ſeemed more calculated to inflame than to inform. He had aſſumed as fact, perhaps upon very ſlight authority, an outrage, which every man muſt condemn, if true; and then he had thought proper to impute to government the odium of that outrage. As to the firſt reſolution, his lordſhip ſaid it would be derogatory to the dignity of parliament to vote an acknowledged truiſm. It was one of the many inflammatory tricks, which had of late been frequently played off, and if now adopted would ſeem to admit the fact alleged, by unneceſſarily declaring a principle always and univerſally aſſerted.

Sir John Parnell, Mr. Ogle, and Mr. J. C. Beresford ſpoke againſt the enormity of the alleged offence; but they agreed that the parties accuſed ſhould be heard at the bar; and, upon the ſuggeſtion of thoſe gentlemen, Sir Laurence Parſons withdrew his firſt reſolution, and the ſecond paſſed unanimouſly.

Then Lord Caſtlereagh acquainted the houſe that he had a * meſſage from his

* "CORNWALLIS,

"AT the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, in obedience to the particular commands, "which I received from his majeſty, I acquainted this parliament, that a joint addreſs of the two "houſes of parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his majeſty, accompanied by reſolutions "propoſing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to "be eſtabliſhed by the mutual conſent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, "on the ſimilarity of conſtitution and government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections.

 "I have

his excellency the lord lieutenant, which he read; and then proceeded in great confidence to lay open the plan of the Union, which he now looked up to as a certainty.

He prefaced his ſpeech with ſome remarks on the unfavorable reception, which had attended it in the preceding year, and on the change of ſentiment, which had taken place in the minds of many who were then hoſtile to the meaſure. The reſiſtance to it, he ſaid, had been principally occaſioned by ignorance of its nature and miſrepreſentation of its effects. In proportion as it was more deliberately and fully inveſtigated, the oppoſition to it became leſs general, and the clamours leſs violent. The great body of the landed property in Ireland became friendly to the principle; for the property of thoſe who had declared in favor of it in the two houſes of parliament, was, in compariſon with that of its opponents, nearly in the proportion of three to one. Nineteen counties, whoſe ſuperficial contents formed five-ſevenths of the iſland, had come forward in its ſupport. He did not mean to aſſert, that theſe counties were unanimous in approving the meaſure. Complete and perfect unanimity was not to be expected upon any great political queſtion; but he would venture to aſſert, that a very great proportion of the property in thoſe counties decidedly favored it, and moſt of the great commercial towns in the kingdom had alſo declared in its favor. Dublin was then affected, as Edinburgh had been at the time of the union with Scotland;

" I have it now further in command from his majeſty to lay thoſe reſolutions before this houſe, " and ſolemnly to recommend to the conſideration of his faithful commons the great objects they " embrace.

" His majeſty has obſerved with increaſing ſatisfaction, that the ſentiments which have continued " to be manifeſted in favor of this important and ſalutary meaſure by ſuch numerous and reſpect- " able deſcriptions of his Iriſh ſubjects, confirm the hope he has expreſſed, that its accompliſhment " will prove to be as much the joint wiſh as it unqueſtionably is the common intereſt of both his " kingdoms: an event to which his majeſty looks forward with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, as the only " means, by which the common intereſts of all his people can be indiſſolubly united, and their " ſecurity and happineſs can be permanently eſtabliſhed.

" His majeſty therefore relies on the wiſdom of his parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of " his people for the completion of this great work, with a firm perſuaſion that a full and unreſerved " participation of conſtitutional and commercial advantages will augment and perpetuate the proſ- " perity of his ſubjects of his united kingdom, and that under the favor of Divine Providence the " freedom and power of the Britiſh empire will be eſtabliſhed on a foundation not to be ſhaken " by the efforts either of its foreign or domeſtic enemies."

and

and he truſted would like Edinburgh have cauſe to be thankful to Providence for the accompliſhment of an union with Great Britain.

He then animadverted on the proceedings of the chief adverſaries of the Union, who not ſatisfied with exerciſing their deliberative powers within thoſe walls, but organizing themſelves in another place, empowering certain perſons* to ſend their letters miſſive through the country, and eſtabliſhing agents in the different counties, to bring the maſs of the people to the bar of that houſe, as petitioners againſt the meaſure of Union. He was ſorry to ſay, that ſome of the agents of thoſe gentlemen had gone forth with the moſt unwarrantable pretences, and adopted the moſt treacherous artifices, and the moſt ludicrous miſrepreſentations, to deceive and diſtract the populace, whoſe ſignatures againſt an Union they wiſhed to obtain. That had alſo been the caſe in the Scotiſh Union? The table of the parliament was day after day, for the ſpace of three months, covered with ſuch petitions: but the Scotiſh legiſlators acted as, he truſted, the Iriſh parliament would act; they conſidered only the public advantage; and, ſteadily purſuing that object, neither miſled by artifices nor intimidated by tumult, they received, in the gratitude of their country that reward, which amply compenſated their arduous labors in the great work ſo happily accompliſhed.

The principle of the meaſure had been inveſtigated with ſuch depth of argument and ſuch ſound ability,† in a ſpeech, which had been ſince committed to the preſs, that he conſidered it as placed beyond queſtion or doubt.

With regard to the mode of proceeding, which the projectors of the ſcheme intended to adopt, he premiſed, that it was originally their wiſh to follow the form purſued in the Union with Scotland, and to propoſe the appointment of commiſſioners of both realms, who might digeſt articles for the conſideration of the two parliaments; but that, as this plan had been prevented by the refuſal of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to allow a diſcuſſion of the queſtion, it became expedient for his majeſty's miniſters to adopt meaſures, which might defeat the miſrepreſentations of their views, and unfold to this kingdom the liberal intentions of Great Britain. For this purpoſe they had introduced into the Britiſh parliament thoſe articles, which had been now tranſmitted to Ireland, forming a baſis for more extenſive reſolutions. After the minute inveſtigation of theſe articles in the parliament of Ireland, and the detailed ap-

* Alluding to the Marquis of Downſhire, &c. vide antea.

† By Mr. Smith.

plication

plication of the general principles involved in them, the matured ſcheme would be ſubmitted to the approbation of each legiſlature, and eventually ſanctioned by ſolemn acts.

The ſecretary's firſt propoſition ſtated the grand object in terms ſimilar to thoſe of the firſt reſolution of the Britiſh parliament. The three articles which followed tended to eſtabliſh the complete identity of the executive power in every poſſibility of circumſtance and in every application of authority. Some would think that this object was ſecured by the act of annexation; but, though he venerated that act as the only bond now connecting this realm with Britain, he conſidered it, both in principle and operation, as extremely defective. In principle, it gave to the parliament of another country, in which the Iriſh are not repreſented, one of the moſt important legiſlative powers, that of regulating the ſucceſſion to the crown. That the practice was not leſs defective than the principle, appeared in the caſe of the regency; for the prince of Wales was abſolutely conſtituted regent by the addreſs of the Iriſh legiſlature, before any regent was appointed by Great Britain.

To prove the danger of ſo imperfect a connexion his lordſhip inſtanced the conduct of James II., when after his abdication of the crown of England, he repaired to Ireland, and made uſe of the parliament as an inſtrument for erecting his oppoſition to England, and eſtabliſhing a diſtinct monarchy in Ireland.*

He then put ſome illuſtrative queſtions reſpecting the predicament in which Ireland ſtood in the important caſes of war, of peace, and of treaties. He then referred to a more frequent and juſt ground of complaint in that houſe, that the Iriſh miniſter, acting as he did under the direction of a Britiſh cabinet, was not reſponſible to the Iriſh parliament from the moment of his withdrawing from this kingdom, unleſs, by a derogation from our independence, we ſhould impeach him at the bar of the parliament of Great Britain for offending againſt the conſtitution of Ireland. Who, he aſked, adviſed the meaſures of the Iriſh government? The Engliſh miniſter. And how could the Iriſh parliament reach *him?* Who adminiſtered the great ſeal of England, without which no legiſlative act could be ratified? An Engliſh miniſter. And how could the Iriſh parliament reach *him?* In ſhort, how could an efficient and conſtitutional reſponſibility be obtained, but by making the juriſdiction of parlia-

* Vide antea, Vol. I.

ment

ment as comprehenſive as the executive power? And this could be effected by an Union alone.

He ſeparately and ſucceſſively refuted all the objections made againſt the Union, as to its reducing Ireland to a mere colony, as to its weakening the executive power in Ireland, as to the impotency of a non-reſident parliament, and as to future commercial and financial arrangements.

He then entered into the following detail.

Upon a compariſon of the average value of the imports and exports of Great Britain for three years, ending with January, 1799, compared with thoſe of Ireland ending on the 25th of March preceding, he found that the value of Britiſh commerce amounted to 73,961,899*l.*, and that of Iriſh commerce to 10,925,961*l.* and that they bear the proportion to each other of nearly ſeven to one. On a ſimilar compariſon of the value of the following articles, viz. malt, beer, ſpirits, wine, tea, tobacco, and ſugar, conſumed in the reſpective countries, he found that the value of the Britiſh articles amounted to 46,891,655*l.*, and that of the Iriſh articles to 5,954,856*l.* forming a proportion of 7 and 7-8ths to one. The medium, therefore, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 was to be taken as the fair proportion; and upon this principle Great Britain ought to contribute fifteen parts, and Ireland two, to the general expences of the empire.

In the article which related to this head, the firſt ſection provided, that the paſt debts of the two kingdoms ſhould be borne by them reſpectively; and, if they coupled this liberal proviſion with the ninth ſection of the article, which gave to Ireland a participation in whatever ſums might be produced from the territorial revenues of the dependencies of Great Britain in India, they would acknowlege not only the juſtice but the generoſity of the terms. Great Britain held out to Ireland a proportional enjoyment of all the advantages of the empire, without requiring the ſmalleſt participation in the burthens, which ſhe had incurred to procure them; and Ireland would acquire a revenue of 58,000*l.* a year, in eaſe of her own burthens, out of the revenues paid by the Eaſt India company, from the territories ſubdued by Britiſh arms.

By the ſecond ſection, the proportional contribution of 15 to 2 would continue for twenty years, that the ſyſtem of the Union might acquire ſtability, before it ſhould be ſubjected to the ſlighteſt modification.

When he ſtated the ſyſtem of contributing on the principle of proportional ability, he was aware that a natural objection would ariſe, that, however fair

or

or liberal the ſyſtem might appear at preſent, it might at a future period, and under different circumſtances, prove to be both partial and diſadvantageous. It was therefore intended, that the imperial parliament ſhould have a power to reviſe the proportion at the given period he had mentioned, but that the reviſion ſhould be grounded upon the ſame principles, upon which the original proportion was formed, and limited to the reſult of thoſe principles. Their contributions, therefore, might hereafter vary according to their relative increaſed or diminiſhed ability; but, until the period of a common taxation ſhould have ariſen, the principles and the baſis of their contribution were unalterably fixed. The only power reſerved to the imperial parliament, was to examine and aſcertain the *criteria*, by which the abilities of the two countries were to be determined: the *criteria* themſelves were to remain unaltered and unalterable: and, ſince they were of ſuch a nature that they could not fail of leading to a fair reſult, Ireland had by theſe means the utmoſt poſſible ſecurity, that ſhe could not be taxed beyond the meaſure of her comparative ability, and that the ratio of her contribution muſt ever correſpond with her relative wealth and proſperity.

By the fourth ſection, the revenues of Ireland would conſtitute a conſolidated fund, which would be charged in the firſt place with the intereſt and ſinking fund of the debt of Ireland, and be afterwards appropriated to its proportional contribution. The fifth ſection gave power to the imperial parliament to impoſe ſuch taxes in Ireland as might be neceſſary for her contingent; but it ſhould in no caſe be enabled to impoſe higher taxes, after the Union, upon any article in Ireland, than the ſame article ſhould bear in Great Britain. The ſixth ſection aſcertained the manner, in which any ſurplus of the revenues of Ireland might be applied. There were four conſiderations which occurred with reſpect to any occaſional exceſs of revenue. The firſt, and moſt obvious, was the diminution of taxes; the ſecond, the application of ſuch exceſs to local purpoſes of ornament or improvement in Ireland; the third to provide againſt any poſſible failure of revenue; the fourth to ſuffer ſuch exceſs to accumulate at compound intereſt, in caſe of their contribution in a future period of war.

It was provided by the ſeventh ſection, that all future loans, for the intereſt and liquidation of which the reſpective countries had made proviſion in the proportion of their reſpective contributions, ſhould be conſidered as a joint debt; and, on the other hand, that, where they did not make correſponding proviſions

proviſions, their reſpective quotas of the ſum ſo raiſed ſhould remain a ſeparate charge.

The eighth ſection contained a proviſion, that, when the ſeparate debts of the two kingdoms ſhould be either extinguiſhed, or in the proportion of their reſpective contributions, the general expences of the empire might be thenceforward borne by common taxes, in lieu of proportional contribution. It might perhaps be alleged, that common taxes with Great Britain would impoſe upon that kingdom heavier burthens than ſhe would otherwiſe be required to ſupport. But let the houſe conſider, that the charges of the debt of Great Britain amounted to twenty millions a year, and the charges of the debt of Ireland to 1,300,000*l.* of Britiſh money a year; and that common taxes were not to take place, till either the paſt and ſeparate debts of both countries ſhould be liquidated, or till they ſhould become to each other in the proportion of their contributions; that is, in the ratio of 15 to 2. Before that could take place, the taxes of Great Britain muſt be reduced by the amount of ten millions a year; in which caſe, the ſcale of her remaining taxation would be lowered to the ſcale of taxation in Ireland, and the adoption of Britiſh taxation would become a benefit. A ſimilar reſult would take place, and to a greater degree, were the paſt debt of the two countries to be entirely liquidated: for, in that event, Ireland would be exonerated from taxes, to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* a year, and Britain to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* and the ſyſtem of common taxation would become ſtill more beneficial to Ireland. It might happen, however, that if war ſhould continue, and Ireland fund her ſupplies, whilſt England raiſed a great part of her's within the year, and mortgaged her income tax to their rapid reduction in peace, the proportion of the debt of Ireland might riſe, and her ſcale of taxation increaſe accordingly. In this caſe, alſo, the ſyſtem of common taxation perfectly ſecured the intereſts of Ireland, being produced by natural cauſes and in no degree forced. It could not impoſe any burthen on that country, to which ſhe would not in the ordinary courſe of her expenditure be liable, whilſt the proviſion, which went to preclude any article from being ſubject to a higher rate of duty in Ireland than the ſame article paid in Great Britain, would exempt her from having the ſcale of her taxation raiſed above that of England, even though the natural progreſs of her expence ſhould lead to it. And whilſt Ireland was thus ſecured againſt any injuſtice in ſubſtituting a ſyſtem of common taxes for proportional contribution, the

united parliament would be enabled to make abatements in Ireland, as the parliament of Great Britain always had done in Scotland ſince the Union; where, from local circumſtances, the high duty could not be levied without either rendering the revenue unproductive, or preſſing with too much weight upon the poorer claſſes.

It remained for him to conſider the operation and effect of this article, and how far the proportion of 7½ to 1 might be favorable or otherwiſe to Ireland, conſidered with reference to the paſt expences of the two countries, as alſo to their probable future expenditure.

The peace eſtabliſhment of Great Britain, in the year preceding the war, amounted to 5,806,744*l.*, and that of Ireland to 1,012,523*l.* The proportion of theſe ſums is about 5¾ to 1. On an average of ſeven years, from the commencement of the war, Great Britain had expended in each year 27,650,649*l.*, and Ireland 3,076,651*l.* The proportion of theſe ſums was about 9 to 1. As, however, upon the experience of the paſt century, it had been found that there were three years of peace to two of war; if they formed their calculations upon that proportion, the paſt expences of Great Britain and Ireland might be conſidered in the ratio of 7¾ to 1.

Such was the reſult as to paſt expenditure. He ſhould next ſtate what they might expect from the proportion of 7¼ to 1, in their future expences.

The expence of Great Britain, for the year 1799, was 32,700,000*l.*, and that of Ireland 5,439,000*l.* If that expence had been borne in the proportion of 7½ to 1, Great Britain would have expended 33,652,059*l.*, and Ireland 4,486,941*l.*: the latter would have, conſequently, ſaved 952,059*l.*, or 1,025,294*l.* in Iriſh currency. So long as the war ſhould laſt, and they ſhould continue ſeparate from Britain, they could not ſuppoſe that their expence would be reduced; and therefore they would in future expend more by one million a year, than if they were united with Great Britain.

He then adverted to the probable future expences of Ireland in time of peace; which, if they conſidered the advanced pay of the army, the increaſed charge of the militia, the neceſſity of keeping up ſome part of that invaluable force, the yeomanry, they would find it impoſſible to maintain a peace eſtabliſhment of only 12,000 men at home at a leſs charge than 1,500,000*l.* a year; and, if they ſhould increaſe their eſtabliſhment to 20,000 men, the whole charge would amount to 1,900,000*l.* a year. Now, from the beſt documents which he had been able to procure, it was probable that the peace eſtabliſhment of Great

Great Britain would amount to about 7,500,000*l.*; and, if they ſhould add that of Ireland, the whole charge would be nine millions. If that charge were borne in the ratio of 7½ to 1, there would be a ſaving to Ireland of 450,000*l.* Britiſh, or nearly 500,000*l.* Iriſh currency.

He now turned to the ſituation of the public revenues. The produce of all the taxes in the laſt year amounted merely to 1,850,000*l.*; and the preſent charges of the debt alone are 1,400,000*l.* Iriſh currency. He would, however, admit, that the revenues of this kingdom had, during that preſent year, experienced an extraordinary increaſe; and, though it were not to be ſuppoſed that the whole of that increaſe could be permanent, when they might account for it by the particular circumſtances of the times, he would ſuppoſe that the revenues might produce a permanent ſum of 2,300,000*l.* The charge of their debt was 1,400,000*l.*; and the peace eſtabliſhment, at the loweſt computation, would be 1,500,000*l.* The total expence therefore would be 2,900,000*l.*; and, if they remained a ſeparate ſtate, there would be an annual deficiency of 600,000*l.* which they muſt endeavour to ſupply by new burthens upon the people, beſides raiſing additional taxes of 250,000*l.* a year, ſo long as the war ſhould continue. If, on the contrary, they wiſely united with Great Britain, and agreed in a ſyſtem of contribution proportioned to their reſpective means, the future charge of their war expence would be diminiſhed a million a year, and they ſhould be able to ſupport their peace expenditure with a very ſlight addition to the preſent taxes. He confidently then appealed to thoſe gentlemen around him, who had a real ſtake in the intereſts and happineſs of that country, and he truſted they would ſeriouſly pauſe and deliberate before they ſuffered advantages like thoſe which he had ſtated, to be rejected without diſcuſſion, or to be decided by wild and ſenſeleſs clamor.

The affairs of commerce formed the next branch of inquiry; and on that head his lordſhip obſerved, that the principles, which were to form the baſis of the agreement, did not materially differ from the plan brought forward in the year 1785. It was highly deſirable, he ſaid, that the commerce and intercourſe between Britain and Ireland ſhould be as free as between two counties of the ſame kingdom; but there were two circumſtances, which prevented ſuch an adjuſtment; theſe were, the neceſſity of ſecuring particular manufactures by protecting duties, and the difference of internal taxes, conſequent on the diſparity of burthen ſuſtained by Great Britain.

As to the firſt ſection of the commercial article, by which the ſubjects and the produce of each country would be placed upon an equal footing for ever, with regard to privileges, encouragements, and bounties, that gave the continuance for ever of the Britiſh and Iriſh bounties on the exportation of Iriſh linen, and afforded a full participation in the great article of ſail cloth. As to the next ſection, relative to the exportation of all commodities from one country to the other without duty, that ſecured to Ireland for ever the raw materials, which ſhe received from Britain, and which ſhe could procure from no other country—coals, tin, bark, alum, hops, and ſalt: it alſo conceded to Ireland the ſtaple commodity of Engliſh wool. The ſame ſection put an end to all bounties whatever on the articles of trade between the kingdoms, with an exception of malt, flour, and grain, which, it was propoſed, might ſtill be regulated on the preſent ſyſtem.

The third ſection, reſpecting the articles which ſhould be ſubject to duty in either country, gave riſe to the following obſervations. To give adequate protection to the fabrics of that kingdom, a duty of 10 *per cent.* on the true value would be fully ſufficient, in addition to the charges of freight, &c. which were eſtimated at 5½ *per cent.* Any manufacture in Ireland that could not be carried on with a protecting guard of 15½ *per cent.* againſt the manufacturer of England, where taxes were higher and labor dearer, could not deſerve much encouragement. Nor was it fair in ſuch a caſe to ſacrifice the intereſts of the conſumer, or encourage by high duties the habits of indolence. In fixing that rate of protection, he wiſhed it to continue for ſuch a period of years as would give ſecurity to the ſpeculations of the manufacturers; at the ſame time he looked forward to a period when duties of that kind might gradually be diminiſhed and ultimately ceaſe. It was evident, that, if their manufactures kept pace for the next twenty years with the progreſs they had made in the laſt twenty years, they might at the expiration of the term be fully able to cope with the Britiſh, and the two kingdoms might be ſafely left, like any two counties of the ſame kingdom, to a free competition. It was therefore provided, that after twenty years the united parliament might diminiſh the duties of protection, in ſuch a ratio as the ſituation of their manufactures at that period might render expedient. As all articles, except thoſe enumerated in the reſolutions, are to be free from duty upon import, he called the attention of the houſe to the perpetual ſecurity offered to the linen manufacture of Ireland. It had been frequently aſſerted, that that manufac-

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ture derived all its proſperity from the encouragement which it had received from their local parliament; but he had ever conteſted the truth of that ſtatement. The proſperity of the linen manufacture reſulted not from domeſtic encouragement, but depended on its poſſeſſion of the Britiſh market, and the Britiſh bounties on re-exportation. What then gave them that market but the liberality of Great Britain, which impoſed a duty of 33 *per cent.* upon foreign linens, and admitted Iriſh linens without duty. The whole quantity of linen imported into Great Britain amounted to 50,000,000 of yards, of which 33 millions went from Ireland. Now, if a duty of 33 *per cent.* ſhould be laid upon Iriſh linen as well as foreign, it would produce a ſum of more than a million a-year to the revenue of Britain; and the trade would thus be thrown altogether into the hands of the foreign manufacturer.

It had been urged, that the encouragements granted to Iriſh linen were in conſequence of a compact that the Iriſh parliament ſhould give up the woollen manufacture. It muſt have been a ſingular compact indeed, by which Great Britain was irrevocably to bind herſelf to impoſe on her own ſubjects the burthen of a million ſterling *per annum*, in order to ſecure an export of woollen goods, which had never exceeded 680,000*l.* a year. But, if he ſhould allow that a compact exiſted, Ireland, by that propoſal, would have both parts of it; ſhe would keep what ſhe had by linens, and recover what ſhe was ſuppoſed to have given up in woollens as the price of theſe encouragements. She would not only enjoy for ever the Britiſh markets for her linen trade, but would receive the raw material of England for the improvement and extenſion of her woollen trade; and ſhe would have Britiſh bounties to favor the re-exportation of the former, and low Britiſh duties to encourage the importation of the latter.

Some had affirmed, that Great Britain laid the high duty on the foreign linens to protect her own manufacture, and not to favor the Iriſh. If that were admitted, what then prevented her from laying the ſame duty on Iriſh linens? Could any other reaſon be aſſigned than diſpoſition to protect the manufactures of Ireland? If Great Britain ſhould only impoſe a protecting duty of 10 *per cent.* on the import of Iriſh linens in favor of her own, ſhe would only act towards them as they had towards her in almoſt all the leading articles of Britiſh manufacture; and what would be the effect? It would exclude them in a great meaſure from her market. The foreign manufacturer, who now ſupplied nearly one-third of her demand, even under the diſadvantage of

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a duty of 33 *per cent.* would then ſupply nearly the whole. The Engliſh conſumer would buy his linens nearly at as cheap a rate, whilſt the ſtate would levy an annual revenue on the import, which was now ſacrificed to the encouragement of the manufacture of Ireland. Was it then to the local parliament, or to the parliament of Great Britain, that Ireland ſtood indebted for theſe advantages? It was to the parliament of Great Britain alone, to the parliament of that country which had been deſcribed as the natural and inſtinctive enemy of Ireland, that they owed the obligation. That hoſtile country annually ſacrificed a ſum to the protection of the linen trade of Ireland, equal in amount to the total expence of our peace eſtabliſhment as it ſtood before the war; and, by treaty, ſhe had bounden herſelf to continue it for ever.

As to the countervailing duties (mentioned in the fourth ſection) neceſſary to balance internal impoſts, the neceſſity was evident, while the two countries ſhould be ſubject to unequal taxes; and, when the inequality of taxes ſhould ceaſe, and a common revenue take place, they would be diſcontinued.

The two next ſections might be of great commercial conſequence, as they provided, that the charges upon the re-exportation of native, foreign, and colonial goods, ſhould be the ſame in both countries, and that no drawbacks ſhould be retained upon any article exported from either country to the other. All who conſidered and underſtood the nature of our commerce and the advantages of our ſituation muſt allow the great benefit of ſecuring the perpetuity of theſe regulations to Ireland. It had been acknowledged, that the ſituation of Ireland was much more convenient for the re-export trade than Great Britain, not being ſubject to the dangerous and tedious navigation of the channels; but, when it was conſidered that the tranſit or re-export trade of Britain amounted to 14,000,000*l.* a year, gentlemen would admit, that the proſpect of national advantage from that part of the ſyſtem highly deſerved their attention, and that there was no benefit, which the cities of Cork and Dublin might not expect, when, in order to carry that article into effect, the ſyſtem of bonding foreign goods for exportation ſhould be extended, and arrangements made for converting thoſe harbours as far as poſſible into free ports.

Upon a review of the reſult of that article, they would find their linen trade ſecured, the proſpect of a great woollen trade opened, a great manufactory of ſail cloth encouraged, the Britiſh market opened by low duties (in caſe

caſe of their ſkilful uſe of domeſtic advantages), and at the ſame time ſecured for their great proviſion trade, whilſt an additional encouragement was given to their farmers, in taking off the duty from the produce of their lands.

In conſidering the effect of the propoſed commercial regulations upon the revenue, they would again find the advantage of the ſyſtem. The duties on the exportation of hides, tallow, cattle, and proviſions, which produced 44,000*l.* would ceaſe; and the loſs of revenue by taking off duties, and by lowering duties from 12½ to 10 *per cent.* would amount to 32,000*l.* Thus the total loſs would be 76,000*l.*: but, to balance that loſs, they would gain the duty of 1*l.* 3*d.* a ton upon coals, which then was raiſed upon Iriſh conſumption, and amounted *per annum* to 17,000*l.*; they would gain the duties retained in England on ſubſidy goods, 9,000*l.*; they would receive their proportion of 500,000*l.* from the India company, 58,000*l.* the whole amounting to 84,000*l.* Thus taxes would be remitted, at preſent raiſed either on Iriſh produce or Iriſh conſumption, whilſt the loſs of revenue would be fully compenſated by a transfer of duties then payable into the Britiſh exchequer.

The eighth ſection provided that a ſum equal to what then was applied to charitable purpoſes, and to the encouragement of manufactures, ſhould continue to be ſo appropriated annually by the united parliament; thus ſecuring a continuance of the linen board, and other local inſtitutions, which had hitherto received parliamentary bounty.

He then reverted to the fifth article, and briefly diſcuſſed the eccleſiaſtical part of the plan of Union. The leading features of the whole ſyſtem, he ſaid, were, one ſtate, one legiſlature, one church; and, if there ſhould not be an identity with Britain in theſe great points of connection, Ireland could not expect to enjoy real and permanent ſecurity. The church in particular, as long as the ſeparation ſhould continue, would ever be liable to be impeached upon local grounds, and would be unable to maintain itſelf effectually againſt the argument of phyſical force, by which it was continually aſſailed: but, when once it ſhould be completely incorporated with the church of England, it would be placed upon ſuch a ſtrong and national foundation, as to be above all apprehenſions or alarms from adverſe intereſt.

The Proteſtant, ſo long as the eſtabliſhment remained ſeparate, and was impeached on local grounds, would feel his power, his property, and his government inſecure, and muſt naturally look with diſtruſt and jealouſy on the Catholic: the Catholic would feel proportionate alienation and reſentment,

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and would continually urge his claims againſt the eſtabliſhment of the minority; and thus there appeared no ray of hope of a termination to diſtruſt, jealouſy, and alarm. But, when the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments of the two kingdoms ſhould have been incorporated into one church, the Proteſtant would feel himſelf at once identified with the population and property of the empire, and the eſtabliſhment would be placed upon its natural baſis. The cauſe of diſtruſt muſt vaniſh with the removal of weakneſs; ſtrength and confidence would produce liberality; and the claims of the Catholics might be temperately diſcuſſed, and impartially decided before an imperial parliament, diveſted of thoſe local circumſtances, which would ever produce irritation and jealouſy.

He took notice of the imputation, that the Catholic clergy have been bribed to ſupport this meaſure. That was an illiberal imputation, thrown out for the dangerous purpoſe of weakening their authority over, by lowering them in the opinion of, their flocks; for it was known, that an arrangement for the clergy, both Catholic and Proteſtant Diſſenters, had been long in the contemplation of his majeſty's miniſters. As to the inſinuation, that the meaſure of Union was a meaſure of bribery; if bribery and public advantage were ſynonymous, he readily admitted it to be a meaſure of the moſt comprehenſive bribery that was ever produced. It bribed all the inhabitants of Ireland, by offering to embrace them within the pale of the Britiſh conſtitution, and to communicate to them all the advantage of Britiſh commerce. But perhaps there was one claſs in the community, to which an Union would not act as a bribe: he alluded to thoſe, who called themſelves lovers of liberty and independence; of that liberty, which conſiſted in the abdication of the Britiſh conſtitution; that independence, which conſiſted in the abandonment of Britiſh connexion. He acknowledged, that thoſe were bribes he was not prepared to offer: there were many, with whom he was not prepared to make any treaty, but the treaty of the law.

The only remaining queſtion of importance was, that which related to the conſtitution of the parliament. The repreſentation of Ireland by equal numbers having been urged as a meaſure requiſite for a fair Union, his lordſhip reprobated the idea as founded on the common and refuted error, that the two kingdoms, after an Union, would retain diſtinct and adverſe intereſts. If this ſhould be admitted, the propoſed remedy would even augment the diſorder. Rival intereſts, far from being remedied by equality of numbers, would

would, from the circumſtance of ſuch equality, break forth into jealous and hoſtile competition. It would therefore be adviſeable to proceed upon an oppoſite principle, and, on the ground of a community of intereſt between incorporated kingdoms, adjuſt the number of repreſentatives by the *criteria* of wealth and population.

The population of Ireland was in general eſtimated from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000.* The population of Great Britain is ſuppoſed to exceed 10,000,000. The contribution propoſed for Ireland to furniſh to the expences of the empire, is as one to $7\frac{1}{2}$. Theſe two proportions taken together, will produce a mean proportion of about $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. If, therefore, Ireland ſhould ſend one hundred members to repreſent her in the Imperial Houſe of Commons, ſhe would be fairly and adequately repreſented.

With reference to the peerage, he would propoſe, that the repreſentative body for Ireland ſhould conſiſt of four ſpiritual and twenty-eight temporal lords: and when it was conſidered, that above forty noblemen who had great intereſts and ſtakes in Ireland were already peers of Great Britain, he flattered himſelf, that their intereſts in that branch of the legiſlature would be ſufficiently maintained by a body ſo numerous and reſpectable.

With regard to the appointment of the peers, who were to ſit in the imperial parliament, he ſhould propoſe, that the four ſpiritual peers ſhould ſit by rotation of ſeſſions, and that, for the prevention of the inconveniences, which reſulted from ſeptennial elections, the twenty-eight temporal peers ſhould be returned for life. Such an arrangement appeared at once beſt calculated to ſecure their independence, and to preſerve, as far as poſſible, the hereditary principle of the peerage. It was alſo intended to interfere in as ſmall a degree as poſſible with any exiſting privileges of the peerage of Ireland; and he ſhould ſuggeſt, with that view, that the peers of Ireland might ſtill be allowed to ſit in the Houſe of Commons of the united parliament, for any county or borough of Great Britain; but that, during the period of their thus ſitting as commoners, they ſhould be tried as commoners, and be precluded from repreſenting the Iriſh peerage, or voting at the election of any peer; and, as the Iriſh peerage materially differed from the Scotch, the titles of the latter being entailed generally, and the former limited to the heirs male, it was intended to reſerve a power to the crown of creating Iriſh peers, provided that the number of peers exiſting at the time of the Union were not augmented.

* There are many ſtrong reaſons for believing it to amount to near 5,000,000.

In forming the repreſentation of the commons of Ireland, he ſhould ſuggeſt the expediency of increaſing the proportion, and ſtrengthening the influence of the counties. That principle was wiſely adopted in the Scotiſh Union, when the repreſentatives for the counties amounted to thirty, and thoſe of the boroughs to fifteen. In following that precedent, he intended to propoſe, that the ſixty-four members for counties ſhould be elected as at preſent, and that thirty-ſix ſhould repreſent the chief cities and towns of the kingdom. Here the proportion was nearly the ſame.

In order to produce a return of thirty-ſix members only, to repreſent the boroughs and cities of Ireland, which conſiſted of one hundred and eighteen places, recourſe muſt be had to ſome principle, either of ſelection or combination. The latter principle was followed in the Union with Scotland, where the boroughs were divided into fifteen claſſes, each claſs conſiſting of four or five boroughs, each borough electing a delegate, and the majority of delegates chooſing a burgeſs. It had, however, been found by experience, that this mode of election was ſubject to much inconvenience and cabal; and he would therefore adviſe, that only the moſt conſiderable towns in the kingdom ſhould be permitted to ſend repreſentatives, and that the privileges of the other boroughs ſhould ceaſe. He would propoſe, that Cork and Dublin ſhould each ſend two repreſentatives as at preſent; that one ſhould be returned by the Univerſity; and that thirty-one of the moſt conſiderable cities and towns of Ireland, whoſe relative importance was to be meaſured by the joint conſideration of their wealth and population, ſhould each ſend a member to the imperial parliament.

In ſelecting the towns which ſhould retain the privilege of ſending members to parliament, the criterion he ſuggeſted, would be from the combined reſult of the hearth-money and window tax.

As the diſfranchiſement of many boroughs would diminiſh the influence and privileges of thoſe gentlemen whoſe property was connected with ſuch places of election, he endeavoured to obviate their complaints by promiſing, that, if the plan ſubmitted to the houſe ſhould be finally approved, he would offer ſome meaſure of compenſation to thoſe individuals *whoſe peculiar in tereſts ſhould ſuffer in the arrangement.

Much and deep objection might be ſtated to ſuch a meaſure; but it ſurely

* This purchaſe of each borough for 15,000*l.* each, was ſuppoſed to have brought over many proſelytes to the Unioniſts, who would otherwiſe have oppoſed the meaſure.

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was conſonant with the privileges of private juſtice; it was calculated to meet the feelings of the moderate; and it was better to reſort to ſuch a meaſure, however objectionable, than adhere to the preſent ſyſtem, and keep afloat, for ever, the dangerous queſtion of parliamentary reform. If this were a meaſure of purchaſe, it ſhould be recollected, that it would be the purchaſe of peace, and the expence of it would be redeemed by one year's ſaving of the Union.

Some might object, that a repreſentation formed on the principle ſuggeſted, would be too popular in its nature and effects; and, indeed, if Ireland were to remain ſeparate from Great Britain, he ſhould feel the full weight of that objection; but, as their repreſentation was to be mixed with that of Britain, any danger ariſing from its popular conſtitution would be ſufficiently counteracted by the conſiſtency and ſtability of that body.

The laſt article would provide for the continuance of the exiſting laws, for the preſervation of the courts of juſtice in their preſent ſtate, for the removal of appeals to the Houſe of Lords of the imperial parliament, and for ſubjecting the prize court of admiralty to the lord high admiral of the empire. He then ſpoke of the general plan in the following terms:

" Having now gone through the outline of the plan with as much conciſe-
" neſs as poſſible, I truſt I have proved to every man who hears me, that the
" propoſal is ſuch a one, as is at once honorable for Great Britain to offer,
" and for Ireland to accept. It is one, which will entirely remove from the
" executive power thoſe anomalies, which are the perpetual ſources of jea-
" louſy and diſcontent. It is one, which will relieve the apprehenſions of
" thoſe who feared that Ireland was, in conſequence of an Union, to be bur-
" thened with the debt of Britain. It is one, which, by eſtabliſhing a fair
" principle of contribution, tends to releaſe Ireland from an expence of one
" million in time of war, and of 500,000*l.* in time of peace. It is one, which
" increaſes the reſources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, ſecures
" to us the Britiſh market, and encourages all the produce of our ſoil. It is
" one, that, by uniting the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and conſolidating
" the legiſlatures of the empire, puts an end to religious jealouſy, and re-
" moves the poſſibility of ſeparation. It is one, that places the great queſ-
" tion, which has ſo long agitated the country, upon the broad principles
" of imperial policy, and diveſts it of all its local difficulties. It is one, that
" eſtabliſhes ſuch a repreſentation for the country, as muſt lay aſleep for ever

" the queſtion of parliamentary reform, which, combined with our religious " diviſions, has produced all our diſtractions and calamities."

Then Lord Caſtlereagh, in a warm panegyric on the Britiſh miniſter, concluded, that, as on a recurrence of danger, Great Britain might not have ſuch a character to riſe up again for her ſalvation, it was highly expedient to ſeize the preſent moment, and ſtrengthen the Iriſh conſtitution by blending and uniting it for ever with the great and powerful empire of Britain. If that important object ſhould be accompliſhed, and if at any future time the enemies of Britain and of mankind ſhould be let looſe upon the ſocial world, Ireland, he doubted not, would be in ſuch a ſituation of unanimity and power, as to bear a conſpicuous part with Great Britain in the glorious taſk of reſtoring the liberties of Europe.

Mr. G. Ponſonby made a powerful attack on the Iriſh miniſter. He vindicated the Anti-unioniſts, who were accuſed of irregular practices, by obſerving, that, though at any other time and under different circumſtances ſuch behaviour might be extraordinary, yet, when it was conſidered, that a formidable rebellion was ſcarcely ſuppreſſed, and that martial law was in force, the interference of men of rank, property, and reſpectability, ſeemed to be neceſſary, in order to ſhew to the people the ſafety and the propriety of expreſſing, in a conſtitutional manner, their ſenſe of a meaſure, which would deprive them of conſtitution, of liberty, of every thing dear and valuable to themſelves and to their country.

He treated as viſionary all the proffered advantages of Union. In the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, Union would produce but one ſolid effect, which would be to tranſlate the Iriſh into Engliſh biſhops.

He then ſummed up the effects of the Union in theſe terms: " Your peer- " age is to be diſgraced; your commons purchaſed; no additional advan- " tage in commerce; for twenty years a little ſaving in contribution; but, " if the cabinet of England think, that we contribute more than we ſhould, " why not correct that extravagance now? If any thing ſhould be con- " ceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now? Are any of thoſe " benefits incompatible with our preſent ſtate? No; but the miniſter wants " to carry his Union; and no favor, however trifling, can be yielded to us, " unleſs we are willing to purchaſe it with the exiſtence of parliament and " the liberties of the country."

A ſhort ſpeech of cenſure from Sir John Parnell was ſucceeded by a long one

one from Mr. Dobbs, but there was nothing new in their arguments. The latter of theſe two gentlemen was very enthuſiaſtic in his declamation. He at length conſoled himſelf with this reflection, that the fate of nations was not in the hands of man. It was not the will of a Britiſh miniſter that could rob Ireland of her newly-acquired rights: he proclaimed it to the two nations, that the independence of Ireland was written in the immutable records of Heaven.

Colonel Verreker, Mr. Lee and Mr. Ogle, again reprobated the meaſure; Sir John Blaquiere, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Ormſby ſtrenuouſly ſupported it.

Mr. John Claudius Beresford denied, that the greater part of the property in the kingdom favoured the Union. Such a concluſion could not be drawn from the addreſſes which had been preſented, while ſo many petitions proved the contrary. On the ſubject of the letters miſſive, he ſaw nothing very ſtrange in ſuch endeavours to procure the real ſenſe of the country, when ſo many extraordinary means had been uſed to procure an apparent one. He admitted, that the eſtabliſhment would be endangered by the emancipation of the Catholics while Ireland ſhould continue to have a ſeparate parliament; but, in the event of an Union, he pledged himſelf to promote the grant of the conceſſions which they deſired.

Mr. Burrowes declared, that his oppoſition to the progreſs of the meaſure did not ariſe from the peculiar demerit of the plan now developed, but from his unwillingneſs to ſurrender the conſtitution of the realm upon any terms whatever, or to transfer the ſupreme power of the ſtate to a country divided from Ireland by boundaries which could not be removed, and by feelings which could not be extinguiſhed. If an Union ſhould paſs, as an Iriſhman he ſhould be indifferent how many or how few deputies ſhould be ſent from their emaſculated country. The parliament could not be ſaid to exerciſe an unbiaſſed judgment, though he would not particulariſe the means, by which it had been influenced. With regard to the opinion of the public, it was clear, that the general voice was ſtrongly againſt the meaſure. The deteſtation of it was ſtrikingly apparent in every quarter of the kingdom, and among all claſſes of people. This diſplay of the national ſentiment was an awful warning.

Mr. Edgeworth, diſclaiming all party connexion, diſcuſſed ſome points connected with the meaſure. He did not object to it as an innovation. The ſettlement of 1782 was an innovation; and he concurred in the opinion, that

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it was intended to be final, though by no means perfect. While he wiſhed for an Union, he did not altogether approve the plan now recommended. It would leave grounds of jealouſy and altercation, and would not involve the complete identity of intereſt requiſite for the ſtability of ſuch a meaſure. He alſo thought it improper to urge the ſcheme, unleſs it ſhould appear to be deſired by the ſober and impartial majority of the nation; and, while ſeventy boroughs were allowed to be ſaleable commodities, for which the public money was to be given, he not only deemed it impoſſible to collect the genuine ſenſe of the nation in that houſe, but could not conſcientiouſly ſupport a ſcheme attended with this avowed corruption.

Mr. Mac Cleland ridiculed the idea of the preſent independence of Ireland; affirmed, that national and commercial jealouſies were neceſſarily incident to the exiſting connexion between the countries; and recommended an Union, as tending to combine real independence with wealth and proſperity.

Mr. Tighe accuſed Lord Caſtlereagh of having argued upon two aſſumptions, which he could not prove. One was, that the opinion of the nation was in favor of the meaſure; the other, that Ireland could be adequately and fairly repreſented in an united parliament. He alſo charged the Unioniſts with having had recourſe to the diſhonorable arts of corruption and intimidation, in the proſecution of their unconſtitutional ſcheme.

Mr. Smith denied, that the Union would annihilate the liberties or the conſtitution of Ireland; and aſſerted, that the greater part of the property and intelligence of the country juſtly conſidered the meaſure in an oppoſite point of view.

Mr. J. M. O'Donell reprobated the ſcheme with great warmth, and inveighed particularly againſt the apoſtates and traitors, who aimed at the ruin of their country. He contradicted the attorney-general's aſſertion, that Molyneux had recommended a legiſlative Union.

Mr. Serjeant Stanley ſpoke in favor of Union.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, that the right honorable gentleman propoſed a counter-revolution, as if he were to bring in a bill to depoſe the Houſe of Hanover, and re-eſtabliſh that of Stuart: he propoſed to reſtore the domination of the Britiſh parliament, which abdicated Ireland, and to depoſe the Iriſh parliament that had ſaved her; grounding the propoſition on the opportunity, the weakneſs, the diviſions, and the martial law of the country; but concealing thoſe grounds, becauſe a diſcloſure of them would diſplay the real character

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and perfidy of the meaſure, and profeſſing to introduce it on another ground, namely, the wiſhes of the country, as mis-ſtated and miſrepreſented by the ſervants of the crown. In this propoſition, the miniſter had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century; to apologiſe for the lawleſs and oppreſſive proceedings of England, for a ſyſtem which had counteracted the kindneſs of Providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a ſtate of thraldom and miſery; to prove that the Britiſh parliament had undergone a great change of diſpoſition; to diſprove two conſequences, which were portended by the odium of the Union and the increaſed expences of the empire, namely, a military government for a conſiderable time, and, at no very diſtant period, an augmentation of taxes; to deny or diſpute the growth of the proſperity of Ireland, under the maternal wing of her own parliament; to controvert the ſufficiency of that legiſlature for imperial purpoſes or commercial objects, though facts were againſt him; and to explode or recal his repeated declarations in its favor. In ſhort, he had to prove many points, which he could by no means demonſtrate; and to diſprove many, which might be forcibly maintained againſt him. It was, moreover, ſingular to behold the man, who denied the right of France to alter her government, maintaining the omnipotence of the parliament of Ireland to annul her conſtitution.

He then urged the very ſerious importance of the queſtion. It was not ſuch as had formerly occupied their attention: not old Poynings, not peculation, not an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a reform bill---it was their being---it was more, it was their life to come---whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont and the volunteers, and eraſe his epitaph, or whether their children ſhould go to their graves, ſaying, "A venal, a military court attacked "the liberties of the Iriſh, and here lie the bones of the honorable men, who "ſaved their country." Such an epitaph was a nobility, which the king could not give to his ſlaves; it was a glory, which the crown could not give to the king.

Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer, offered ſome obſervations in reply, that contained no novelty.

Dr. Duigenan entered into a moſt diffuſe diſſertation upon the ſubject, diſclaimed all connexion with the miniſters of either country, and aſſerted the ſincerity of his own convictions in favor of an Union.

Mr. Saurin aſſerted the exiſtence of a compact between the government and

and the people. It was to be found, he ſaid, in the heart of every honeſt ſenator; and he truſted, that every member would reflect on the duties involved in ſuch a compact before he ſhould give his vote on the preſent queſtion. The functions and authority of parliament ought not to be transferred to another country, without the ſanction of a full and aſcertained majority of the people. The truſtees of power had no right of themſelves to deſtroy that which they were delegated to preſerve.

Colonel Fitzgerald, Mr. Johnſon, and the ſolicitor general ſpoke in favor of Union.

When the queſtion was called for, the houſe divided, at a very late hour, 158 for Lord Caſtlereagh's motion, and 115 againſt it.

In returning from the houſe, ſome of the members were inſulted by the populace for ſupporting the Union; but no ſerious miſchief enſued. Applications were made to the viceroy for protection; and from that time forward, under pretence of ſecuring the perſons of the members from inſult and outrage, a regular guard of cavalry was mounted in Foſter's Place, near to the Parliament Houſe, round which they regularly paraded during all future debates. This meaſure of precaution or pretext was loudly reprobated by the Anti-unioniſts, as a military controul, and therefore as an unconſtitutional check upon the freedom of debate.

When the number of the placemen, penſioners, and other influenced members, who had voted on the late diviſion is conſidered, the miniſter had but ſlender grounds for triumphing in his majority of 48, if from them were to be collected the genuine ſenſe of the independent part of that houſe and of the people of Ireland, whom they repreſented. Fluſhed however with the unexpected ſucceſs, the miniſter eagerly ſent it in to the lords, where the Earl of Clare had pledged himſelf to carry it through*. Here on the 10th of February, 1800, the order of the day having been read for taking his majeſty's

* So imperiouſly in the eyes of the Britiſh cabinet did the relative ſituations of the two kingdoms now call for a Legiſlative Union, ſo unlikely did it appear, that another favorable opportunity of carrying the meaſure ſhould ſoon recur, that recourſe was certainly had to the powers of patronage and influence; and many, it is to be feared, in both houſes ſacrificed their convictions. Twenty-ſeven new titles were added to the peerage; promotions, grants, conceſſions, arrangements, promiſes were laviſhed with a profuſion never before known in that country. Pity for both ſides, that ſo great and important a political meaſure ſhould owe any part of its ſucceſs, to other than the means of temperate reaſon and perſuaſion.

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meſſage into conſideration relative to the propoſed Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the articles for that purpoſe, the Lord Chancellor aroſe to call their lordſhips' attention to a ſubject certainly the moſt momentous, which had ever been ſubmitted for deciſion to the parliament of that country: a ſubject embracing the vital intereſts of Ireland, and intimately affecting the ſtrength and proſperity of the Britiſh empire. But when he recollected the criminal and unexampled efforts which had been made, from the moment that meaſure was firſt propoſed for diſcuſſion, to bear it down by noiſe, and faction, and intrigue, if not by recommendations of open rebellion, he ſhould condemn himſelf for a groſs dereliction of his duty, were he to forbear to ſubmit it to their moſt ſerious conſideration, in all its various and important views and bearings, under the ſtrong conviction, that nothing but Union would ſave that kingdom from annihilation, and eventually uphold the ſtability of the Britiſh empire. From a critical and attentive obſervation of what had paſſed in Ireland for the laſt twenty years, he was ſatisfied in his judgment and conſcience, that the exiſtence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent complicated and bitter calamities; and that it had at length become deſperate and impracticable. He had, more than once, in the Houſe of Commons, ſtated without reſerve, that the rapid growth of faction, and the precipitate folly and paſſion of men, who from time to time were ſuffered to take a commanding lead in the councils of that aſſembly, would inevitably reduce them to the alternative of ſeparation or Union. He had with as little reſerve ſtated the ſame opinion ſince he had had the honor of a ſeat in that houſe; he avowed, that in every communication he had had with the king's miniſters on Iriſh affairs for the laſt ſeven years, he had uniformly and diſtinctly preſſed upon them the urgent neceſſity of Union, as the laſt reſource to preſerve that country to the Britiſh crown. He had preſſed it without effect, until Britiſh miniſters and the Britiſh nation were rouſed to a ſenſe of their common danger, by the late ſanguinary and unprovoked rebellion. His lordſhip after this entered into an hiſtorical ſketch of Ireland from the invaſion down to the late turbulent period.* Thence he

* Having ſo frequently referred to many parts of this noble lord's ſpeech in the courſe of this hiſtory, as they bore upon the particular periods and events under conſideration, it will be unneceſſary to tire the reader with a repetition of them. Mr. Grattan, as has been before obſerved, wrote an anſwer to this ſpeech, and charges the chancellor with groſs miſrepreſentation and falſehood. "His idea," ſaid Mr. Grattan, "was to make the Iriſh hiſtory a calumny againſt their anceſtors, "in order to disfranchiſe their poſterity."

proceeded, certainly not in a ſtyle of affection, or reconciliation, or tenderneſs, or credit to his country, to repreſent it in a manner, which moſt of his countrymen have conſidered opprobrious, calumniating, and untrue.

In referring to the period of Lord Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration, he aſſumed, that the Papiſts would have remained content with the favors which they had received; or, if they looked to ulterior indulgence, they were willing to try the effects of time, temper, and negociation: but on a change of the Iriſh government in 1795, the name and authority of Earl Fitzwilliam were abuſed to force their ſect to come forward as the engine of faction, and demand the repeal of every law, by which they were excluded from political power. Catholic emancipation was the cry; but it was a mere cover for bad deſigns. It was originally a pretence for rebellion, and then a powerful engine of faction, wielded in both countries againſt the peace and happineſs of Ireland; an engine which had already ſhaken their government to its foundation, and could not fail to level it with the duſt, if they were to continue in a ſtate of ſeparation from the Britiſh nation. If after they repealed the teſt laws, and acts of ſupremacy and uniformity, they ſhould yield every other point, then ſome apoſtle of ſedition, in the fullneſs of human arrogance and preſumption, might propoſe a repeal of God's holy commandment, and proclaim the worſhip of graven images in their ſtreets and highways. *What, ſaid his lordſhip, was the leſſon of peace and good-will inculcated by the ſucceſſors of* him who firſt invented this revolutionary weapon? "Let me adviſe you by "no means to poſtpone the conſideration of your fortunes until after the "war: ſeize the opportunity of war for fraternal embraces, and great eman-"cipation: your phyſical conſequence exiſts only in a ſtate of ſeparation from "England; in a ſtate of ſeparation you are four to one, in a ſtate of union "merely one to four: and therefore, though your claims ſhould be attended "to after union, you gain nothing; you may as well be units in the ſtreet "as units in parliament." The whole of the interior mechaniſm of emancipation was here fairly expoſed to view; and he wiſhed every honeſt member of the community, whether Proteſtant or Catholic, to decide for himſelf whether Ireland could ever be at peace until that firebrand was extinguiſhed, and whether a hope exiſted that it could be extinguiſhed, in their preſent ſtate of ſeparation from England. If the Catholics of Ireland were not ſatisfied with the indulgence which they had already experienced, and were determined to preſs their demands of an unqualified repeal of the teſt laws and

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act of ſupremacy, let them be diſcuſſed upon their ſolid merits in the imperial parliament, where the queſtion would not be influenced by paſſion or prejudice; where no part of the conſideration would be, that the Catholics of Ireland might retain their phyſical conſequence for the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of periodical rebellion, under the management and direction of Whigs or Tories, or United Iriſhmen, and where it would be gravely and diſpaſſionately conſidered, whether a repeal of theſe laws might be yielded with ſafety to the Britiſh monarchy, or whether, by adopting the French model, in aboliſhing all religious diſtinctions as connected with the ſtate, they ſhould lay the corner-ſtone of revolution and democracy. His unaltered opinion was, that, ſo long as human nature and the Popiſh religion continued to be what he knew they were, a conſcientious Popiſh eccleſiaſtic never would become a well-attached ſubject to a Proteſtant ſtate, and that the Popiſh clergy muſt always have a commanding influence on every member of that communion. He put this as an abſtract ſtate maxim, without regard to the peculiar ſituation of that country. In private life he never enquired into the religion of any man; if he were honeſt and a good Chriſtian, it mattered not to him that he might ſubſcribe to articles of faith and diſcipline, which his reaſon and underſtanding rejected; but when he was to frame laws for the ſafety of the ſtate, he did not feel himſelf at liberty to act upon the virtues of individuals. Laws muſt be framed to meet and counteract the vicious propenſities of human nature. His lordſhip then animadverted ſeverely upon the ſecond project for Iriſh liberty, parliamentary reform; and recapitulated Mr. W. B. Ponſonby's ſeven reſolutions moved in the Houſe of Commons in 1797. He paſſed by the horrors of the late rebellion, as they had been amply detailed in the reports of the ſecret committees. He maintained, that the treaſonable conſpiracies, which had brought that country to the verge of ruin, were the natural offſpring of the adjuſtment of 1782, and that the convulſion in 1789 gave birth to the Whig inſtitution, the reliques of which might be obſerved in the maſk of liberty, inculcating the principles, and adopting the means originally deviſed by the rebel confederacy of the Iriſh Union, to aboliſh the religion and ſubvert the monarchy of Ireland. He made ſome other remarks on the conduct of the pretended patrons of liberty, and on the great danger, to which their intrigues expoſed their countrymen, and painted a moſt hideous portrait of his wretched and devoted country. Her financial embarraſſments were irretrievable. Her national debt in 1791 did not exceed

 2,442,890*l.*

2,442,890*l.* and at the time of his ſpeaking, it was 25,662,640*l.* Thoſe financial difficulties did not ariſe from a French, a Dutch, or a Spaniſh war, but from a war of faction, a Whig war, and a war of United Iriſhmen. Even if Great Britain ſhould no longer be at war, the rulers of Ireland would be compelled to maintain a war eſtabliſhment for defence againſt their own people.

It had been demanded triumphantly, how were they to be relieved by Union? Firſt, they would be relieved from Britiſh and Iriſh faction, which was the prime ſource of all their calamities. Next, if they became one people with England, the army of the empire would be employed where it was moſt wanted for general ſervice; and ſo long as it ſhould be found neceſſary to garriſon every diſtrict in Ireland, for the internal ſafety of the country, the neceſſary force might be ſtationed there, without additional expence in either country.

It had been ſaid, that, by giving up a ſeparate government and ſeparate parliament, they ſacrificed national dignity and independence; but when he looked at the ſqualid miſery, and profound ignorance, and barbarous manners, and brutal ferocity, of the maſs of the Iriſh people, he was ſickened with the rant of Iriſh dignity and independence. Were the dignity and independence of Ireland to conſiſt in the continued depreſſion and unredeemed barbariſm of the great majority of the people, and the factious contentions of a puny and rapacious oligarchy, who conſidered the Iriſh nation as their political inheritance, and were ready to ſacrifice the public peace and happineſs to their inſatiate love of patronage and power? He felt as a true Iriſhman for the dignity and independence of his country; and would elevate her to her proper ſtation in the rank of civiliſed nations.* He wiſhed

* Theſe ebullitions of patriotiſm in the Earl of Clare have always been conſidered by the greater part of his countrymen as a varniſh to gloſs over his own private views of ſelf-intereſt and ambition to which he was conſidered by them ever to have ſacrificed the welfare and happineſs of his country. In addition to the acrimonious obloquy upon his country in this ſpeech, I refer the reader to what he ſaid of it in the Britiſh houſe of peers by way of encouraging Britiſh capitaliſts and manufacturers to reſort thither.

Upon the third reading of the martial law bill in the Imperial Houſe of Peers on the 23d of March, 1801 (a period not within the range of this hiſtory) that noble lord gave the following repulſive and abhorrent portrait of his country: little, it will impartially be allowed, calculated to conciliate

wiſhed to advance her from the degraded poſt of a mercenary province to the proud ſtation of an integral and governing member of the greateſt empire

conciliate the affections and promote the advancement of the ſpirit of Union in either of the contracting parties to the terms of their recent contract. " Moſt of the noble lords then preſent had " lived in ſecurity and happineſs under the Britiſh conſtitution. Conſcious of the many bleſ- " ſings that conſtitution was calculated to confer, they muſt revolt at the idea of ſuſpending it in " any part of the empire. Such however was the unfortunate, the melancholy, the degraded ſtate " of Ireland, that ſhe muſt either fly for refuge to a military government, or ſubmit to an unprin- " cipled, a ſavage, and a ferocious democracy. He maintained that there was no other alternative. " The civil government was unable to ſupport itſelf, and, if unaided by military force, would " quickly crumble into atoms. The rebellion that had exiſted in that country was of a nature " unparalleled in the hiſtory of the world. It did not proceed from miſtaken loyalty, religious " zeal, or party difference. All principle had been corrupted; every laudable feeling had been " extirpated from the mind; and nothing prevailed but domeſtic treaſon, bloody murder, and " cowardly aſſaſſination. Though it had been vanquiſhed in the field, it was not ſubdued—it had " exiſted long before it broke out, and it exiſted ſtill. Democracy had taken deep root in that " country, and it would probably be long before a ſpirit of ſubordination could be reſtored. He " had often aſſerted, he did then aſſert, and ſhould always continue to aſſert, that from the time " that the appeal of a rebel convention from the Iriſh parliament had been received in this country " and ſanctioned by authority, democracy had been planted in Ireland, and it had continually " grown up and flouriſhed ſince. Now it was greatly too powerful for the civil government; " and unleſs its growth was thus checked it would completely gain the aſcendant. Martial law " was indiſpenſable, and could alone give any ſecurity to the property, the religion, and the lives " of the loyal inhabitants. Here the noble lord took occaſion to compliment Marquis Cornwallis; " he had done all that could be done by man, yet Ireland was not in a ſituation to enjoy the con- " ſtitution for martial law to be exerciſed effectually, it was neceſſary that the king's courts ſhould " be completely ſhut up. His lordſhip drew a picture of the ſtate of Ireland, the moſt ſhocking " imaginable. Many of his remarks he ſaid he made with pain, and therefore they were not " reported. Where the contagion was ſtrongeſt, he obſerved, it was impoſſible to know. The " county of Limerick in which he reſided, was almoſt the only one that remained quiet during " the rebellion; yet a dangerous inſurrection afterwards ſuddenly broke out in it, and it was begun " by an atrocious murder being committed under his own roof. One of his own ſervants was put " to death with circumſtances the moſt ſhocking to humanity, merely becauſe he was an Engliſh- " man; and, to ſhew the extreme barbariſm, at which the Iriſh people had arrived, the principal " aſſaſſin was a man who had been his ſervant, and his father's ſervant for upwards of thirty-years, " and had been uniformly treated by both of them with the greateſt poſſible kindneſs. He men- " tioned this to ſhew that they were not animated by any thing reſembling a rational motive, but " were ſpurred on merely by a thirſt for blood. If the noble earl (Earl Fitzwilliam, to whom he " addreſſed himſelf all along) could find time to viſit his eſtates in the county of Wicklow, he " would ſee, that theſe repreſentations were not exaggerated. He would there behold nothing

" but

empire in the world. He wiſhed to withdraw the higher orders of his countrymen from the narrow and corrupted ſphere of Iriſh politics, and to direct their attention to objects of national importance, to teach them to improve the natural energies and extend the reſources of their country, to encourage the ſkill and ingenuity of manufacturers, open uſeful channels for commercial enterpriſe, and, above all, ſeriouſly to exert their beſt endeavours to tame and civiliſe the lower orders of the people, to inculcate in their minds habits of religion and morality, and induſtry, and due ſubordination, to relieve their wants, and correct their exceſſes. Unleſs they would civiliſe their people, it was vain to look for national tranquillity or contentment.

To the objection, that the meaſure of union was unſeaſonable, he replied, they were not to await the period of actual bankruptcy, or the iſſue of a new

" but traces of deſolation and ſigns of the renewal of theſe horrors. With the deepeſt grief he " ſaw ſuch things, and ſpoke of them. Happy would he be, if he could go to his bed-chamber " without going as to an armoury, and could cloſe his eyes without apprehenſions of having his " throat cut before morning, or ſeeing his wife and children butchered before him. He ſhould " be inexpreſſibly happy when he could once more walk out unarmed; for it was a curious fact, " that, when he was in Ireland, his ſervant brought him his arms as regularly as he brought him " his hat. To think of repreſſing this ſpirit by coaxing, conceſſions, and indulgence, was abſurd! " Acts of that kind, though well meant, had already had a miſchievous tendency. The rebels had " a ſyſtem of laws the moſt ſevere, and the moſt promptly executed. This was far more efficient " than the civil code, and could only be met and counteracted by martial law. If this bill were " not renewed, ſcenes would be exhibited in Ireland, to which there had been nothing reſembling " ſince the year 1641. . It was eaſy for thoſe at a diſtance from the ſpot to talk of humanity, and " to rail againſt meaſures of vigor. Let noble lords who oppoſed that bill take a journey to Ire- " land. He engaged to give any ſix of them a villa, and a ſmall farm each, if they would conſent " to reſide in it. After they had taſted for a twelvemonth the ſweets of an Iriſh life, let them " come over (if they ſurvived) and declaim in favor of the rights of the Iriſh. The noble lord " concluded by adverting to the report that he was an advocate of torture. The foundation for " that report, he ſaid, he recollected well, and ſhould ſtate to the houſe. A blackſmith had been " apprehended, who, there was the greateſt reaſon to believe, had been engaged in framing pike- " heads. After various means being tried, in vain, to force him to confeſs where he had concealed " them, he was placed upon the piquet. There he had not remained half a minute, when he told " where about 500 might be found, and there they were found accordingly. In anſwer to what " had fallen from a noble lord oppoſite (Earl Moira), he had ſaid it ſhould be maturely conſidered, " whether ſociety would ſuffer moſt from the murder of two or three hundred loyal and well-diſ- " poſed men, which was probably thus prevented, or from a rebel blackſmith being placed half " a minute on the piquet. What he had ſaid then, he now repeated; and if there were any who, " regardleſs of the two or three hundred loyal and well-diſpoſed inhabitants, pitied only the rebel " blackſmith, he did not envy them their feelings."

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rebellion, that Great Britain might be enabled to dictate the terms on which Ireland ſhould liſten to the propoſition? That was a period of all others the moſt auſpicious for Ireland to ſet on foot ſuch a treaty. The late rebellion had been ſo far put down, that ſhe was enabled to treat on fair and equal terms.

The evil of emigration could never be greater than at that day. If they were to live in a perpetual ſtorm there; if it were to remain at the diſcretion of every adventurer, of feeble and oſtentatious talents, ungoverned by a particle of judgment or diſcretion, to dreſs up fictitious grievances for popular deluſion, and let looſe a ſavage and barbarous people upon the property and reſpect of the Iriſh nation, what gentleman, who had the means of living out of that country, would be induced to remain in it? His lordſhip moſt ſolemnly declared, that no earthly conſideration ſhort of a ſtrong ſenſe of duty ſhould have induced him to remain an eye-witneſs of the ſcenes of folly and madneſs, and horrors of every deſcription, in which he had lived for ſome years paſt; and that he would rather give up every proſpect which remained to him in that country, and begin a new courſe in his old age, than ſubmit to the ſame miſery and diſguſt for the remnant of his life.

When it was firſt known, that Great Britain was ready to receive her ſiſter kingdom into the communion of her liberty, wealth, induſtry and happineſs, the offer was treated, by ſome who called themſelves friends of liberty and the Iriſh conſtitution, with a degree of intemperance, which reſembled the fury of wild beaſts alarmed at an attack upon their prey. The flame of diſcontent ſpread with rapidity; and appeals of the moſt virulent and inflammatory tendency were made by theſe friends of liberty to the deluded barbarians, who had been ſo recently conſigned by them to indiſcriminate extirpation. When the meaſure was propoſed, the *friends of liberty* would not ſuffer it to be diſcuſſed; and when it was relinquiſhed for a time, they endeavoured to force the premature diſcuſſion of it, in the hope of precluding a fair inveſtigation of its merits. Perſons of high rank had not ſcrupled to propagate ſedition during the receſs of parliament, and to canvas popular clamor againſt the meaſure, by the moſt ſhameleſs impoſitions on the ignorance and credulity of every man, who would liſten to them. His lordſhip then animadverted on the aſſumption of a conſular authority by two peers and a commoner, who iſſued "a letter miſſive" through the realm, promoting ſtrong petitions againſt the Union. He made a very ſevere addreſs

dreſs to the young Earl of Charlemont, and called upon him publicly to diſavow all knowlege of the exiſtence of ſuch a fund, or, if he could not diſavow it, to ſtate explicitly any honeſt purpoſe, to which it could be applied. He propoſed to that grave aſſembly an entire and perfect union of the kingdom of Ireland with Great Britain, which, if he lived to ſee completed, to his lateſt hour he ſhould feel an honorable pride in reflecting on the ſhare he might have had in contributing to effect it.*

The Earl of Charlemont denied that he had oppoſed the Union by bribery, but allowed that he had endeavoured to procure petitions to counteract thoſe addreſſes, which were promoted by all the influence of government. He thought it his duty to purſue all conſtitutional means for the defeat of a project, which appeared to him to be full of detriment and injury to Ireland, and of danger to the Britiſh empire.

The Marquis of Downſhire roſe to repel the chancellor's accuſation, and ſtate his objections to the union. He had heard of an anti-union ſubſcription; but he did not believe the information. If ſuch a fund exiſted, he could honeſtly aſſert, that he had never ſubſcribed to it, and had not even been deſired to contribute to it.

He differed from the noble lord in many points. He conſidered the rebellion to have been principally occaſioned by the inconſiſtent conduct of the government. At one time he had been requeſted, as a friend to that government, to ſign a ſtrong declaration in ſupport of the Proteſtant aſcendancy; but, if he could have foreſeen the conſequences, he would ſooner have ſuffered an amputation of the hand that ſigned it, than have put his name to it; not but that he was a true and zealous Proteſtant, and a ſincere friend to the eſtabliſhed church of Ireland. A few months afterwards, he had been called upon by the ſame government to vote for the emancipation of the Catholics, to which, though he were not of an intolerant diſpoſition, he could not accede. This contradictory policy muſt have had a tendency to irritate the public mind, and ſeemed to have led to thoſe

* Notwithſtanding this declaration, it is reported, that this noble lord felt ſo ſenſibly, after the Union, the loſs of his own power and conſequence, of which he was inordinately fond, that it preyed upon his ſpirits, and contributed to haſten his diſſolution; and he is ſaid to have avowed in his laſt illneſs, that of all the political actions of his life he moſt repented of his exertions to bring about the Union. His ambition aſpired to rule the Britiſh councils, as he had ſo long directed thoſe of Ireland. There he failed.

evils

evils which now, in ſubſerviency to the miniſterial project, were aſcribed to other cauſes.

The noble marquis felt inexpreſſible uneaſineſs at being branded as a factious man, after he had ſacrificed his youth, his health, and his fortune, in the ſupport of the king and the government of Ireland. Was it juſt or candid to impute ſeditious views to one who had purſued an oppoſite courſe, and who had ſtudiouſly cheriſhed the ſoundeſt principles of loyalty. In putting his ſignature to the *letter miſſive* he had acted as an independent gentleman of Ireland, as a man of large poſſeſſions, acquainted with the ſtate of the country, and deeply intereſted in its welfare. As it had been confidently aſſerted, that the Unioniſts had a greater extent of property than their opponents, it was incumbent on thoſe, who had a better knowlege of the opinion of the public to call for a conſtitutional declaration of ſentiment, not from the dregs of the people, but from the more reſpectable part of the community, that the miniſter and his friends might be convinced of their error.

Lord Glentworth declared his firm conviction that an union alone could quiet the country and ſecure the empire. In the preſent ſtate of Ireland, there was no medium between cloſe union and total ſeparation. He mingled with his arguments ſevere ſtrictures upon the triumvirate, and aſſerted the notoriety of the exiſtence of the treaſury mentioned by the chancellor.

Viſcount Dillon was apprehenſive that diſloyalty would not be checked by the Union, and that it would not promote the ſecurity of the country. Lord Donoghmore reaſoned chiefly on the ſubject of the Catholic claims, which, he thought, might be more ſafely and effectually adjuſted after a conſolidation of the legiſlatures. Viſcount Powerſcourt denied the competency of the parliament to adopt the meaſure. Viſcount Carleton not only defended that point, but ſupported the particular proviſions of the plan; and the Archbiſhop of Caſhel alſo argued in favor of the competency. The Earl of Farnham objected to the inconvenient diſtance of the united parliament from Ireland, and dreaded the provincial ſubjection of that country to Britain. The Earl of Glendore was an advocate for the Union, as were the Chief Juſtice Kilwarden, and Lord Sunderlin; the Earl of Bellamont ſtrongly declaimed againſt it. The firſt reſolution paſſed the houſe by a majority of 49, the numbers being 75 for and 26 againſt it.

On the 24th of February, it was reſolved in the lords, that the houſe ſhould

be put into a committee again to take the ſaid meſſage into further conſideration on Monday the 11th of March, and the lords to be ſummoned.*

The general principles of the Union having been amply diſcuſſed in both houſes, it was moved, on the 14th of February in the commons, that a general committee ſhould proceed to the conſideration of the particular terms of the Union, when Colonel Vereker congratulated the houſe on what he termed the defeat of the miniſtry, in obtaining ſuch a paltry majority at the laſt meeting, and hoped either that the project would be abandoned, or that ample time would be allowed for aſcertaining the ſenſe of the people on the ſubject.

A warm debate enſued, in which the honorable George Knox obſerved, that though an Union might not be an innovation upon words or names, it would be an innovation upon the ſpirit and ſubſtance of the conſtitution. If the parliament ſhould be removed to Madras, it might be ſaid that the Iriſh would retain their former conſtitution; but he deemed it an eſſential part of the ſyſtem, that there ſhould be a free, conſtant, and immediate communication between the legiſlature and the nation for which it acted.

Many gentlemen ſpoke to the queſtion, and moſt of them for delay. Mr. Goold entered at large into the whole ſubject. He ſaid, that the records of the whole world did not exhibit a ſcene ſo ſingular as that of a miniſter deſiring a parliament to extinguiſh itſelf on account of its crimes or its legiſlative impotency.

A motion for adjournment having been made, with a view to the production of additional documents requiſite for the accurate comprehenſion of ſome of the detailed articles, 89 members voted for it, and 126 againſt it: it was then moved, that the debate ſhould be adjourned to the 17th, which the ſecretary, though he negatived the motion by a majority of 47, aſſented ſhould take place.

* 8 Lords Journ. p. 348.

	Diſſentient.	
Leinſter	Charlemont	Enniſkillen
Downſhire	Meath	Granard
Bellamont	Mount Caſhell	Farnham
Dillon	Strangford	Powerſcourt
William Down & Connor	Rich. Waterford & Liſmore	Dunſany
Louth	Blaney	Liſmore
Sunderlin		

On

On the appointed day, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry, retraced his old ground of argument, which he interſperſed with much perſonal acrimony and abuſe, directed particularly to Mr. Grattan, who vindicated himſelf in ſtrong language, and retorted upon his opponent the inſinuations of unconſtitutional and treaſonable conduct. Mr. Corry replied with redoubled ſeverity; and Mr. Grattan rejoined with ſuch increaſed power of cenſure, as threw the *onus* of reſentment completely on Mr. Corry.*

General Hutchinſon ridiculed the fears or the pretences of thoſe members, who alleged, that the meaſure would ſubvert the independence of Ireland, and enſlave her to a foreign parliament. To the control of that legiſlature, he ſaid, the Iriſh were already ſubject in all queſtions of external legiſlation. The co-equality of their parliament with that of Great Britain was the dream of fancy, which never could be realiſed; it would be better to be a component part of a free and flouriſhing empire, than to be a weak and petty ſtate, convulſed with faction, or the deluded victim of treacherous allies and unfeeling deſpots.

* The houſe ſaw the inevitable conſequences. The ſpeaker (the houſe was in committee) ſent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and preſſed his interpoſition for an amicable adjuſtment, which Mr. Grattan poſitively refuſed, ſaying, he ſaw, and had been ſome time aware of a ſet made at him, to *piſtol him off* on that queſtion; therefore it was as well the experiment were tried then as at any other time. Both parties had inſtantly left the houſe upon Mr. Grattan's finiſhing his philippic. Matters having been ſpeedily adjuſted by the ſeconds, they proceeded in hackney coaches to a field on the Ball's Bridge road, which they reached in the twilight. It was agreed they ſhould level and fire at their own option. The firſt ſhot on both ſides did no miſchief; Mr. Grattan's paſſed through Mr. Corry's coat. On the ſecond level there was much ſcience and piſtol play. Mr. Grattan, whoſe nerves were as firm as a rock, kept his man accurately covered, reſerved his ſhot to make it the more ſecure, which Mr. Corry perceiving, called to his ſecond, and it was ſettled upon the honour of the parties, that both ſhould fire together. Mr. Corry miſſed his aim, and Mr. Grattan's ball hit his antagoniſt on the knuckle of his left hand, which he had extended acroſs his breaſt to protect his right ſide, and taking a direction along his wriſt, did no other injury.

The populace, notwithſtanding the quickneſs and ſecrecy with which the buſineſs was conducted, followed the parties to the ground, and there was reaſon to fear, had Mr. Grattan fallen, that his antagoniſt would have been ſacrificed on the ſpot to the reſentment of the populace, ſo enthuſiaſtically were they devoted to their favorite. The iſſue of this affair reached the Houſe of Commons whilſt they were ſtill in debate at half paſt eight in the morning. Before Mr. Grattan went to the ground, a moſt affecting and truly Roman meeting took place between him and Mrs. Grattan. That gentleman was as eminent for the endearments of domeſtic felicity as he was conſpicuous for his exertions in the cauſe of the people.

Great Britain could not be falſe to Ireland, and at the ſame time true to herſelf. Her capacious wiſdom had long ſince taught her, that the proſperity of each iſland was neceſſary to the other.

The experience of two centuries tended to deſtroy the hope of the ſtability of the preſent conſtitution of the Hibernian parliament. Its failure was manifeſt; it had weakened the empire without ſtrengthening Ireland. Formed for the infancy of a foreign and a ſmall colony, it had ſunk before the manhood of a great nation, and had become private property inſtead of public right. The national tranquillity could not be ſecured by ſuch a parliament, amidſt the diſorders and turmoils of Europe. If within every thing were hollow, if without every thing menacing, where was the remedy againſt internal diſtraction? Where the ſhield againſt foreign invaſion? What was property without ſecurity? What liberty when life was in danger, and when the houſe of a country gentleman muſt either be his garriſon or his tomb?

All the arguments which he had heard againſt the Union, were addreſſes to the pride, the paſſions, the prejudices of an irritable nation, more accuſtomed to act from the impulſe of quick feelings, than from the dictates of ſound diſcretion and ſober reaſon. He admitted the neceſſity of endeavouring to preſerve a ſenſe of national dignity: it was the ſource of all pre-eminence, of all power, ſtrength, and greatneſs. He wiſhed that Ireland had ſomething to nouriſh this noble paſſion; but for the laſt ſix centuries, ſhe had exhibited the melancholy picture of ſavage acrimony and barbarous diſcord, of party zeal and ſectarian ſtruggle; of a fugitive government without fixed principles; a miniſter without reſponſibility; a parliament fearleſs of the people, from whom it did not derive its origin; a triumphant ariſtocracy, and a deluded nation. For eighty years of this century, the government had been the moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive of any in Europe. The treatment of the Catholics, in particular, had been brutally inhuman; and, though ſome of the laws againſt that ſect had been repealed, the conſequences of a barbarous code were ſtill evident. Under ſuch a mode of adminiſtration, it was impoſſible to hope for love of the laws, zeal for the conſtitution, or attachment to the government. That pure, unſullied, unalloyed allegiance, the vital principle of ſtates, the only ſolid foundation of legitimate rule, which would not yield to the clumſy chain of force, but was created by benefits, acknowledged by gratitude, and nouriſhed by hope, could only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people. The powers of the

the earth would at length learn this ſalutary truth, that government muſt ever be in danger when the ſubject had nothing to loſe.

In a country where equal law and equal liberty were unknown, the progreſs of French principles, to which he chiefly attributed the late rebellion, would be more rapid than in other ſtates. An iſland thus miſgoverned was a prepared ſoil for the reception of Jacobin principles; and they had flouriſhed in it with all the growth of rank luxuriancy. He concluded a moſt impreſſive, conſtitutional, and elegant ſpeech by declaring, that no popular deluſion, no idle clamor or miſrepreſentation, ſhould ever induce him to depart from what he conſidered as a great fundamental truth, that the beſt government for theſe countries would be one executive and one legiſlative, a connected people and an united parliament.

After ſeveral members had taken part in the debate, Mr. Foſter affirmed, that the boaſted terms, inſtead of offering great benefits, were replete with injury; that every point to which they tended might be as well ſecured by a ſeparate parliament; that all contained the ſeeds of conſtant jealouſy, and avowed diſtinct intereſts, the continuance of which they enſured, and therefore muſt promote ſeparation. He entered into the detail of the propoſed plan of future finance, revenue, and commerce, in which there was not one article, to which an Iriſh parliament was incompetent, or one to which an united parliament was not leſs adequate, inaſmuch as the regulation of duties and of trade between the kingdoms required a quick and ready knowledge of the local circumſtances of Ireland, which could be effectually obtained by a reſident legiſlature alone.

As to the conſtitutional effects of the ſcheme, he obſerved, that the upper houſe created a ſort of mongrel peer, half lord, half commoner, neither the one nor the other complete, and yet enough of each to remind you of the motley mixture. Every body knew, or ſhould know, that, by the original and uninterrupted conſtitution of parliament, a lord could not interfere in the election of a commoner; yet here he was not only to interfere, but might be a candidate, and might ſit and act as a commoner. The twenty-eight choſen lords were to ſit for life, though they were only repreſentatives; thus counteracting one great principle, that repreſentatives ſhall only act for a time limited, acknowledged by the ſeptennial and octennial bills, and by the articles of the Scotch Union in reſpect to the lords. With this ſeat for life to the choſen lords, what was to become of the remaining peers, perhaps

haps nearer 200 than 100 in number? They then were legiſlators: paſs theſe articles, they would inſtantly ceaſe to be ſo; they would be the only ſubjects in Ireland incapable of acting as legiſlators; a degradation ruinous to the nobility. This fatal meaſure of election for life would leave ſo little hope and ſo little chance, that all inducement to improvement, to education, to ſtudy the intereſts of his country, would be done away. It would depreſs the ſpirit, and enervate the exertions of all the riſing nobility of the land. Further, by a ſtrange ſort of abſurdity, the meaſure, in ſuffering him as a commoner to take a Britiſh ſeat, and refuſing to allow him an *Iriſh* one, admitted this monſtrous poſition, that in the country where his property, his connexions, and reſidence were, he ſhould not be choſen a legiſlator, but where he was wholly a ſtranger, he might; the certain conſequence of which was, that it would induce a reſidence of the Iriſh nobility in Britain, where they might be elected commoners, and muſt of courſe ſolicit intereſt; thereby increaſing the number of Iriſh abſentees, and gradually weaning the men of largeſt fortune from an acquaintance or a connexion with their native country.

As to the commons, this fatal Union would not be leſs unconſtitutional. It reduced their number from 300 to 100. One great principle was, that in the Houſe of Commons every ſpecies of property was repreſented, and the wiſdom of the whole increaſed by a mixture of country gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, and men of all profeſſions. But that meaſure ſhut the door againſt commercial men and againſt the profeſſors of the law, who could not deſert their buſineſs to attend parliament in another country.

In controverted elections the impracticability, expence, and difficulties in bringing over evidence, muſt neceſſarily leave the nomination with the ſheriff.

After ſome other obſervations and ſeveral repetitions of remark, he ſpoke of the tendency of the meaſure to an augmentation of the influence of the crown; cenſured the unconſtitutional uſe, to which the place bill had been perverted by the miniſter and his friends, the appeal nominal, to which they had reſorted againſt the deciſion of parliament, and the monſtrous propoſal of applying the public money to the purchaſe of public rights from private individuals, and finally moved for a dereliction of the project.

Lord Caſtlereagh blamed the want of foreſight in the ſpeaker, who, without reflecting on the diſtractions and evils of Ireland, oppoſed the idea of ſettlement, and would leave the country open to a renewal of diſorder and miſchief,

chief, to a freſh gradation from jealouſy to diſcontent, from diſcontent to faction, from faction to conſpiracy, from conſpiracy to rebellion.

Mr. William Johnſon indignantly reprobated the inſinuations of corrupt influence, thrown out againſt thoſe who favored the Union. The queſtion had been forced upon them by the prevailing calamities; and he had examined it from no other motive or impulſe than an anxious deſire of meeting the peculiar evils of the country, which he viewed under three aſpects, conſtitution, internal quiet, and commerce.

After ſeveral ſpeeches of leſs moment, Mr. William Smith in reply to ſome ſtrictures on the propoſed regulations of the peerage obſerved, that the alterations would not diminiſh the real dignity of the peers, or injure the eſſence of their privileges, and would materially conduce to the benefit of the country. Though only a part would be admitted to a ſeat in the imperial Houſe of Lords, a great number, he ſaid, would have an opportunity of conſtituting a portion of the aſſembly of the commons, and would thus maintain and ſtrengthen the intereſts of Ireland in the united legiſlature. The miniſter carried the queſtion by a majority of 46.

When Lord Caſtlereagh, on the 21ſt of February, moved for the aſſent of the committee to the firſt article of the plan, Mr. O'Hara deprecated his obſtinate perſiſtance in the fatal meaſure. His lordſhip's avowal, that the queſtion reſolved itſelf into this, whether Ireland were to be a magazine of ſtrength and reſources to Great Britain, or of wealth for the graſp of France, ſufficiently proved, that the object was the ſacrifice of one country to the neceſſities of the other; an illiberal principle, which the Iriſh ought to reſiſt with indignant warmth.

Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Tighe, Lord Corry, Mr. W. B. Ponſonby, and Mr. J. C. Beresford were againſt the terms as well as the principle.

Mr. Saurin called the attention of the committee to the means by which the miniſter had procured his parliamentary majority, namely, the undue exerciſe of the patronage of the crown, promiſes of office and emolument, the abuſe of the place bill, the project of pecuniary compenſation for what was not the fair or legal ſubject of pecuniary eſtimation, and the encouragement of indigent adventurers from the bar and the Britiſh army. If the nation ſhould view the majority in ſuch a light, on what foundation would the Union ſtand?

The terms he conſidered as refutations of the pretended excellence, and

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libels on the principle of the meaſure. Identity was promiſed as the grand object; yet every thing ſpoke diſtinctneſs. Another feature ſtruck him in the miniſterial arrangement. The general parliament, it was ſuppoſed, would be a paragon of purity and worth; yet the miniſter acknowledged that it ought not to be truſted; and he therefore ſhackled and reſtrained its omnipotence. Mr. Saurin conceived the meaſure fatal to the intereſts of Ireland, and diſclaimed any reſponſibility in the calamitous conſequences.

The Attorney General re-aſſerted the neceſſity of an Union, which was alſo ſupported by Mr. Monck Maſon and Mr. Ormſby. Mr. Serjeant Stanley on the ſame ſide panegyriſed the Britiſh miniſter for boldly ſtriking at the root, from which the diſorders and calamities of Ireland had ſprung, and bringing forward that great meaſure of imperial policy, which the beſt friends of this country had long anxiouſly deſired rather than confidently expected.

The queſtion was then put on the motion of adjournment, which being rejected, the firſt day of the following January was fixed for the commencement of the Union of the kingdoms, and the article which related to the ſettlement of the crown was alſo voted by the committee.

On the 24th of February, Mr. Shaw having warmly oppoſed the proſecution of the ſcheme, a diviſion took place, when there appeared 56 for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair, and 48 againſt it.

Some further converſations, in which nothing new occurred, took place, and in compliance with ſome of the petitions againſt the meaſure, ſeveral gentlemen of the law appeared at the bar to oppoſe various parts of the commercial ſcheme, and witneſſes were brought forward to give evidence againſt it. On the 4th of March Mr. G. Ponſonby alleging, that the ſovereign would not have perſiſted in recommending the preſent meaſure, unleſs he had firmly believed, that the ſentiments of the public on the ſubject had undergone a great change, urged the houſe to remove ſo injurious a deluſion by an intimation of the truth. A knowledge of the number of anti-union petitions would, he ſaid, correct that error; and he therefore propoſed an addreſs, ſtating, that in conformity with the conſtitutional rights of the people, petitions againſt a Legiſlative Union had been preſented to the parliament from twenty-ſix counties, and from various cities and towns.

Lord Caſtlereagh affirmed, that the public opinion had really undergone a change friendly to the meaſure, and that ſeventy-four declarations, nineteen of which were of thoſe counties, had been preſented in its favor. Even

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if this were not the caſe, he would oppoſe a motion, which derogated from the deliberative power of parliament, and tended to encourage a popular interference pregnant in theſe critical times with danger and alarm.

Mr. Saurin and ſeveral other gentlemen of the bar maintained the conſtitutionality of ſuch appeals to the people; and the Lords Corry and Cole and ſome others ſupported the queſtion, which was met by a motion for adjournment. On the oppoſite ſide ſpoke Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Mr. Fox, Mr. Ormſby, and ſeveral other members; between ſeven and eight in the morning the houſe divided on the queſtion of adjournment, ayes 155, noes 107.

On the 10th of March, the ſubject of parliamentary repreſentation was diſcuſſed, and carried by a majority of 19.

A converſation then aroſe on the topic of compenſation for the loſs of the patronage of boroughs. Lord Caſtlereagh perſiſted in the intention of propoſing a recompence, though Meſſrs. Plunket and Goold inveighed with great warmth againſt the idea of rewarding the profligate invaders of the rights of the people, and expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at the ſhameleſs inconſiſtency and abſurdity of thoſe, who could aſſert the omnipotence of parliament, when the members had once been choſen by the people, yet avowed that the majority were not the fair repreſentatives of the nation, but merely the creatures of borough proprietors.

To diſprove the aſſertion that Cork favored the Union, Sir John Freke preſented a petition againſt it from eighteen hundred of the inhabitants of that city; but General Hutchinſon affirmed, that this was not the ſenſe of the majority of the traders or freemen of Cork. Colonel Longfield and Mr. May concurred in that declaration. Sir John Parnell again recommended a diſſolution of the parliament, that the opinions of the people might be more certainly known; but Mr. Corry reprobated that appeal as unneceſſary and imprudent.

The diſcuſſion was renewed on the 13th of March, when Sir John Parnell moved in form, that the king ſhould be addreſſed to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of Union ſhould be adopted. Mr. A. Moore ſeconded this propoſal as wiſe and honeſt; and Sir Laurence Parſons, though ſenſible of the great influence of the crown in the choice of members, declared his willingneſs to put the fate of the queſtion on the election of a new parliament. Mr. Alexander oppoſed the motion; but Major Oſborne was zealous in its ſupport, as was alſo Mr. Saurin, who urged the expediency

of attending to the ſenſe of the nation, and maintained, that if laws ſhould be enacted in oppoſition to the public will, conſtitutionally expreſſed, they would not be obligatory, and the right of reſiſtance would revert to the people. The ſolicitor general could not hear ſuch doctrine without horror; and he accuſed the *father of the bar* of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion; but Mr. Egan hinted, that the miniſtry had unfurled the flag of proſtitution and corruption. Mr. Saurin's opinions were ſtrongly combated by Dr. Duigenan, as unconſtitutional and miſchievous. Mr. Serjeant Stanley, Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. May, and Sir John Blaquiere declaimed againſt the propoſal of appealing to the public, and urged the houſe to ſtigmatize with deciſive effect the alarming invitation to popular reſiſtance. Mr. Grattan, on the other hand, vindicated the ſentiments of the barriſter, and recommended the appeal, not as a reference to the mere multitude, but to the conſtituent body. On a diviſion for the addreſs, there appeared 150 votes againſt the motion, and only 104 for it. The houſe adjourned at four o'clock in the morning.

On the following day, the prime ſerjeant ſtated the expediency of an identification of the churches as well as of the parliaments of the two countries; and obſerved, that whatever indulgence after that might be extended to the Catholics, there would then be no danger of the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant church of Ireland. This article was quickly voted, and that which reſpected the exiſting laws and courts of both countries paſſed without oppoſition.

The ſixth article, which had been poſtponed on account of the complexity of the ſubject, was brought forward on the 19th of March by the right honorable Mr. Beresford, who entered very ably into all the calculations, eſtimates, and revolutions upon this commercial article, which without any oppoſition received the aſſent of the committee.

When it was propoſed that the houſe ſhould be reſumed for the reception of the report, Mr. O'Hara ſtated ſome objections to the aſſigned rate of contribution for Ireland, which he deemed too high; and Mr. Grattan again expatiated on the impolicy and injuſtice of the Union.

Mr. Foſter and Lord Caſtlereagh both ſpoke with great animoſity. Mr. G. Ponſonby, Mr. Saurin, and ſome others warmly oppoſed the report of the reſolutions, but it was carried by a ſimilar majority as the former queſtions. When the report was preſented to the houſe on the 21ſt, Sir Laurence Parſons

ſons then expreſſed his hope, that when the ſcheme ſhould appear in the form of a bill, thoſe gentlemen who had no nobly ſtood forward in defence of the country would again aſſail it with the moſt determined energy. Sir John Freke repreſented the terms as ſo diſadvantageous, that they had not made a convert of a ſingle member, who had cenſured the principle of the meaſure. After ſome deſultory converſation, the reſolutions received the ſanction of the houſe.

A meſſage was then ſent to the Houſe of Lords, importing that the commons had agreed to the articles* of the Union; and on the 27th, the peers intimated to the other houſe, that they had adopted them with ſome alterations and additions. Theſe amendments were readily approved by the commons; and Lord Caſtlereagh immediately propoſed an addreſs to his majeſty, in which both houſes concurred. In this addreſs they declared, that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, by a complete and entire Union of their legiſlatures; that they conſidered the reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament as wiſely calculated to form the baſis of ſuch a ſettlement; that by thoſe propoſitions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the reſolutions now offered were thoſe articles which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the ſame might be eſtabliſhed for ever by the mutual conſent of both parliaments.

On the day (the 22d of March) on which the articles were carried up to the lords, Lord Farnham oppoſed the fourth article, alleging, that the repreſentation of the Iriſh peerage was a mere mockery to cover the folly and injuſtice of the Union. Lord Chief Baron Yelverton in favor of the Union entered very fully into the ſubject. The great value, he ſaid, of the arrangement of 1782, which he had aſſiſted in forming, was, that it placed the Iriſh on a proud footing of legiſlative independence, and enabled them to ſay upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjuſtment had not occurred, they would perhaps before this time have yielded to an union of ſubjection, not an union of equality. Their independence had never ſince been violated, and they were not now deſired to give up their legiſlative rights, but to perpetuate them by Union: their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the ſame broad

* Theſe articles are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CXIX.

baſe with thoſe of Great Britain. The Hibernian parliament would ſo far be annihilated, as to be no longer a diſtinct legiſlature, and ſo would that of Great Britain be extinguiſhed; but out of the two a third would ariſe, neither Britiſh nor Iriſh, but a compound body, more competent than either to promote and ſecure the freedom, the proſperity, and the happineſs of the whole.

If an idle fondneſs for independence had prevailed from the beginning, no political aſſociation could ever have been framed, and mankind muſt have remained in a ſtate of nature. But prudence and policy taught two or more families to form a ſociety, ſocieties to form a nation, and ſmall nations to form a great one, by ſacrificing diſtinct independence to common ſecurity.

His lordſhip combated the concluſion drawn againſt the Union from the interpoſition of the ſea as a phyſical barrier between Ireland and Britain, by alleging, that the commercial utility of the ſea was rather an argument for an Union. He then aſſerted the competence of the two parliaments to enact the propoſed meaſure, ſaying, that union was only a law common to two ſtates, and that to doubt the competency of two legiſlatures to frame ſuch a law was to doubt their competency to anſwer the ends of their inſtitution.

Then the queſtion, whether twenty-eight temporal and four ſpiritual peers ſhould repreſent Ireland in the imperial parliament, was carried by a majority of thirty-four. Two amendments were propoſed by the Earl of Clare, and adopted; importing, that on the extinction of three Iriſh peerages one might be created, till the number ſhould be reduced to 100, and afterwards one for every failure; and that the qualifications of the Iriſh for the imperial parliament ſhould be the ſame in point of property with thoſe of the Britiſh members.

All the articles having been conſented to in the committee, the report was offered on the 26th of March, and confirmed by the houſe. A meſſage to the commons was then propoſed, when the Earl of Bellamont renewed his oppoſition to the general meaſure.

The Earl of Deſart thought the propoſitions too advantageous to Ireland to juſtify refuſal. Viſcount Powerſcourt conſidered them in an oppoſite light: and the Duke of Leinſter apprehended, that diſunion and perpetual ſeparation would be the ultimate reſult of the projected ſcheme. A motion for delay was put by the Anti-unioniſts, and negatived by 47 againſt 18 votes.

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The original motion was carried by 72 againſt 22. The plan of the Union was then left to the final conſideration of the Britiſh legiſlature.

The articles of Union thus paſſed through the Iriſh parliament as they had been originally framed by the Britiſh miniſtry, having received no other alterations in their progreſs than ſuch as were dictated by the court. They were now brought forward as terms propoſed by the lords and commons of Ireland in the form of reſolutions. And on the 2d day of April 1800 the Duke of Portland communicated to the Houſe of Lords a meſſage from the king, and at the ſame time preſented to them as documents a copy of the Iriſh addreſs with the reſolutions.*

Lord

* As theſe reſolutions contain merely the ſubſtance of the articles, they are not given. The following was the addreſs of the Iriſh peers and commons and the king's meſſage to the Britiſh peers.

GEORGE R.

IT is with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction that his majeſty finds himſelf enabled to communicate to this houſe the joint addreſs of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majeſty certain reſolutions, which contain the terms propoſed by them for an entire Union between the two kingdoms. His majeſty is perſuaded that this houſe will participate in the pleaſure, with which his majeſty obſerves the conformity of ſentiment manifeſted in the proceedings of his two parliaments, after long and careful deliberation on this moſt important ſubject; and he earneſtly recommends to this houſe, to take all ſuch further ſteps as may beſt tend to the ſpeedy and complete execution of a work ſo happily begun, and ſo intereſting to the ſecurity and happineſs of his majeſty's ſubjects, and to the general ſtrength and proſperity of the Britiſh empire.

His grace then preſented, by command of his majeſty, the documents referred to in his majeſty's meſſage; which were as follows, viz.

"*To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,*

The humble addreſs of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, in parliament aſſembled.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to acquaint your majeſty, that we have taken into our moſt ſerious and deliberate conſideration the great and important ſubject of a legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which was laid before us in his excellency the lord lieutenant's meſſage to both houſes of parliament on the 5th day of February laſt, accompanied by the reſolutions of the two houſes of the parliament of Great Britain, propoſing that great meaſure, and the earneſt and ſolemn recommendation of your majeſty.

Deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of rendering the connection of Great Britain and this kingdom indiſſoluble, and truly ſenſible of the repeated efforts, which have been made by foreign and domeſtic enemies, to ſhake that connection, and to effect their entire ſeparation, we fully approve and cordially

Lord Grenville then moved an addreſs to his majeſty, that the documents ſhould be printed and their lordſhips ſummoned for the 21ſt: on which day Earl Fitzwilliam recommended to the peers a longer delay, that the commons might previouſly reinveſtigate the ſubject; but, finding that Lord Grenville only intended to move at that time for the adoption of the three firſt reſolutions, he was ſatisfied with the poſtponement of the reſt.

Lord Holland affirmed, that, ſince the queſtion had been laſt diſcuſſed, nothing had occurred to induce him to approve the meaſure. Some of the arguments uſed by its advocates appeared to him to be drawn from the principles of Meſſieurs Robeſpierre and Barrère, who had contended for an empire one and indiviſible, in preference to the union of its parts by fœderaliſm. It would not operate as a remedy for the diſcontent of the various deſcriptions of the Hibernian community. It would not enſure a redreſs of grievances, but would increaſe that influence, which was already the object of general complaint. It was evidently offenſive to the great body of the Iriſh; and, if it ſhould be carried into effect againſt the ſenſe of the people, it would endanger the connexion between the countries, and might produce irreparable miſchief. He ſhould oppoſe the motion for a committee.

Lord Grenville thought it unneceſſary to debate the principles of an Union,

cordially embrace the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom under your majeſty's auſpicious government, by a complete and entire Union of their legiſlatures.

We do conſider the reſolutions of the two houſes of the Britiſh parliament as wiſely calculated to form the baſis of ſuch a ſettlement, we have adopted them as our guide, in the meaſures we have purſued, and we now feel it our duty to lay before your majeſty the reſolutions to which we have agreed; which reſolutions we humbly ſubmit to your majeſty may form the articles of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and which, if they ſhall be approved by the two houſes of the parliament of Great Britain, we are ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the ſame may be eſtabliſhed for ever by the mutual conſent of both parliaments.

We doubt not that your majeſty, and your parliament of Great Britain, will conſider theſe reſolutions as the moſt unequivocal teſtimony of our zealous loyalty to your majeſty's ſacred perſon, family, and government, and as an unalterable pledge of our attachment to the Britiſh empire: we offer them in the full conviction, that, by incorporating the legiſlatures, and by conſolidating the reſources of the two kingdoms, we ſhall encreaſe the power and ſtability of that empire, and that, by uniting ourſelves with your majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain under one parliament, and under one government, we ſhall moſt effectually provide for the improvement of our commerce, the ſecurity of our religion, and the preſervation of our liberties.

JOHN GYER, D. C. P.
G. F. HILL, C. D. C."

as

as no queſtion, in the courſe of his parliamentary experience, had ever been more amply or ably diſcuſſed. In reply to ſome of the arguments of the noble lord, he ſaid, he was convinced, that the meaſure would extinguiſh rather than produce evil. He did not think that Britiſh influence would improperly or injuriouſly predominate. The Iriſh would enjoy a fair proportion of legiſlative power; and their intereſts would be as much regarded as thoſe of their Britiſh neighbours. That the Engliſh conſtitution would be endangered by the introduction of Iriſh members, there was no reaſon to apprehend; for the mode of electing the repreſentatives of the commons would not lead them into ſubſerviency to the crown; and the peers, retaining their ſeats for life, would be as independent as any of the Engliſh nobility.

On a diviſion, only three peers (the Earl of Derby and the Lords Holland and King) voted againſt, and 82 ſupported the motion for going into a committee. The three firſt articles were then propoſed in the committee, and received the aſſent of the peers.

In the Houſe of Commons, on the ſame day, 21ſt of April, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider of his majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage relative to the propoſitions of the Iriſh parliament for an incorporating Union with Great Britain.

Previous to the ſpeaker's leaving the chair, he alſo moved, that the reſolutions of both houſes of parliament agreed to laſt ſeſſions, relating to the Union with Ireland, with the addreſs thereon to his majeſty, be referred to the ſaid committee.

Mr. Jones roſe; but the ſpeaker informed him, that if he had any objections to urge, the proper ſtage would be upon the queſtion for going into a committee.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt expreſſed his regret at obſerving a diſpoſition on the part of the honorable gentleman to oppoſe the ſpeaker's leaving the chair. He wiſhed that honorable gentleman, and the houſe in general, to recollect that the preſent queſtion was, whether it were proper to proceed to the conſideration of a meſſage of his majeſty, recommending a meaſure which had been the reſult of an addreſs of the houſe? He moved "that the ſpeaker do "leave the chair."

Mr. Jones ſaid, that, inaſmuch as he conſidered the meaſure, it went in its operation to annihilate the parliament and repreſentation of Ireland, and to eradicate

eradicate and tear up root and branch the Britiſh conſtitution, he felt himſelf bounden to give it every oppoſition in his power. After the firm, determined, and manly manner, in which Ireland had revolted at the projected ſlavery holden out by the preſent meaſure, he ſhould have thought it conſiſtent with the prudence, diſcretion, and moderation of his majeſty's miniſters to have abandoned it till a ſeaſon when the feelings of the people of Ireland were leſs inimical to it. But his majeſty's miniſters, he was ſorry to obſerve, were reſolved to effect their purpoſe. To attain which, they firſt applied to the virtues of the people of Ireland, recommending the meaſure as one calculated to inſure the proſperity of their country. Their virtues determined them to reject propoſitions ſo adverſe to their liberties. He feared that a different mode had ſince been adopted; that an appeal had been made to their vices; that corruption had been reſorted to, and no means had been left untried by his majeſty's miniſters to accompliſh their object. Their motto had been

"*Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta movebo.*"

He referred them to one of the ſpeeches of Mr. Foſter expreſſive of his diſapprobation of the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, in not being induced by the general indignation of the people of Ireland to abandon their intention of carrying the Union into effect.*

He called upon the country gentlemen in particular to exert themſelves upon the preſent momentous occaſion. "Sir," ſaid he, "I ſhall give as decided a vote againſt your leaving the chair as ever proceeded from the mouth of man."

* "But if I diſlike the whole of the meaſure for its miſchief and imperfections, I reprobate ſtill more the means propoſed for effecting it. When the noble lord mentioned compenſation for the boroughs, he ſaw the feelings of the houſe; and I was happy to obſerve that in his printed ſpeech (which he has mentioned) it was omitted. I thought the indignation which appeared had induced him to abandon it; but I now find from his right honorable friend, that it is not given up. Were I ſpeaking in another parliament, I ſhould impute the hardineſs which mentioned ſuch a baſe and humiliating bribe, to a previous knowledge that it had received the approbation of many members. What is the plain language of it? I am to propoſe a meaſure by which two hundred of you are to loſe your ſeats; many of you have bought them; and others claim a right to them; you ſhall not ſuffer; the public ſhall pay you for ſelling yourſelves and your conſtituents; and the price you receive ſhall become the purchaſe money for your ſelling your country afterwards. It is a moſt monſtrous unconſtitutional offer. Do you publicly avow that borough repreſentation is a private property, and do you confirm that avowal by the government becoming the purchaſers?"

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The motion was then agreed to, and the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, Mr. Sylveſter Douglas in the chair.

As ſoon as a committee was formed, Mr. Pitt aſſuming the ſenſe of the houſe to be determinately favorable to the principle of Union entered upon the diſcuſſion of the particular mode of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred members to ſit for Ireland in the imperial Houſe of Commons, he was ſenſible of the difficulty of finding a preciſe ground, upon which a juſt eſtimate of that point might be formed; but he was the leſs anxious about it, as the particular number was not very important. If there ſhould be a ſufficient number of repreſentatives to make known the local wants, ſtate the intereſts, and convey the ſentiments, of that part of the empire, the impartiality and collective wiſdom of the united parliament would enſure a due attention to the general ſecurity and welfare. Population alone would not form a good *criterion*; but, if it ſhould be combined with the idea of the proportional contributions of the two countries to the public exigencies, the reſult might be fairly applied to the preſent occaſion. It would allow more than five for Great Britain to one for Ireland; and thus 100 members might be deemed a ſatisfactory number for the latter country. The mode of ſelection was the next point of conſideration. It was not his wiſh to augment by this arrangement the influence of the crown: the ſelection adopted by the parliament of Ireland might rather be thought favorable to the popular intereſt. The members for counties and the principal cities would be ſixty-eight; the reſt would be deputed by towns the moſt conſiderable in population and wealth. Thus the choice would provide both for the ſecurity of the landed intereſt and for the convenience of local information; and, as the propoſed addition would not be accompanied with any change in the internal form of Britiſh repreſentation, it would not alarm the enemies of innovation. Whatever were the opinions which he formerly entertained on the ſubject of parliamentary reform, he was not aſhamed to acknowledge that he now thought it imprudent and hazardous to make any attempt of that kind. When he reflected, that the ſpirit of reform had led to miſchievous changes and dangerous ſubverſions, he dreaded the effects of political experiment. When he conſidered alſo, that, amidſt the late fiery trials, the conſtitution of this country had remained pure, untouched in its vital principles; that it had ſupported itſelf againſt open attacks as well as againſt inſidious machinations; that it had diſappointed the hopes of France, and baffled the efforts of Jacobiniſm;

and that, during the whole conteſt, it had retained the confidence of the nation; he ſhould deſerve the ſtrongeſt cenſure, ſhould he attempt, in the vain hope of improvement, to diſturb a ſyſtem, which had been found ſufficient, in the moſt perilous of times, to protect the general intereſt and to maintain the public ſecurity and happineſs.

As it might be wiſhed that very few of the members thus ſent from Ireland ſhould hold places under the crown, he propoſed that the number, for the preſent, ſhould be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament ſhould afterwards regulate this point as circumſtances might ſuggeſt.

The number of peers, who ſhould repreſent the whole body of the Iriſh nobility, might, he ſaid, be properly fixed at thirty-two. Four would ſuffice to inform the parliament of the ſtate of the church; and the reſt would form a fair proportion, conſidered with reference to the caſe of Scotland and to the number of delegates from the commons of Ireland. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended as a mode more conformable to the general ſpirit of the eſtabliſhment of nobles, than that which was ſettled at the Scotiſh union. The right reſerved for Iriſh peers to ſit in the Houſe of Commons as repreſentatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, he was likewiſe diſpoſed to approve, as, without violating the conſtitution, it would furniſh them with opportunities of acquiring political and legiſlative experience, which certainly would not render them leſs qualified for ſerving their country in a higher parliamentary aſſembly. The permiſſion of creating new peers of Ireland he alſo juſtified; for, though in Scotland the peerage might maintain itſelf for a very long courſe of time without any acceſſion, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the generality of the patents, there was a riſque of ſuch a diminution of the number of Hibernian peers, from the limitation of the right of ſucceſſion, as might at no very diſtant period render the election individual.

In the article reſpecting the church, he noticed the clauſe introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the preſence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be holden in this iſland. This he pronounced a reaſonable addition; and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legiſlature the diſcuſſion of the claims of the Catholics, would at the ſame time be generally allowed.

The next article, he ſaid, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only ſuch exceptions as might ſecure veſted capital, and prevent a great ſhock

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to any particular manufacture, or to popular prejudice. It was ſtipulated that almoſt all prohibitions ſhould be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a ſmall amount ſhould be impoſed on ſome few articles. If the Britiſh manufacturers ſhould ſuſtain partial loſs in conſequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to conſider it as compenſated by general advantage.

His arguments in ſupport of the intended regulations of finance between the countries, were ſimilar to thoſe of Lord Caſtlereagh: he concluded his ſpeech in the following words: "The ample diſcuſſion, which every part of "this ſubject has met with, (ſo ample that nothing like its deliberation was "ever known before in any legiſlature) has ſilenced clamor, has rooted out "prejudice, has over-ruled objections, has anſwered all arguments, has refuted "all cavils, and cauſed the plan to be entirely eſteemed. Both branches of "the legiſlature, after long diſcuſſion, mature deliberation, and laborious "enquiry, have expreſſed themſelves clearly and decidedly in its favor. "The opinion of the people, who, from their means of information, were "moſt likely, becauſe beſt enabled to form a correct judgment, is decidedly "in its favor. Let me not ſay, for I do not intend it, that there were among "the intelligent part of the public, none who were againſt the meaſure; I "know there were; and I know too, that in a queſtion involving ſo many "intereſts, the ſame thing will, to different individuals, appear in different "points of view: hence ariſes a diverſity of opinion. That has been the "caſe in almoſt every thing that ever was argued, and muſt be ſo in every "thing that is conteſted; but after all, it is clear that the parliament was in "a ſituation, that the people of Ireland was in a ſituation to judge of this "meaſure: it was not becauſe the meaſure was not vigorouſly oppoſed; the "friends of the meaſure have had to ſtand againſt the threats of popular vi-"olence, againſt the enemies of the government under the lead of Proteſtants, "againſt the violent and inflamed ſpirit and fierce attack of the Iriſh Catho-"lics, and againſt the aggregate of all evils, the ſpirit of all miſchief, the im-"placable oppoſition and determined hoſtility of furious Jacobiniſm; they "had to meet the inflamed paſſions of diſappointed ambition, which, under "the name and pretext of ſuperior patriotiſm, under color of jealouſy for "others freedom, under affected tenderneſs for landed intereſt, affected care "for commercial welfare, would reduce the ſtate to ruin, becauſe they were "not its rulers. Notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, the parties engaged in

" it have not been able to prove any thing, but that their own fury was un-
" governable, their predictions chimerical, and their hopes deluſive. The
" friends of the meaſure have had to ſtand againſt the principles which fo-
" mented and unhappily inflamed the late Iriſh rebellion; they had to con-
" tend againſt the active but miſchievous efforts of the friends and champions
" of Jacobiniſm, to whom it was enough to make them hate the Union, that
" it had a tendency to preſerve order, becauſe any thing like order was an
" extinction of their hopes. We have ſeen, that the wiſdom of parliament
" and the good ſenſe of the people of Ireland have prevailed over this mighty
" hoſt of foes; we have ſeen the friends who ſupported, and the enemies who
" oppoſed this great national object; and are enabled, by all that has hap-
" pened, to judge pretty accurately of the ſentiments of both, with their
" tendency or effect on the fate of the Britiſh empire. It is under that con-
" fidence that I do what I am now doing, and will continue to do whatever
" may depend on me, to ſubmit to the committee all neceſſary meaſures to
" carry this great and important work to its full, and, I truſt, ſpeedy accom
" pliſhment."

Mr. Grey was not diſpoſed to analyſe the articles, as he had inſuperable objections to the principle of the meaſure, to the time in which it was brought forward, and to the means uſed for its accompliſhment. The aſſent of the people was requiſite to give it full ſanction and complete effect. It was ſaid, that the public voice was in its favor, after a fair appeal to the unbiaſſed ſenſe of the nation. Nineteen counties were ſaid to have ſignified a wish for its adoption; and he believed that addreſſes had really been preſented from that number of ſhires: but by whom they were ſigned he did not exactly know, though it had been underſtood they were procured at meetings not regularly convened, and promoted by the perſonal exertions of a governor, who to the powerful influence of the crown added the terrors of martial law. To ſpeak of the uncontrolled opinion of the community, in ſuch a caſe, reminded him of the Duke of Buckingham's account to Richard III. of the manner, in which the citizens of London had agreed to his claim of the crown.* Againſt the Union

* Some followers of mine own
At loweſt end o' the hall hurl'd up their caps,
And ſome ten voices cried, God ſave King Richard.
And thus I took the 'vantage of thoſe few——

Thanks,

Union the petitions were very numerous; and they were more honorably voted, and more reſpectable from the ſignatures, than the miniſterial addreſſes. They were the produce of twenty-ſeven counties; and the chief towns of the kingdom had furniſhed many of the number. From a compariſon of theſe with the addreſſes, and an unprejudiced obſervation of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, it might be fairly concluded, that the greater part of the nation diſapproved the ſcheme. The parliamentary majority, of which the courtiers boaſted, would not have been obtained, if placemen had been debarred from voting, and if all undue influence, abuſe of authority, and the ſupply of forced vacancies in the Houſe of Commons with dependent voters, had been avoided.*

Mr. Grey ſpoke very largely as to the Union with Scotland. The oppoſition of the Scots, perhaps, equalled in violence that of the Iriſh; and this ſeemed to be the only point of reſemblance. There was no phyſical impediment to the northern Union. The two countries were ſo ſituated as to require only one executive adminiſtration; and a complete identification was alſo practicable in financial arrangements. But ſuch an identity of regula-

Thanks, gentle citizens and friends, quoth I:
This general applauſe and cheerful ſhout;
Argues your wiſdom and your love to Richard.

* Mr. Grey here ſaid, he did not mean to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the Iriſh parliament. But the facts were notorious. 11 *Parl. Reg. p.* 282. "There are 300 members in all, and 120 of theſe "ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the meaſure, among whom were two-thirds of the county members, the "repreſentatives of the city of Dublin, and of almoſt all the towns which it is propoſed ſhall ſend "members to the imperial parliament. 162 voted in favor of the Union; of thoſe 116 were "placemen, ſome of them were Engliſh generals on the ſtaff, without one foot of ground in Ire-"land, and completely dependent upon government. Is there any ground then to preſume, that "even the parliament of Ireland thinks as the right honorable gentleman ſuppoſes; or that, acting "only from a regard to the good of their country, the members would not have reprobated the "meaſure as ſtrongly and unanimouſly as the reſt of the people? But this is not all? let us reflect "upon the arts which have been uſed ſince the laſt ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament to pack a ma-"jority in the Houſe of Commons. All holding offices under government, even the moſt intimate "friends of the miniſter, who had uniformly ſupported his adminiſtration till the preſent occaſion, "if they heſitated to vote as directed, were diſmiſſed from office, and ſtripped of all their employ-"ments. Even this ſtep was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourſe to, which, "though I cannot name in this place, all will eaſily conjecture. A bill for preſerving the purity "of parliament was likewiſe abuſed, and no leſs than ſixty-three ſeats were vacated by their holders "having received nominal offices. I will not preſs this ſubject farther upon the attention of the "committee. I defy any man to lay his hand upon his heart and ſay, that he believes the parlia-"ment of Ireland was ſincerely in favor of the meaſure."

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tion could not take place between Ireland and Great Britain. There muſt ſtill be a ſeparate government and a diſtinct treaſury; and there could be no ſecurity for the forbearance of oppreſſion with regard to Ireland, as ſhe would be at the mercy of Britain, whoſe attention to her own intereſt might ſometimes prompt her to make an ill uſe of her power.

The parliaments of Scotland and England were at open variance. The former prohibited the importation of Engliſh commodities, and enacted, that the crown ſhould not deſcend to the ſame perſon, who ſhould occupy the Engliſh throne, unleſs various demands ſhould be granted. The latter ordained, that the Scots ſhould be treated as aliens, and that all trade with them ſhould be ſuſpended. Preparations were even made for hoſtility; but the Engliſh miniſtry, unwilling to proceed to ſanguinary extremities, propoſed to the Scots an incorporative Union. The means uſed to promote the acceptance of this offer were not ſtrictly juſtifiable; but acquieſcence was at length obtained. It excited the indignation of every honeſt man to obſerve, that under very different circumſtances more unjuſtifiable arts had been uſed to accompliſh this meaſure altogether unneceſſary. Had Ireland checked or prohibited Britiſh trade, or had ſhe refuſed to adopt the ſame rules of regal ſucceſſion? On the contrary, did there not exiſt between the countries an amity, which nothing but the folly of miniſters could diminiſh or derange, an affection, which nothing but their violence could deſtroy.

It was affirmed, that the Union had been productive of extraordinary benefit to Scotland; but it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that North Britain would have made equal progreſs in proſperity without the aid of an incorporation with England and Wales. The Union was ſo far from promoting its improvement in point of trade and induſtry, that the linen manufacture declined after that event. Indeed, little advance was made before the rebellion of the year 1745. The abolition of the heritable juriſdictions was the firſt meaſure, that gave a ſtrong impulſe to the ſpirit of manufacturing exertion and commercial enterpriſe in Scotland. From that time the proſperity of the country had increaſed, but not in ſo great a degree, as that of Ireland during the ſame period.

That the Union ſoon became popular among the Scots, had been aſſerted in a former debate. The alleged inſtance was drawn from the year 1715, when the pretender found it expedient to ſuppreſs that part of his manifeſto in which he had promiſed to re-eſtabliſh the Scotiſh parliament. This was

affirmed

affirmed on the authority of a manuſcript left by Sir John Clerk; but it ought to be conſidered, that it was unſupported by other teſtimony, and that Sir John was connected by marriage with the Duke of Queenſbury, the chief of the Scotiſh Unioniſts: it was therefore no more ſurpriſing, that ſuch a man ſhould repreſent the meaſure as popular, than that Lord Caſtlereagh or ſome of his friends and relatives ſhould ſpeak of the new project of Union as being ſupported by the general voice of Ireland.

That the Union was not popular in Scotland, appeared from a ſeries of the moſt indiſputable facts, as well as the moſt unqueſtionable documents. In the year 1713, a motion was made by the Earl of Findlater to diſſolve the Union, and that motion was ſupported by the Whig party, by Lord Sunderland and ſeveral others, who had been commiſſioners in adjuſting the tranſaction. Upon that occaſion there was an equality of votes, there being fifty-four on each ſide; and it was decided in favor of an Union, only by a majority of four upon the proxies. There were ſeveral proofs extant from letters written by friends to the meaſure, and decided foes to jacobitiſm, that the Union was very unpopular in Scotland. In 1715, when the Earl of Mar took the field in the cauſe of the houſe of Stuart, he announced the deſign to reſtore the old conſtitution of Scotland, and a declaration was a few days after iſſued by a number of the principal perſons on the ſame ſide, in which the Union was particularly reprobated as a grievance. Thus it was clear, that the friends of the Pretender conſidered Union unpopular, and thought that it would be favorable to their cauſe to encourage the hope of its repeal. The Pretender himſelf, on his landing, iſſued a proclamation in the ſame ſpirit to conciliate the ſupport of the people, who viewed the Union as the extinction of their national independence, and the introduction of a foreign yoke.

From the whole hiſtory of theſe periods, it was evident that the effect of the Union had been unfavorable to the repoſe and tranquillity of the ſtate. It was an additional ſubject of diſcontent to a people already labouring under many diſadvantages of internal government and regulation, and till the real cauſe of the evil was removed, till the grievances were remedied, no progreſs was made towards eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, and to the advancement of commerce and manufactures.

A wiſe and conciliatory ſyſtem, he ſaid, would tend more effectually to allay the diſtractions of the country, and diſſipate the dangers, with which it was threatened from foreign or domeſtic enemies, than any attempt to incor-

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porate its legiſlature with that of Great Britain. The Catholics, of whoſe pretenſions ſo much had been ſaid, might in his opinion be relieved from all remaining diſabilities by a ſeparate parliament, without the riſque of the prevalence of their party.

If this projected Union ſhould ſucceed, it would place at the diſpoſal of the crown a number of abject inſtruments that might be employed againſt the privileges of their fellow-ſubjects. "I rejoice," ſaid the late Earl of Chatham, "that the Americans have reſiſted; for three millions of ſlaves in America "would have been fit tools to overthrow the liberties of Britain." For the ſame reaſon he rejoiced, that the Iriſh had ſhewn a firm determination to preſerve their conſtitutional rights and liberties; and he truſted, that miniſters would not be able by undue means to triumph over their ſpirited oppoſition. He then moved an addreſs to his majeſty, praying him to direct his miniſters to ſuſpend all proceedings on the Union, till the ſentiments of the people of Ireland reſpecting that meaſure ſhould have been aſcertained.

Mr. Johnſtone in a maiden ſpeech ſpoke ſtrongly for an Union. Mr. Nicholl, though not accuſtomed to give his ſupport to the ſtateſman, who had planned the Union, ſpoke warmly in its favor. Sir Gregory Page Turner and Major General Loftus* were alſo advocates for the meaſure. Dr. Lawrence oppoſed it as unjuſt and impolitic under the exiſting circumſtances of Ireland; and Mr. Sheridan, on the ſuppoſition of a ſtrong diſſent of the Hibernian nation, deprecated the proſecution of a meaſure, which, if it ſhould be carried into effect by corruption or violence, would become the fatal ſource of diſcontent and rebellion. That the Union had the general approbation and independent aſſent of the Iriſh nation, a number of addreſſes and declarations were mentioned as a proof; but where were theſe addreſſes? The addreſſes againſt it were eaſy to be found. Twenty-ſeven of the counties had openly declared againſt it; and with theſe would have united Antrim and Sligo, if martial law had not been proclaimed, and prevented the intended meetings. If the meaſure were thus to be carried, he had no heſitation in ſaying, that it would be an act of tyranny and oppreſſion, and muſt become the fatal

* This gentleman corrected what Mr. Grey had ſaid relative to the introduction of military Britiſh officers into the Iriſh parliament: he inſtanced General Craddock and ſome others, who came into the Iriſh parliament upon independent grounds. Mr. Grey thanked him for the correction, and ſaid he had chiefly in his eye General Lake, whom from a variety of circumſtances, he thought little entitled to ſit as an Iriſh legiſlator.

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ſource of new diſcontents and future rebellions; and the only ſtandard round which the pride, the paſſions, and the prejudices of Iriſhmen would rally, would be that, which would lead them to the recovery of a conſtitution that would have been thus foully and oppreſſively wreſted from them. No attempt had been made to deny the notorious fact, that ſixty-five ſeats had been vacated to make places for men, whoſe obſequiouſneſs would not permit them to oppoſe the meaſure; and it was equally notorious, that no art or influence which the policy of corruption and intimidation could put in play had been left untried, to gain over partizans to the Union. In this aſſertion every gentleman muſt acquieſce, who would conſult his heart and his honor, and for a proof of it he would refer them to what had befallen Sir John Parnell; his fate was no unimpreſſive warning to thoſe, who might be tempted to follow his example. Thus was intimidation holden out every where, without room any where for the expreſſion of a free will and unbiaſſed judgment. Martial law, ſpies, informers, &c. &c. were on all ſides marſhalled againſt the oppoſers of the Union; and it was only to be wondered how any ſet of men, under ſuch a ſyſtem of terror, could have dared ſo boldly and manfully to expreſs their abhorrence of it.

Mr. Dundas would not admit that the Iriſh in general diſſented from the ſcheme; but Mr. Tierney was convinced of their repugnance. Lord Carysfort affirmed, that the Unioniſts in the Iriſh parliament had a much greater extent of property than their adverſaries, in the lords ten to one, and that the judging portion of the people approved the project. Mr. Pitt, however, indignantly ſcouted the idea of appealing to a community ſo influenced by factious leaders; he was ſatisfied with the conſtitutional aſſent of parliament.

Mr. Grey's motion having been ſupported only by 30, and negatived by 236, the three firſt articles were voted. On the ſucceeding day, the examination of the three next articles being poſtponed, the ſeventh was brought forward. Dr. Lawrence offered ſome ineffectual oppoſition. When the other articles, particularly thoſe concerning the peerage and popular repreſentation, were ſubmitted to the committees in both houſes, ſome warm debates aroſe upon them, but they compriſed nothing new or peculiarly relevant to Ireland. The majorities upon each diviſion were uniformly in the ſame proportion.

Lord Hawkeſbury made a very able ſpeech upon the general nature of our popular repreſentation in parliament.

Lord Grenville, on the 28th of April, when the houſe was in a committee

upon the fourth article, drew their attention to three points of difference, which would be found between the Iriſh and Scotiſh peers. The former, when choſen, would hold their ſeats till death, except the ſpiritual peers, who, if they ſhould be deputed for life, would be too long abſent from their ſees. This permanence of the elected noblemen ſeemed better calculated than a temporary delegation to guard againſt the effects of undue influence and control. The ſecond point was the eligibility of the peers of Ireland to a ſeat among the commons of the empire. A conſiderable number of thoſe peers had ſo little property or influence in that country, as to have ſcarcely any chance of being deputed to a repreſentation of the peerage; and the election of ſuch individuals as commoners would ſtrengthen the connexion of claſſes, and conſtitute a deſirable Union of feeling and intereſt between the houſes of parliament. The third point, the eventual creation of new Iriſh peers, would be neceſſary for the prevention of too rapid a progreſs towards the extinction of the peerages.

Lord Mulgrave moved for the omiſſion of that clauſe, which allowed the Hibernian peers to ſit in the Houſe of Commons for any of the ſhires and boroughs of Great Britain, with a proviſo that they ſhould ceaſe to enjoy during that time the privileges of the peerage. Such a regulation, he ſaid, would tend to break down the bulwark between the peers and the commons, and conſequently the barrier between the crown and the people; to introduce a confuſion of ranks, and promote democratic diſorder.

The chancellor defended the clauſe as reaſonable and conſtitutional. Why, he aſked, would it be more degrading for an Iriſh peer than for the eldeſt ſon of the firſt peer of this kingdom to be tried as a commoner; and would it not be a great hardſhip for a number of the peers of Ireland to be deprived of the chance of becoming legiſlators?

The Earl of Caernarvon oppoſed the clauſe, becauſe it ſeemed to have a jacobinical tendency; and the Earl of Darnley recommended, in this reſpect, an adherence to the ſtipulations of the Scotiſh Union.

Lord Mulgrave's motion for omitting a part of the article was negatived by 50 againſt 7.

On the 30th of April, a debate aroſe from a motion of Lord Holland, tending to give the Catholics a pledge or proſpect of the abolition of the diſabilities, to which they were ſtill ſubject both in Ireland and in Great Britain. In this country, a regard to juſtice dictated ſuch relief: in the other, it was not

only

only a matter of juſtice, but was eſſential to public tranquillity, and would contribute to reconcile the minds of the majority of that people to the new project. Notwithſtanding he conſidered the policy of the Union doubtful, and ſome of its proviſions, particularly with regard to repreſentation, alarming innovations, yet if he thought that the emancipation of the Catholics were to accompany the Union, it would ſoften much of its hoſtility to the project. If he himſelf then conſidered the reſtoration of the rights of the Catholics ſo ſtrong a recommendation, what muſt be the feelings of thoſe, who were ſo much more nearly intereſted in it? It had been ſaid, indeed, that it was not worth while to attempt reclaiming thoſe, who were diſaffected in Ireland. If any miniſter did not think it worth while by wiſe and liberal meaſures, to conciliate thoſe who were diſaffected, and to bring them back to their duty, ſuch a miniſter would be unfit to be truſted with the conduct of public affairs: it was an object of the higheſt importance to ſtrengthen his majeſty's government by conciliating the affections of all his ſubjects. But it might be ſaid it would be better to wait. He, on the contrary, thought that the preſent was the moment to remove all the doubts, which the Catholics might entertain, and to render them friendly to the meaſure, by ſhewing them candidly the advantages they would gain. It would thus tend to confirm thoſe who heſitated in their opinion, and to reconcile thoſe who might be hoſtile to the Union. It had been ſaid, that the emancipation was a mere pretext employed to delude the people of Ireland; but its being ſucceſsful as a pretext, was a proof of how much importance it was to take it away. In the late rebellion, which however he never would be induced to call a Catholic rebellion, ſo many would not have been led away by it, had not the reſtraints, under which the Catholics laboured been conſidered as grievances. It was a grievance to be eſtimated in its operation on men's minds; not by the injury it did, but by the inſult which it ſuppoſed.

Lord Borrington thought the agitation of that queſtion was unſeaſonable, and therefore moved the previous queſtion.

The Marquis of Landſdown did not diſapprove the motion, though he differed from the mover on the ſubject of the Union. After a frequent and cloſe deliberation, he was convinced of the wiſdom and policy of the general meaſure, and thought it highly honorable to the projectors. The chief blemiſhes, he thought, were to be found in the confined mode of election for ſome of the boroughs; but theſe were ſpecks in a brilliant ſun.

Earl Fitzwilliam juſtified the motion as conciliatory and highly expedient: but Lord Mulgrave ſaid, that, as the parliaments of both kingdoms had already agreed to the poſtponement of the Catholic queſtion, which, they conceived, would be more temperately and wiſely diſcuſſed after an Union, it was unneceſſary and improper to prejudge the topic. Lord Hobart and the Earl of Liverpool were for the previous queſtion.

The Earl of Moira declared that the objections, which he had urged to an Union were in a great meaſure ſuperſeded by the late determination of the Iriſh parliament; and he was ready to admit that the points of detail were founded, for the moſt part, on juſt and equitable principles. Apprehending that the preſent motion might obſtruct the ſucceſs of the ſcheme, he wiſhed it to be withdrawn or diſcountenanced.

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the queſtion would be beſt determined by the united parliament, and that the deciſion of that legiſlature, even if it ſhould be erroneous, would be attended with much leſs inconvenience than a ſimilar deciſion would produce, if pronounced by the two parliaments under the preſent ſyſtem.

The motion was then ſuperſeded by the previous queſtion.

As the woollen-manufacturers of Great Britain were alarmed at the proſpect of great loſs and injury, if a free exportation of the raw material to Ireland ſhould be allowed, petitions were preſented to both houſes againſt that part of the commercial article; and witneſſes were examined at the bar in ſupport of the allegations of the petitions. The miniſter notwithſtanding, on the 1ſt of May, urged the committee to adopt the reſolution, which was done accordingly.

Mr. Peel and Mr. Wilberforce ſpoke in favor of the petitions.

Mr. Pitt maintained, that, if any transfer of manufacture ſhould reſult from the permiſſion of exporting wool, it would be gradual and inconſiderable; that any void, which it might occaſion, would be much more than filled up by the great increaſe of our trade in this article; that we had no reaſon to apprehend a ſcarcity of the commodity, or dread the rivalry of the Iriſh in the manufacture; and that his friend's propoſal would be an unneceſſary deviation from that liberal principle of a free intercourſe, which was the intended baſis of the Union.

When the report was brought up on the 2d of May, Dr. Laurence vehemently oppoſed it: but upon no new grounds.

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The means of promoting the meaſure were not, in his opinion, the moſt laudable or conſtitutional; and the boaſted majority did not include the moſt reſpectable portion of the parliament. A conſiderable number of thoſe, who had voted for the ſcheme were palpably influenced by the crown; and the freedom of deliberation was checked by the preſence of the army. He moved that the buſineſs ſhould be poſtponed for three months.

Mr. Morrit reſted his confidence of ſucceſs on the happineſs to both countries which followed the Union with Scotland.

The Honorable Mr. Ryder admitted, that a complete or perfect Union could not at firſt be expected; but he did not conſider this objection as a ſufficient reaſon for deſiſting from an attempt, which might be in ſome degree ſucceſsful; ſtill leſs did he think it prudent finally to relinquiſh it.

Mr. Bankes was ſtill of opinion, that the ſcheme would be inefficacious as a meaſure of Union, and particularly hazardous from the diſſatisfaction with which it would be received by the Catholics, whoſe views of power it would ultimately diſappoint, even though the imperial parliament might accede to their preſent claims.

Colonel Wood and Sir Richard Car Glyn ſupported the general principle of the meaſure. Sir William Young contended that delay would be dangerous, and that nothing but an Union would render the two countries permanently proſperous and happy. He did not believe, that the Iriſh Catholics were generally adverſe to the Union. On the contrary, he ſtated, on the authority of one of themſelves, Lord Kenmare, a nobleman of the greateſt virtue and patriotiſm, that the moſt reſpectable claſſes of them were inclined in its favor. Mr. Nicholl did not approve every part of the plan; but, conceiving that it would enable the government to relieve the Catholics with ſafety, and that it would thus allay the bitterneſs of religious diſſention, he was willing to promote its ſucceſs.

The houſe then ordered the ſecond reading of the reported reſolutions: a diviſion took place, in which 26 voted againſt it, and 208 for it.

On the 5th of May, the ſcheme was again debated in both houſes. Lord Grenville was pleaſed to find, that only one claſs of manufacturers complained of the commercial article, and ſtill more pleaſed to obſerve, that even their jealouſy was ill-founded. The committee adopted the commercial clauſes and the remaining regulations.

Various

*Various motions were made in the Houſe of Commons for the ſuppoſed improvement of the plan. Dr. Laurence moved for ſome alterations grounded on his former ſuggeſtions relative to the parliamentary article, which were negatived. Mr. Grey propoſed clauſes calculated to render the Iriſh members independent of the crown, and to reduce their number in caſe of a diminution of that of the Britiſh repreſentatives. Sir William Dolben moved, that all new peers ſhould entail a ſufficient eſtate to ſecure the independence of their ſucceſſors. Mr. Tierney wiſhed for a recommitment of the reſolution reſpecting trade, that the woollen manufacturers of this country might receive an indulgence ſimilar to that which would be granted to the cotton manufacturers of Ireland. All of which were negatived.

An addreſs was voted on the ſame day, importing that the commons had obſerved with unſpeakable ſatisfaction the general conformity of the articles tranſmitted from Ireland with thoſe which they had voted in the preceding year, and that they were now ready to conclude with the Iriſh parliament an Union upon that foundation. This addreſs was communicated to the peers; and, after a compariſon of the reſolutions of one houſe with thoſe of the other. On the 7th, the permiſſion granted to Iriſh peers to repreſent Britiſh counties or boroughs was again debated. Lord Romney propoſed that all who ſhould thus degrade themſelves ſhould be obliged to wave for life the privileges of the peerage. The Earls of Caernarvon and Fife, and ſeveral other peers, oppoſed it, as tending to violate the conſtitution, and produce a confuſion of rank and intereſts; each queſtion was carried by like majorities in favor of the miniſtry.

When it was moved, that the peers ſhould join in the addreſs, Lord Bolton† ſpoke decidedly in favor of the Union. He entered fully into the merits of the propoſitions of 1785, againſt which, he ſaid, the Iriſh had conceived an ill-founded prejudice. A ſimilar prejudice exiſted againſt the preſent offers of Great Britain; but he truſted that it would not prevent the accompliſhment of a project, which would be advantageous to this country, and highly beneficial to Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam objected to ſeveral of the articles, and maintained that the plan tended to a ſeparation rather than to an Union. Earl Camden and the Marquis Townſhend ſupported the Union. The Earl

* Coote's Hiſtory of the Union, p. 490.

† Formerly Mr. Orde, ſecretary to the lord lieutenant in Ireland.

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of Weſtmorland attributed the diſtractions of Ireland to the then exiſting ſyſtem of government, or to the injudicious meaſures of adminiſtration, and was convinced that an Union was the only remedy for the evils under which ſhe had long groaned. The Earl of Darnley concurred with Lord Weſtmorland. Lord King and Lord Holland maintained, that the meaſure was more likely to aggravate than cure the exiſting evils. The Marquis of Downſhire (Lord Hillſborough in England) repeated many of the obſervations, which he had urged in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords againſt the meaſure. The Marquis Townſhend obſerved, that thoſe perſons who had oppoſed the octennial bill, were the very perſons, who oppoſed the meaſure of Union, and from the ſame motive; becauſe it would diminiſh their influence. The houſe divided on Lord Grenville's motion, which was to inſert the words *lords ſpiritual and temporal* in the blank ſpace left in the addreſs, communicated to their lordſhips by the commons; when there appeared 54 for and 7 againſt the motion. On the 9th, the joint addreſs was preſented to his majeſty. The plan was then tranſmitted to Ireland; and each parliament proceeded to carry into effect the articles by a bill.

Although the Anti-unioniſts had been ſo conſtantly baffled, they perſiſted in diſputing every inch of the ground. As a ſeparate bill was thought neceſſary for regulating the election of the repreſentatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament, Lord Caſtlereagh moved for leave to introduce it before the general bill of Union. Having noticed the inclination, which the houſe had ſhewn to various modes of parliamentary repreſentation, in preference to an uniform ſyſtem, he ſtated the leading principles, on which the ſelection of cities and boroughs had been adjuſted---namely, a regard to property, and the conſideration of political, commercial, and local knowledge; and mentioned the produce of the taxes on hearths and on windows, and the number of houſes for which hearth-money was no longer paid, as fair *criteria* of wealth and population. On theſe grounds, he named the following towns: Waterford, Limerick, Belfaſt, Drogheda, Carrickfergus, Newry, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Galway, Clonmell, Wexford, Armagh, Youghall, Bandon, Dundalk, Kinſale, Liſburne, Sligo, Catherlogh, Ennis, Dungarvan, Down-Patrick, Coleraine, Mallow, Athlone, New-Roſs, Tralee, Caſhel, Dungannon, Port-Arlington, and Enniſkillen. One member for each of theſe towns, with four for Dublin and Cork, one for the Univerſity, and ſixty-four repreſentatives of counties, would, he thought, form the ſoundeſt collection of individuals, that

that could be charged with the concerns of a nation; and Ireland might ſafely depend upon the wiſe and patriotic exertions of ſuch legiſlators, incorporated with an aſſembly, which had preſerved the liberty and happineſs, and therefore commanded the eſteem and affection of the people of Great Britain.

The motion was oppoſed, as tending to pledge the houſe prematurely; but it was carried by a majority of 55. In its progreſs the bill was warmly oppoſed; and the whole plan of Union was re-attacked. It paſſed the Houſe of Commons on the 20th of May. This bill ordained, that, if the king ſhould authoriſe the preſent lords and commons of Great Britain to form a part of the firſt imperial legiſlature, the ſitting members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, ſhould repreſent the ſame cities and ſhires in that parliament; that the written names of the members for the college of the Holy Trinity, for the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the other towns before-mentioned, ſhould be put into a glaſs, and ſucceſſively drawn out by the clerk of the crown; and that, of the two repreſentatives of each of thoſe places, the individual whoſe name ſhould be firſt drawn, ſhould ſerve for the ſame place in the firſt united legiſlature; and that, when a new parliament ſhould be convoked, writs ſhould be ſent to the Iriſh counties, to the Univerſity, and to the cities and boroughs above ſpecified, for the election of members in the uſual mode, according to the number then adjuſted. With reference to the peers, the act provided, that the primate of all Ireland ſhould ſit in the firſt ſeſſion of the combined parliament, the archbiſhops of Dublin, Caſhel, and Tuam, in the ſecond, third, and fourth; that the biſhops of Meath, Kildare, and London-Derry, ſhould take the firſt turn; the prelates of Raphoe, Limerick, and Dromore, ſhould next ſit; thoſe of Elphin, Down, and Waterford, ſhould have the next turn; thoſe of Leighlin, Cloyne, and Cork, ſhould follow; then thoſe of Killaloe, Kilmore, and Clogher; and laſtly, thoſe of Oſſory, Killala, and Clonfert: that the ſame order ſhould then recommence, and continue for ever; and that, for the election of the twenty-eight temporal peers, each of the Iriſh nobility ſhould prepare a liſt of twenty-eight of his brethren, and thoſe who ſhould have a majority of votes in ſuch liſts, ſhould be peers of parliament for life.

The reſolutions, which had been ſent back from England, were referred by the commons to a private committee: a report was ſoon preſented and examined; and, when Sir Lawrence Parſons had in vain moved for a conſideration

tion of the articles in a general committee, all the alterations were adopted by the commons, and afterwards by the peers.

The countervailing duties were then adjuſted; the reſolutions were formed into a bill; and Lord Caſtlereagh, on the 21ſt of May, requeſted permiſſion to produce it. Major Oſborne, on this occaſion, declared, that he would continue to oppoſe the Union as an unneceſſary and pernicious meaſure: Mr. Holmes ſupported it, not only as ſalutary, but abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of Ireland. Mr. Ponſonby and Mr. Ogle again aſſailed it. Mr. Ball ſpoke warmly, and with ſome perſonal acrimony, againſt the bill and its ſupporters. Mr. Latouche, Mr. Martin, and Dr. Browne, declared their conviction of the beneficial tendency of the meaſure; which, on the other hand, was ſeverely reprobated by Sir Lawrence Parſons and Mr. Goold. On a diviſion, the motion for bringing in a bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was carried by 160 againſt 100. The bill was immediately preſented, read *pro forma*, and ordered to be printed. On the 26th, it was again read; and a motion for its commitment followed, which produced another warm, though not very intereſting debate. On the 26th of May, Mr. Grattan propoſed a delay to the 1ſt of Auguſt, that it might be more fully examined, and that more correct documents might be procured, as foundations of the financial and commercial articles. He again diſcuſſed the principle of the meaſure. It was a breach of a ſolemn covenant, on whoſe baſis the ſeparate, reciprocal, and conjoint power of the countries relied; an innovation promoted by the influence of martial law; an unauthorized aſſumption of a competency to deſtroy the independence of the realm; an unjuſtifiable attempt to injure the proſperity of the country. The bill would be, *quoad* the conſtitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad* the government, to a ſeparation. If it ſhould be carried into effect, he foretold its want of permanence, and intimated his apprehenſions, that popular diſcontent, perhaps dangerous commotions, might reſult from its enforcement.

Lord Caſtlereagh defended the bill, and cenſured the inflammatory language of Mr. Grattan. He derided the patriotiſm of thoſe, who took every occaſion of ulcerating the public mind, already too much enflamed: he deſied, however, their incentives to treaſon, and had no doubt of the energy of government in defending the conſtitution againſt every attack.

Sir John Parnell indignantly repelled the imputation of any traitorous ſpirit in the Anti-unioniſts, and retorted on thoſe, who wiſhed to ſubvert the conſtitution on pretence of an Union. A very heated debate enſued, in

which Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Burrowes ſpoke againſt the Union, and Mr. May defended it. Mr. Grattan replied with aſperity to the inſinuations of Lord Caſtlereagh, who rejoined with more moderation than he formerly had done.

Mr. Grattan's motion was ſupported by 87 and negatived by 124. After ſome further debating the countervailing duties were ſettled as they had been by the Britiſh parliament.

On the 5th of June, the Bill of Union paſſed through the committee with few remarks, and with little alteration. At the next meeting, Lord Corry moved a long addreſs to his majeſty againſt the completion of the bill.* Mr. Saurin ſeconded the motion, and repeated his objections to the Union, which he contended had not been anſwered or refuted. The attorney general anſwered. Mr. Egan, Mr. J. C. Beresford, and Mr. Goold warmly ſupported the addreſs, which was negatived by a majority of 58; there being 77 for, and 135 againſt it. The report was ordered to be read. An amendment propoſed by Mr. O'Donel excited a flame in the houſe, and was withdrawn. The ſame member, on the 7th of June, moved the third reading of the bill for the 2d of January, when a warm debate followed.

Many of the Anti-unioniſts retired from the houſe, that they might not witneſs the diviſion, by which the bill ſhould be carried. When, on the 9th, an addreſs of both houſes to the king, in confirmation of the countervailing duties was propoſed, Mr. Dawſon, Lord Maxwell, and ſome other Anti-unioniſts declared, that, as ſoon as the bill ſhould become a law, they would give it that ſupport to which it would be entitled by ſuch enactment, but which it did not deſerve by its intrinſic merits.

The bill was carried up to the Houſe of Peers by Lord Caſtlereagh, but the conſideration of it was poſtponed. On its ſecond reading, the Earls of Farnham and Bellamont offered ſome clauſes, which were negatived, and the bill was committed. It paſſed the committee without amendment, was reported in due form, and, after an unintereſting debate, was read a third time on the 13th of June.† A proteſt was entered by the Duke of Leinſter and the other diſſenting peers.

* This addreſs, which is generally attributed to the pen of Mr. Grattan, and was moved for by the Anti-unioniſts in nature of a proteſt to poſterity againſt the meaſure, is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CXX.

† 8 Lords' Journ. p. 463. The diviſion was 41 againſt 14. The proteſt is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CXXI.

No

No part of the plan now remained for the ſecretary to bring forward, but the ſcheme of compenſation. This he plauſibly uſhered in upon a principle of juſtice; he propoſed a grant of 1,260,000*l.* for thoſe who ſhould ſuffer a loſs of patronage, and be deprived of a ſource of wealth, by the disfranchiſement of 84 boroughs---at the rate of 15,000*l.* to each. Mr. Saurin, Mr. Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Dawſon, maintained, that the grant of compenſation to thoſe, who had no right to hold ſuch a ſpecies of property, would be an inſult to the public and an infringement of the conſtitution. Mr. Prendergaſt defended the propoſition, alleging, that, though ſuch poſſeſſions might have been vicious in their origin, yet, from preſcriptive uſage, and from having been the ſubjects of contracts and family ſettlements, they could not be confiſcated, without a breach of honor and propriety. In the Houſe of Peers, this bill was chiefly oppoſed by the Earl of Farnham; but it paſſed into law with little oppoſition in either houſe; the Anti-unioniſts having now given up the queſtion as loſt.*

Soon after the Union bill had paſſed through both houſes of the Iriſh parliament, Mr. Pitt brought a bill in the ſame form into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. It proceeded through the uſual ſtages, without occaſioning any important debate; and was ſent, on the 24th of June, to the peers. On the 30th, Lord Grenville moved for its third reading, declaring, that he roſe for that purpoſe with greater pleaſure than he had ever felt before in making any propoſition to their lordſhips. The Marquis of Downſhire merely ſaid, that his opinion of the meaſure remained unaltered, and that he would therefore give the bill his decided negative. It paſſed without a diviſion; and, on the 2d of July, it received the royal aſſent.†

When a prorogation of the laſt ſeparate parliament of Great Britain was ordered on the 29th of July, his majeſty thus addreſſed the two houſes on the ſubject of the grand work, which had ſo laudably occupied their deliberations.

" With peculiar ſatisfaction I congratulate you on the ſucceſs of the ſteps,

* As ſo much heat and zeal attended this intereſting conteſt throughout, it may be gratifying to the curious reader to ſee the liſt of thoſe who voted on the oppoſite ſides. A correct liſt is alſo given of the different writs, which iſſued in the laſt year of the Iriſh parliament, viz. in 1800, with a view to parliamentary arrangements in voting for the Union. (Vide Index to the Appendix of 19 Vol. of Com. Journ. Part II. and alſo a liſt of the Iriſh parliamentary annuitants.) All are to be ſeen in Appendix, No. CXXII.

† A copy of the act is to be in ſeen the Appendix, No. CXXIII.

" which you have taken for effecting an entire Union between my king-
" doms. This great meaſure, on which my wiſhes have been long earneſtly
" bent, I ſhall ever conſider as the happieſt event of my reign."

It was the opinion of one of the Grecian ſages, that no man ought to be pronounced happy before his death, or before it could be aſcertained, whether his happineſs would be durable; and, in this point of view, the royal obſervation may be deemed premature, as the effect of the applauded ſcheme had not been tried for a moment; but we hope, and have reaſon to expect, that the remark will be fully verified.

The royal aſſent was given in Ireland to the Union bill on the 1ſt of Auguſt, the anniverſary of the acceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick to the thrones of theſe realms. The next day, the lord lieutenant put an end to the ſeſſion, with an appropriate ſpeech from the throne.*

The

* His lordſhip's ſpeech was as follows:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE whole buſineſs of this important ſeſſion being at length happily con-
" cluded, it is with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction, that I communicate to you by his majeſty's ex-
" preſs command, his warmeſt acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unſhaken perſeverance,
" which you have ſo conſpicuouſly manifeſted in maturing and completing the great meaſure of a
" legiſlative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

" The proofs you have given on this occaſion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of
" your country, inſeparably connected with the ſecurity and proſperity of the empire at large, not
" only entitle you to the full approbation of your ſovereign, and to the applauſe of your fellow ſub-
" jects, but muſt afford you the fureſt claim to the gratitude of poſterity.

" You will regret with his majeſty, the reverſe which his majeſty's allies have experienced on the
" Continent; but his majeſty is perſuaded, that the firmneſs and public ſpirit of his ſubjects will
" enable him to perſevere in that line of conduct, which will beſt provide for the honor, and the
" eſſential intereſts of his dominions, whoſe means and reſources have now by your wiſdom been
" more cloſely and intimately combined.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I AM to thank you, in his majeſty's name, for the liberal ſupplies, which
" you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public ſervice in the
" preſent year.

" His majeſty has alſo witneſſed with pleaſure, that wiſe liberality, which will enable him to
" make a juſt and equitable retribution to thoſe bodies and individuals, whoſe privileges and inte-
" reſts are affected by the Union, and he has alſo ſeen with ſatisfaction that attention to the internal
" proſperity of this country, which has been ſo conſpicuouſly teſtified by the encouragement you
" have given to the improvement and extenſion of its inland navigation.

" My

The example of the Scotch Union was followed by Ireland in the formation of their firſt quota of the imperial parliament. No new election was reſorted to, but the moſt zealous ſupporters of the meaſure were, generally, rewarded with ſeats in the imperial legiſlature.* In conſequence of the proclamations iſſued in Great Britain and Ireland for the purpoſe, a ſelection was made of the perſons to repreſent the boroughs of Ireland in the imperial parliament.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I HAVE the happineſs to acquaint you, that the country in general has in a " great meaſure returned to its former ſtate of tranquillity. If in ſome diſtricts, a ſpirit of plunder " and diſaffection ſtill exiſts, thoſe diſorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I " doubt not, be ſoon effectually terminated.

" The preſſure of ſcarcity on the poorer claſſes, though much relieved by private generoſity, " and by the ſalutary proviſions of the legiſlature, has been long and unuſually ſevere, but I truſt " that under the favor of Providence we may draw a pleaſing proſpect of future plenty from the " preſent appearance of the harveſt.

" I am perſuaded, that the great meaſure, which is now accompliſhed, could never have been " effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to reſtore and to preſerve the " tranquillity of this country, to increaſe its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its con- " nexion with Great Britain, and to augment the reſources of the empire. You will not fail to " impreſs theſe ſentiments on the minds of your fellow-ſubjects. You will encourage and improve " that juſt confidence, which they have manifeſted in the reſult of your deliberations on this ardu- " ous queſtion. Above all, you will be ſtudious to inculcate the full conviction, that united with " the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the ſame ſovereign, protected by the " ſame laws, and repreſented in the ſame legiſlature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a " ſpirit of induſtry and order, to inſure to them the full advantages under which the people of " Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of proſperity, ſecurity, and freedom, than has ever " yet been experienced by any other nation.

" I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large, my perſonal congratula- " tions on the accompliſhment of this great work, which has received the ſanction and concurrence " of our ſovereign on the anniverſary of that auſpicious day, which placed his illuſtrious family on " the throne of theſe realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, ſo completely united, " and by Union ſo ſtrengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies may make, " either to weaken it by diviſion, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine " Providence, the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will, I truſt, remain in all future " ages, the faireſt monument of his majeſty's reign, already diſtinguiſhed by ſo many and ſuch va- " rious bleſſings conferred upon every claſs and deſcription of his ſubjects."

* Not one of the 28 peers, who oppoſed the Union, was elected. Amongſt the 100 commoners, ſome few of the Anti-unioniſts appear, ſuch as Mr. Foſter, Sir John Parnell, Mr. Ogle, Sir Lawrence Parſons, Mr. W. B. Ponſonby, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Lord Corry, &c.

At ten o'clock in the morning, the deputy clerk of the crown and hanaper attended in the place of meeting of the Houſe of Commons, where ſeveral members of that houſe alſo attending, the names of ſuch members as were to be balloted were written upon ſlips of paper, and drawn from a glaſs placed upon the table.*

* The following liſt will ſhew the reſult of the ſeveral reſignations, and of the ballot. The names of the gentlemen in the ſecond column, ſhew the preſent ſitting members; thoſe in the third, their late colleagues:—when a drawing took place, the ſucceſsful is in italics.

		PRESENT MEMBERS.	LATE MEMBERS.
1	Trinity College	Hon. George Knox	Arthur Browne, *reſigned*
2	Waterford, c.	*W. Congreve Alcock*	Robert S. Carewe
3	Limerick, c.	*Henry Deane Grady*	Charles Vereker
4	Belfaſt	Edward May	Richard Congreve, *reſigned*
5	Drogheda	Edward Hardman	John Ball, *reſigned*
6	Carrickfergus	*Noah Dalway*	Ezekiel D. Wilſon
7	Newry	*John Moor*	Iſaac Corry
8	Kilkenny, c.	*William Talbot*	James Wemyſs
9	London-Derry, city	Henry Alexander	Andrew Fergufon, *reſigned*
10	Galway, town	St. George Daly	George Ponſonby, *reſigned*
11	Clonmel	(Both members reſigned)	
12	Wexford, town	Francis Leigh	R. Neville, *reſigned*
13	Youghal	*John Keane*	Robert Uniacke
14	Bandon	*Sir B. Chinnery*	Hon. W. O'Callagan
15	Armagh, city	*P. Duigenan*	Gerard Lake
16	Dundalk	(Both members reſigned)	
17	Kinſale	*William Rowley*	S. C. Rowley
18	Liſburn	*George Hatton*	Stewart Bruce
19	Sligo, town	Owen Wynne	W. Wynne, *reſigned*
20	Carlow	*Henry Prittie*	John Wolfe
21	Ennis	J. O. Vandeleur	Sir Edward O'Brien
22	Dungarvan	Edward Lee	J. B. Ponſonby
23	Downpatrick	*Clotworthy Rowley*	Joſ. Rowley
24	Coleraine	Walter Jones	James Beresford, *reſigned*
25	Mallow	John Longfield	Denh. Jephſon, *reſigned*
26	Mallow	William Handcock	H. Handcock, *reſigned*
27	New Roſs	Robert Leigh	C. Tottenham, *reſigned*
28	Trawlee	*Arthur Moor*	Henry Kemmis
29	Caſhell	Richard Bagwell	R. Penefather, *reſigned*
30	Dungannon	Hon. John Knox	James Verner, *reſigned*
31	Portarlington	Frederick Trench	William Gregory, *reſigned*
32	Enniſkillen	Hon. A. C. Hamilton	Lt. Col. G. Cole, *reſigned*

On

On the 31ſt of December, 1800, his majeſty entered the Houſe of Peers, when the uſher of the black rod was ſent to deſire the attendance of the commons.

Several members of the Houſe of Commons appeared at the bar, preceded by the ſpeaker, who addreſſed his majeſty in a dignified and impreſſive ſpeech. That part of it which related to Ireland was as follows:

" Theſe, Sire, the laſt proceedings of your parliament previous to the great " æra now on the point of commencing, are the indication and reſult of that " common intereſt and fellow-feeling with the people, by which it has ever " been actuated, and which are the beſt ſafeguard of all that is moſt valua- " ble in ſociety. To that æra your commons look forward with a confident " expectation, that the conſolidated wiſdom and authority of the legiſlature " of Great Britain and Ireland, under the auſpicious government of your " majeſty, and your illuſtrious houſe, will diffuſe, throughout every part of " the united kingdom, the full benefits of that conſtitution, which has been " proved to be favorable, in an unexampled degree, to the enjoyment of ci- " vil liberty and public proſperity; which cannot therefore fail to animate " the zeal and determination of thoſe, who may ſhare its bleſſings, to cheriſh " and maintain it during their own times, and to tranſmit it as the beſt in- " heritance to their poſterity."

His majeſty was then pleaſed to make the following moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne to both houſes of parliament:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I CANNOT ſuffer this ſeſſion to cloſe without particu- " lar acknowledgment for the diſtinguiſhed induſtry and zeal, with which you " have applied yourſelves to the intereſting object, which, at the commence- " ment of the ſeſſion, I moſt eſpecially recommended to your attention.

" It has been my earneſt wiſh, that nothing ſhould be omitted, which " could tend to relieve the preſſure occaſioned by the preſent dearth of pro- " viſions, and to inſure a ſufficient ſupply till the produce of the next har- " veſt can be brought into uſe.

" The diligence, with which your enquiries have been conducted, has af- " forded you the beſt means of aſcertaining the true circumſtances of our " preſent ſituation; and the extenſive meaſures, which you have wiſely " adopted in conſequence, for the diminiſhing the conſumption of grain, and

" and procuring an increaſed ſupply, will, I doubt not, be found productive " of the moſt ſalutary effects.

" Much, however, muſt depend on the diſpoſition which will, I am confi- " dent, be manifeſted by all thoſe, who have the means of carrying into " execution my ſolemn recommendation and injunction, iſſued at your de- " ſire, for the adoption of all practicable œconomy in the uſe of thoſe articles, " which are neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the poorer claſſes of my ſubjects.

" The time fixed for the commencement of the Union of Great Britain " and Ireland neceſſarily terminates your proceedings on this important ſub- " ject; but I am perſuaded, that the conſideration of it will be reſumed with " the ſame zeal and temper on the firſt meeting of the parliament of the " united kingdom.

" The early period I have appointed for that meeting will afford a ſpeedy " opportunity of completing whatever you may have neceſſarily left un- " finiſhed, and of conſidering what meaſures may tend further to alleviate " the preſſure on my people, or to prevent the danger of its recurrence."

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" THE detention of the property of my ſubjects in the " ports of Ruſſia, contrary to the moſt ſolemn treaties, and the impriſonment " of Britiſh ſailors in that country, have excited in me ſentiments, in which " you and all my ſubjects will, I am ſure, participate.

" I have already taken ſuch ſteps as this occaſion indiſpenſably required, " and it will afford me great ſatisfaction if they prove effectual. But if it " ſhould become neceſſary to maintain, againſt any combination, the honor " and independence of the Britiſh empire, and thoſe maritime rights and in- " tereſts on which both our proſperity and our ſecurity muſt always depend, " I entertain no doubt either of the ſucceſs of thoſe means, which, in ſuch an " event, I ſhall be enabled to exert, or of the determination of my parlia- " ment and my people to afford me a ſupport proportioned to the importance " of the intereſts which we have to maintain."

Afterwards the lord chancellor, by his majeſty's command, ſaid,

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" IT is his majeſty's command, that the proclamation, " declaring his majeſty's moſt gracious intention, ſhould be read to the mem- " bers of the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland " on the part of Great Britain, and that the ſaid parliament ſhould be aſſem-

" bled

" bled on the 22d day of January next, be delivered in full parliament, and " now read, which cloſes the preſent ſeſſion."

And the ſaid proclamation was read by the clerk at the table, as follows, viz.

" GEORGE R.

" WHEREAS, by the fourth article of the articles of the " Union of Great Britain and Ireland, as the ſame are ratified and confirmed " by two acts of parliament, the one paſſed in the parliament of Great Bri- " tain, intituled, An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, to have " force and effect from the firſt day of January one thouſand eight hundred " and one, it is provided, That if we, on or before the ſaid firſt day of Ja- " nuary, one thouſand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is " to take place as aforeſaid, ſhould declare, under the great ſeal of Great " Britain, that it is expedient, that the lords and commons of the preſent par- " liament of Great Britain ſhould be the members of the reſpective houſes of " the firſt parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on " the part of Great Britain: then the ſaid lords and commons of the preſent " parliament of Great Britain ſhould accordingly be the members of the " reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom, on the part " of Great Britain: And whereas it is our intention to appoint Thurſday, " the twenty-ſecond day of January next enſuing, for the aſſembling of the " parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by pro- " clamation under the great ſeal of the united kingdom; we do judge it to " be expedient, that the lords and commons of the preſent parliament of " Great Britain ſhould be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt " parliament of the united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain: And we " do, purſuant to the ſaid articles of Union, and to the acts of parliament " ratifying and confirming the ſame, hereby declare, under the great ſeal of " Great Britain, that it is expedient, that the lords and commons of the " preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhould be the members of the reſpective " houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and " Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the lords and commons of the " preſent parliament of Great Britain are accordingly to be the members of " the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom of Great " Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the ſaid lords, " ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, are hereby required and commanded

" to take notice hereof, and to give their attendance accordingly, at Weſt-
" minſter, on the ſaid twenty-ſecond day of January next enſuing.

" Given at our court at St. James's, the fifth day of November, one thou-
" ſand eight hundred, in the forty-firſt year of our reign.

" GOD ſave the KING."

Immediately after his majeſty had left the houſe, he held a grand council, in which ſeveral arrangements required by that great event were ſettled. In honor of the Union many promotions were made, and ſeveral new titles created. And on the next day, viz. the firſt of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, the incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland was formally announced in the following proclamation.

" GEORGE R.

" WHEREAS by the firſt article of the articles of Union
" of Great Britain and Ireland, ratified and confirmed by two acts of par-
" liament, the one paſſed in the parliament of Great Britain, and the other in
" the parliament of Ireland, and reſpectively intitled, ' An Act for the
' Union of Great Britain and Ireland,' the ſaid kingdoms of Great Bri-
" tain and Ireland ſhould upon this day, being the firſt day of January,
" in the year of our Lord one thouſand eight hundred and one, for
" ever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United
" Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal ſtyle and titles
" appertaining to the imperial crown of the united kingdom and its de-
" pendencies, and alſo the enſigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof,
" ſhould be ſuch as we, by our royal proclamation under the great ſeal of the
" ſaid united kingdom, ſhould appoint: We have thought fit, by and with the
" advice of our privy council, to appoint and declare, that our royal ſtyle and
" titles ſhall henceforth be accepted, taken, and uſed as the ſame are ſet forth
" in manner and form following; that is to ſay, the ſame ſhall be expreſſed
" in the Latin tongue, *Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defenſor*; and in the Eng-
" liſh tongue by theſe words, *George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the*
" *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.*
" And the arms or enſigns armorial of the ſaid united kingdom ſhall be quar-
" terly, firſt and fourth England; ſecond, Scotland; third, Ireland; and it
" is our will and pleaſure, that there ſhall be borne therewith, on an
" eſcutcheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in Germany enſigned
" with the Electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleaſure, that the
" ſtandard of the united kingdom ſhall be the ſame quartering as are here-

" inbefore

" inbefore declared to be the arms or enſigns armorial of the ſaid united " kingdom, with the eſcutcheon of pretence thereon hereinbefore deſcribed; " and that the union flag ſhall be azure, the croſſes, ſaltires of St. Andrew, " and St. Patrick quarterly per ſaltire, counterchanged, argent and gules; " the latter imbriated of the ſecond, ſurmounted by the croſs of St. George " of the third, as the ſaltire. And our will and pleaſure further is, that the " ſtyle and titles aforeſaid, and alſo the arms or enſigns armorial aforeſaid, " ſhall be uſed henceforth, as far as conveniently may be, on all occaſions " wherein our royal ſtyle and title, and arms or enſigns armorial, ought to be " uſed. But, nevertheleſs, it is our will and pleaſure, that all ſuch gold, ſilver, " and copper monies as, on the day before this firſt day of January, one thou- " ſand eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Great " Britain, and all ſuch gold, ſilver, and copper monies as ſhall, on or after " this day, be coined by our authority, with the like impreſſions, until our " will and pleaſure ſhall be otherwiſe declared, ſhall be deemed and taken " to be current and lawful monies of the united kingdom in Great Britain; " and that all ſuch gold, ſilver, and copper monies as, on the day before this " firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, were current " and lawful monies of Ireland, and alſo all ſuch gold and ſilver and copper " monies as ſhall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the " like impreſſions, until our will and pleaſure ſhall be otherwiſe declared, ſhall " be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the ſaid united " kingdom in Ireland; and all ſuch monies as ſhall have been coined for " and iſſued in any of the dominions of the ſaid united kingdom, and de- " clared by our proclamation to be current and lawful money of ſuch domi- " nions reſpectively, bearing our ſtyle, or titles, or arms, or enſigns armorial, " or any part or parts thereof, and all monies which ſhall hereafter be coined " and iſſued according to ſuch proclamations, ſhall continue to be lawful " and current money of ſuch dominions reſpectively, notwithſtanding ſuch " change in our ſtyle, titles, and arms, or armorial bearings reſpectively as " aforeſaid, until our pleaſure ſhall be further declared thereupon. And all " and every ſuch monies as aforeſaid ſhall be received and taken in payment " in Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, and in the dominions thereunto " belonging after the date of this our proclamation, in ſuch manner, and " of the like value and denomination as the ſame were received and taken " before the date hereof. And it is alſo our will and pleaſure, that the ſeveral

" dies

" dies and marks, which have been uſed to denote the ſtamp duties, and all " other ſtamps and marks and inſtruments, which, before the iſſuing of this " our proclamation, ſhall have been in actual uſe for any public purpoſe, and " in which our royal ſtyle and titles, or our arms or enſigns armorial, or any " parts or part thereof reſpectively, may be expreſſed, ſhall not, by reaſon " of this or any other proclamation, or any thing therein contained, be " changed or altered, until the ſame may be conveniently ſo changed or " altered, or until our pleaſure ſhall be further declared thereupon; but " that all ſuch dies, ſtamps, marks, and inſtruments reſpectively, bearing our " royal ſtyle and titles, or arms or enſigns armorial, uſed before this firſt day " of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, or any parts or part of " ſuch ſtyle, titles, or ſuch arms or enſigns armorial, ſhall have the like force " and effect as the ſame had before the ſaid firſt day of January inſtant.

" Given at our court at St. James's, the firſt day of January, one thouſand " eight hundred and one, in the forty-firſt year of our reign.

" GOD ſave the KING."*

Thus was accompliſhed the incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland, an event dreaded by our enemies, and therefore to be cheriſhed by every true and loyal ſubject of his majeſty, as affording the ſure means of conciliating the affections, conſolidating the energies, and promoting the proſperity of every part of the Britiſh empire.

* On the ſame day was publiſhed another proclamation, declaring what enſigns and colours ſhould be borne at ſea, in merchants ſhips or veſſels belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects of the united kingdom, for which ſee Appendix, No. CXXIV.

FINIS.

C. Roworth, Printer,
Bell Yard, Fleet Street.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

No. LXX.

The Difference between Meſſrs. Flood and Grattan: from the Debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, 2 Vol. p. 35 to 61, &c.

(HISTORICAL REVIEW, &c. P. 48.)

MR. FLOOD.—I find myſelf little capable of ſpeaking to this queſtion, oppreſſed with ſickneſs as I am; not in the leaſt degree expecting ſuch a queſtion this night, and more aſtoniſhed than ever I was in my life, to find the leaſt ſymptom of oppoſition ariſing on the other ſide of the houſe. The oppoſition to it ſhould originate here, for the reſolution does not go as far as it ought to do. In Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration, a reſolution was propoſed, "that the condition of this country required every practicable re-"trenchment to be made in its expences;" and the adminiſtration of that day thought they had done enough, and allowed themſelves latitude ſufficient, by amending it with the words—conſiſtent with the welfare thereof, and the honorable ſupport of his majeſty's government; though the reſolution ſo amended, ſtood then exactly like the preſent motion. (Here the clerk, at Mr. Flood's deſire, read the former reſolution.) But I think this motion ſtill allows too great an inlet to public profuſion. Some men will think of their own welfare, when the welfare of the country is the object, and include their own ſupport within the honorable ſupport of his majeſty's government; I did not, therefore, think any man on the ſide of adminiſtration would have oppoſed the motion; I rather ſuppoſed they would have called out in triumph to let it paſs; they would have exulted to ſee "the new commons,

" the new country," Ireland, in its emancipated and dignified ſtate, tolerate the nonſenſe that was current in Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration.

I am as willing as any man to pay compliment to miniſtry, both here and in England, to allow them every degree of credit for their honorable intentions; I have not the ſmalleſt ground of animoſity or reſentment to them, and when I hear œconomy recommended from the throne, almoſt in the words of the honorable baronet, I am aſtoniſhed at an oppoſition to his motion. Indeed, I believe the words of that recommendation were by ſome accident miſplaced, or that government has not digeſted the plan of retrenchment; they ſhould not have followed immediately the mention of the Genevan colony, a body of virtuous men, who to avoid the moſt ignominious ſlavery, have ſought an aſylum in the arms of this country. It was not the proper place to uſe the word œconomy: it there diſgraces the virtuous and generous act of men, who have juſt recovered their own liberty; by placing it there, we may loſe a great deal of honor, but can ſave very little money. But it is not to ſuch little things we are to look for relief; our retrenchments ſhould reach eſtabliſhments, and not like England plunge deeper each day in ruin. Miniſtry both here and in that kingdom, have been often warned of the fatal conſequences that muſt follow, but theſe warnings have been treated as the viſions of ſpeculative men. England, that great and mighty country, now ſtaggers under a load of debt, diſtreſſed and diſmembered, her expences overwhelm her; and where is the man who will ſay, ſhe ſhall be redeemed? Where is the man who will ſay, I will redeem her, and will ſay how? Though every little miniſter, or every little man who imagines he is a miniſter, is ready to undertake the management of her affairs: where is the man who will ſay, that Ireland ought to have a peace eſtabliſhment of 15,000 men? When the augmentation took place in Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration, this country was unable to bear it, and ſince that day we have been involving her deeper and deeper, becauſe we at firſt engaged her in an undertaking beyond her ſtrength. When all the world united againſt Britain, and ſhe was ſurrounded with enemies on every ſide, we gave way to the feelings of our hearts and ſpared her 4000 men; and ſome time after in the moment *de flagrante bello*, we granted her more than half our remaining troops: if then in time of war the country could ſubſiſt without troops, will any man ſay, that in time of profound peace ſhe ought to ſupport 15,000 men? No, now is the time for reducing your military eſtabliſhment; let your intention be known

this

this day, that the right honorable ſecretary may have time to communicate with England: if you neglect the preſent opportunity, no miniſter hereafter will have even a pretence for reſtoring the finances of this country.

I am no partizan either here or in England, I can gain nothing by it; I am ready in either place, like a man, to ſupport miniſters while they are right; and whenever they are wrong, to oppoſe them, and reſiſt their meaſures. At preſent I hope my honorable friend will allow me to alter his motion, and ſtate a preciſe idea; I would have it run thus: "*Reſolved*, That the condi-" tion of this country requires every practicable retrenchment, &c. and that " the military eſtabliſhment in its preſent ſtate, affords room for effectual " retrenchment."

I love the army as a body of brave and worthy men, but I would not ſacrifice the kingdom to their benefit. Now, Sir, if miniſters really mean œconomy, they will agree with this amendment of mine; if not, they will amuſe us with the words only.

Mr. George Ponſonby.—Sir, I can ſee as plainly as any man the intent of the reflections thrown upon your predeceſſor in the chair; and I muſt ſay, as to the mover of this reſolution, that no diſapprobation of his gives me any but a pleaſurable ſenſation, and I do at all times feel that ſupreme contempt for his diſapprobation and opinion, which I now take the liberty to declare. Mr. Ponſonby then entered into a defence of his father's (the late ſpeaker) conduct; he recited the hiſtory of that time. He ſaid, that Mr. Flood had exerted himſelf to ſupport his father's intereſt againſt Lord Townſhend's attacks; and aſked, why, when virtue in the ſhape of Lord Townſhend had overturned intereſt, the alleged ſyſtem of profuſion had not been overturned alſo? He declared his firm reliance on the Duke of Portland and his friends, that they intended an effectual and ſatisfactory reform; and concluded, that if the honorable baronet thought the circle in which he ſat was compoſed of men grown old in iniquity, it would be but charitable for him to come amongſt them, as only from his virtuous contact and indefatigable labours, they could hope to be brought into the road of righteouſneſs.

Mr. Flood ſaid, he had not ſupported Mr. Ponſonby's intereſt, but he had oppoſed Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration: he ſaid this to exculpate Mr. Ponſonby from the charge of ingratitude, for when he had felt the hand of power, Mr. Ponſonby had not ſupported him; but he never looked at ſuch little things as the intereſt of particular men of parties: they appeared great

indeed to the men who were engaged in them, but in the eyes of the man who contemplates the public welfare, they vaniſh into nothing. Had I, ſaid he, been his father's ſupporter, the honorable gentleman but ill requited me, when in his loudeſt tone, he cried out to have me diſmiſſed, and ſeemed to reproach miniſters with puſillanimity for delaying the ſentence. He declared, indeed, that he had no perſonal diſlike to me, but it was only to oblige one or two particular friends; yet the gentleman boaſts of Whig principles, Whig connexions; Whig friends he may juſtly boaſt, but ſuch conduct was a manifeſtation of Whig apoſtacy. God and Nature have eſtabliſhed this limit to power, it cannot long ſubſiſt diveſted of rectitude. Do we mean to take up the words of retrenchment ourſelves, or will we leave it to others to œconomize for us? If we proceed upon this buſineſs, the people will ſtand grateful and admiring ſpectators of our progreſs; if not, they may perhaps take it up themſelves: let us then act honeſtly, let us tell Great Britain what no man can deny, that the military is the place to make retrenchment. I will ſuppoſe miniſters as good as any man can wiſh, but 'tis our duty to give them opportunity of exerciſing their honeſt intentions.

Mr. Grattan.—I ſhall not trouble you long, nor take up the time of the houſe, by apologizing for bodily infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity. I ſhall not ſpeak of myſelf, or enter into a defence of my character, having never apoſtatized. I think it is not neceſſary for the houſe now to inveſtigate what we know to be fact. I think it would be better to go into the buſineſs, as the houſe did upon another occaſion, without the formality of the committee's report. As to myſelf, the honorable reward that a grateful nation has beſtowed upon me, for ever binds me to make every return in my power, and particularly to oppoſe every unneceſſary expence. I am far from thinking with the honorable gentleman, as to the ſpeech, and I believe he will find inſtances where œconomy has been recommended from the throne, but prodigality practiſed. This was the caſe in Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration. An adminiſtration which had the ſupport of the honorable gentleman; and therefore he, of all men, cannot be at a loſs to reject that illuſory œconomy, which has ſo often appeared in the ſpeeches of lord lieutenants. With reſpect to the Geneveſe, I never could have thought it poſſible to give the ſpeech ſuch a bias as has been mentioned, and that people will be deceived, if they give credit to any declamation that infers from the words of the ſpeech, any thing but an honeſt œconomy in applying the public money fairly

fairly to their uſe. The nation has derived great honor from this tranſaction, and I would be ſorry to have it tarniſhed by inference and inſinuation.

In 1771, when the burdens of the country were comparatively ſmall, I made a motion ſimilar to this; the honorable gentleman then oppoſed me. I have his ſanction, now, that I was right, and he was wrong; and I ſay this, that though gentlemen may for a while vote againſt retrenchments, they will at laſt ſee the neceſſity of them. Yet while I think retrenchments abſolutely neceſſary, I am not very ſure, that this is juſt the time to make it in the army; now when England has acted juſtly, I will not ſay generouſly; now when ſhe has loſt her empire; when ſhe ſtill feels the wounds of the laſt unhappy war, and comforts herſelf only with the faithful friendſhip of Ireland. If in 1769, when the liberties of Ireland were denied, and thoſe of America in danger, it was thought unadviſeable to retrench our army, there can be no ſuch reaſon to reduce it now, when both are acknowledged and confirmed. When we voted 4000 men to butcher our brethren in America, the honorable gentleman ſhould have oppoſed that vote; but perhaps he will be able to explain the propriety of ſending 4000 Iriſhmen thither. But why not look for retrenchment in the revenue and other departments. In my mind, the proper mode would be, to form a fair eſtimate of what would be a reaſonable peace eſtabliſhment, and reduce our ſeveral departments to it.

Mr. Flood.—The right honorable member can have no doubt of the propriety of my ſaying a word in reply to what he has delivered; every member in that houſe can bear witneſs of the infirmity I mentioned, and therefore, it required but little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity; but I am not afraid of the right honorable member, I will meet him any where, or upon any ground, by night or by day. I would ſtand poorly in my own eſtimation, and in my country's opinion, if I did not ſtand far above him. I do not come here dreſſed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people; I am not one who has promiſed repeatedly to bring in a bill of rights, yet does not bring in that bill or permit any other perſon to do it; I am not one who threatened to impeach the chief juſtice of the King's Bench for acting under an Engliſh law, and afterwards ſhrunk from that buſineſs; I am not the author of the ſimple repeal; I am not one who, after ſaying the parliament was a parliament of proſtitutes, endeavoured to make their voices ſubſervient to my intereſt; I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this houſe to ſtifle the voice of the people, which my egregious

egregious folly had raiſed againſt me; I am not the gentleman who ſubſiſts upon your accounts; I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by my country for a ſum of money, and then ſold my country for prompt payment; I am not the man who in this houſe loudly complained of an infringement made by England, in including Ireland in a bill, and then ſent a certificate to Dungannon that Ireland was not included; I never was bought by the people, nor ever ſold them: the gentleman ſays, he never apoſtatized, but I ſay I never changed my principles: let every man ſay the ſame, and let the people believe them if they can. But if it be ſo bad a thing to take an office in the ſtate, how comes the gentleman connected with perſons in office. They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how come the gentleman ſo cloſely connected with Colonel Fitzpatrick. I object to no man for being in office; a patriot in office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great Duke of Marlborough ſhrunk and withered before thoſe of the right honorable gentleman; when palaces ſuperior to Blenheim were to be built for his reception, when pyramids and pillars were to be raiſed, and adorned with emblems and inſcriptions ſacred to his virtue; but the pillars and pyramids are now ſunk, though then the great Earl of Chatham was held inferior to him; however, he is ſtill ſo great, that the queen of France, I dare ſay, will have a ſong made on the name of Grattan.

Lord Harcourt practiſed œconomy—but what was the œconomy of the Duke of Portland? 100,000*l.* was voted to raiſe 20,000 ſeamen, though it was well known, that one-third of that number could not be raiſed; and what was the application of the money? It was applied to the raiſing of the execrated fencibles.

It is ſaid, I ſupported Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration; it is true, but I never deſerted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman, who now hears me, knows that I propoſed to the privy council an Iriſh mutiny bill, and that not with a view of any parliamentary grant. I ſupported an abſentee tax; and while I was in office, regiſtered my principles in the books of government; and the moment I could not influence government to the advantage of the nation, I ceaſed to act with them. I acted for myſelf; I was the firſt who ever told them, that an Iriſh mutiny bill muſt be granted. If this country is now ſatisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No; the ſimple repeal, diſapproved and ſcouted by all the lawyers in England and in Ireland, ſhews the contrary; and the only apology

he

he can make is, that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will ſometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of ſound head could not make ſo egregious a miſtake, and a man of an honeſt heart would not perſiſt in it after it was diſcovered. I have now done: and give me leave to ſay, if the gentleman enters often into this kind of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boaſt of at the end of the ſeſſion.

Mr. Grattan.—In reſpect to the houſe, I could wiſh to avoid perſonality, and return to the queſtion, but I muſt requeſt liberty to explain ſome circumſtances alluded to by the honorable member: the honorable member has alluded to St. Chriſtopher's bill, I will declare the fact—he may tell a ſtory: when I received a copy of that bill, it gave me much pain and much offence; I thought I ſaw the old intention of binding Ireland by Engliſh laws; I therefore ſpoke to that effect in this houſe; I alſo ſhewed the bill to all the moſt able and virtuous men in this kingdom, who were of opinion, that my ſuggeſtion was wrong; under this opinion I acquieſced, and the opinion has juſtified it: as to coming at midnight to obtain a vote, impoſing ſilence on the people, I deny it; it was mis-ſtated in the papers, my reſolution was to declare this country free, and that any perſon who ſhould ſpeak or write to the contrary, was a public enemy. All the houſe, all the revered and reſpected characters in this kingdom heard me, and know what I ſay is true. But it is not the ſlander of a bad tongue of a bad character that can defame me, I maintain my reputation in public and in private life; no man, who has not a bad character can ſay I ever deceived him, no country has ever called me cheat. I will ſuppoſe a public character, a man not now in this houſe, but who formerly might have been here; I will ſuppoſe it was his conſtant practice to abuſe every man who differed from him, and to betray every man who truſted him; I will ſuppoſe him active, I will begin from his cradle, and divide his life into three ſtages—in the firſt he was intemperate, in the ſecond corrupt, and in the third ſeditious.

Suppoſe him a great egotiſt, his honor equal to his oath, and I will ſtop him and ſay, Sir, your talents are not ſo great as your life is infamous; you were ſilent for years, and you were ſilent for money: when affairs of conſequence to the nation were debating, you might be ſeen paſſing by theſe doors like a guilty ſpirit, juſt waiting for the moment of putting the queſtion, that you might hop in and give your venal vote; or, at times, with a vulgar brogue, apeing

apeing the manner, and affecting the infirmities of Lord Chatham; or like a kettle drummer, lather yourſelf into popularity to catch the vulgar; or you might be ſeen hovering over the dome, like an ill-omened bird of night, with ſepulchral notes, a cadaverous aſpect, and broken beak, ready to ſtoop and pounce upon your prey: you can be truſted by no man; the people cannot truſt you; the miniſters cannot truſt you; you deal out the moſt impartial treachery to both; you tell the nation it is ruined by other men, while it is ſold by you; you fled from the embargo; you fled from the mutiny bill; you fled from the ſugar bill; I therefore tell you in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honeſt man.

Mr. Flood.—I have heard a very extraordinary harangue indeed, and I challenge any man to ſay, that any thing half ſo unwarrantable was ever uttered in this houſe. The right honorable gentleman ſet out with declaring, he did not wiſh to uſe perſonality, and no ſooner has he opened his mouth, than forth iſſues all the venom that ingenuity and diſappointed vanity, for two years brooding over corruption, has produced; but it cannot taint my public character; four and twenty years employed in your ſervice has eſtabliſhed that; and as to my private, let that be learned from my tenants, from my friends, from thoſe under my own roof; to thoſe I appeal, and this appeal I boldly make, with utter contempt of inſinuations, falſe as they are illiberal. The whole force of what has been ſaid, reſts upon this, that I once accepted office, and this is called apoſtacy; but is a man the leſs a patriot, for being an honeſt ſervant of the crown. As to me, I took as great a part with the firſt office of the ſtate at my back, as ever the right honorable gentleman did with mendicancy behind him.

Mr. Flood proceeded to defend his character, when, at a pauſe, the ſpeaker took the opportunity to interfere, and with the utmoſt politeneſs, and in the kindeſt manner, entreated him to forbear, declaring, that he had ſuffered inexpreſſible pain during this conteſt; and that nothing but the calls of the houſe to hear the two members, could have made him ſo long ſit ſilent. He again beſought Mr. Flood to ſit down, and the houſe joining with the chair, that gentleman, after ſundry efforts to ſpeak, was obliged to deſiſt, and ſoon after retired.

Mr. Flood was ſought for that night by his kinſman Sir Frederick Flood, but could not be found. On the 1ſt of November, 1785, he came to the houſe and thus reſumed the ſubject.

Sir,

*Sir, I wiſh to take the earlieſt opportunity of ſpeaking a few words to you, and addreſſing a few to the houſe, upon the ſituation in which I left the houſe laſt Tueſday. You heard, Sir, and the public heard me; the ſubject, as I think, of an unwarrantable attack. I roſe to defend myſelf, I am ſure with temper. I am not lightly moved; and I think I ſhould be lightly moved, indeed, if I could have been moved by that. I was however interrupted, though I did not bring any fictitious ſubject before you, or ſet out without the leaſt appearance of any argument. In conſequence of interruption, Sir, I left the houſe; but ſoon after I underſtood, that the houſe thought proper to ſay, they would give me liberty to proceed, and I wiſh to take the earlieſt opportunity of returning them my thanks for that permiſſion. At the ſame time, Sir, that I return my thanks for that permiſſion, I hope they will ſuffer me to render it not an empty indulgence, but, upon the preſent occaſion, to take up the ſubject where I left it laſt night. (Mr. Toler roſe to order; but Mr. Flood proceeded.) I hope gentlemen will not interrupt me: when they find me going out of order, when they find me drawing fictitious characters, let them ſtop me; when I ſay any thing unparliamentary; when I recal the aſperity of that day, which, whilſt I deſpiſe, I muſt diſapprove, I riſe in defence of what I think an injured character. As I have endeavoured to defend the rights of this country for twenty-four years, I hope they will permit me to defend my reputation. My life, Sir, has been divided into three parts, and it has been diſpatched by three epithets: one part, Sir, that which preceded Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration; another, which paſſed between Lord Harcourt's and Lord Carliſle's; and the third, which is ſubſequent. The firſt has a ſummary juſtice, or injuſtice done to it, by being ſaid to be intemperate; the ſecond is treated in like manner, by being ſaid to be venal; and the conduct of the third is ſaid to be that of an incendiary.

Mr. O'Hara. To order; it is againſt order to ſpeak of what paſſed on a former day, not that any thing the honorable gentleman has ſaid now is improper, but that the order of the houſe forbids a reference to the debates of a former day.

Mr. Flood. I take this matter up, upon the ground of an interrupted debate; it is in that light it comes within order. I have a right to begin where I was interrupted; but, Sir, there are ſome caſes of ſo particular a nature,

* Page 61 to 70.

that a ſtrict adherence to a general order, would be the height of injuſtice. In the attack made upon my perſon, I went back, not only to the arguments of two or three days before, but to the conduct of twenty years antecedent; therefore, Sir, I hope, that if animadverſions of twenty years are allowed to one, I may have an opportunity of referring to arguments uſed three days ago: with reſpect to that period of my life, which is diſpatched for the word intemperate, I beg gentlemen would conſider the ſituation of public characters, if that is to be their treatment; that period takes in a number of years, and in which the public were pleaſed to give me their ſentence of approbation. Sir, it includes, for I wiſh to ſpeak to facts, not to take it up upon epithets, it includes the Duke of Bedford's, Lord Halifax's, the Duke of Northumberland's, Lord Hertford's, and Lord Townſhend's.

Now, Sir, as to the fact of intemperance, I will ſtate to you how that ſtands, and let the gentleman ſee how a plain tale ſhall put him down. Of thoſe five adminiſtrations, there were three I could not be ſaid, in any ſenſe of the word, to oppoſe them at all; I mean the three firſt. I certainly voted againſt the ſecretary of the day, but oftener voted with him. In Lord Hertford's adminiſtration, I had attained to a certain view and decided opinion of what was fit, in my mind, to be done for this country. I had fixed upon the great objects of public utility. I endeavoured to attain them, with that ſpirit and energy, with which it is my character and nature to ſpeak and to act; as I muſt take the diſadvantages of my nature, I will take the advantages of it too. Theſe three great objects were reſiſted by that adminiſtration: what was the conſequence? A conflict aroſe between that adminiſtration and me; but that conflict ought not to be called oppoſition on my part; no, it ought rather to be called oppoſition on theirs; I was the propounder, and they reſiſted my propoſitions. This may be called a conflict, not an oppoſition to that adminiſtration. What were thoſe three objects? One was to prove, that the conſtitution of parliament in this kingdom did ſtill exiſt; that it had not been taken away by the law of Poynings, but that it was an infamous perverſion of that ſtatute, by which the conſtitution had ſuffered: the other was the eſtabliſhment of a conſtitutional military force, in ſuperaddition to that of a ſtanding army. The only idea that ever occurred to England, or any free country of Europe, I adopted, namely, that of a conſtitutional militia. At that time the idea of a volunteer force had not ariſen; therefore, I adopted the idea which at that time appeared to be beſt. The

third

third great object I took up as neceſſary for this country, was a law for limiting the duration of parliaments; theſe were the three great, ſalutary, and noble objects, worthy of the enlarged mind of an enlarged country. I purſued them with ardour, I do not deny it; but I did not purſue them with intemperance. I am ſure I did not appear to the public to do ſo; they gave my exertions many flattering teſtimonies of their approbation. There is another proof that I was not intemperate; I was ſucceſsful: intemperance and miſcarriage are apt to go together, but temperance and ſucceſs are aſſociated by nature. This is my plain hiſtory with regard to that period. The clumſineſs of virulence, of invective, may require to be ſheathed in a brilliancy of diction, but plain truth and plain ſenſe are beſt delivered in plain terms. I now come to that period, in which Lord Harcourt governed, and which is ſtigmatized by the word venal. I ſay, Lord Harcourt, for in my conſideration of his adminiſtration, I will include that of Lord Townſhend. If every man who accepts an office is venal, and an apoſtate, I certainly cannot acquit myſelf of the charge, nor is it neceſſary. I ſhould have ſo many aſſociates in the crime, if ever there was a crime in what multitudes would defend. I am ſenſible multitudes and majorities would not be wanting to defend that. But I ſay, either it is a crime, or it is not; if it be a crime univerſally, let it be a crime univerſally aſcribed. But, Sir, I ſay it is not fair, that one ſet of men ſhould be treated by that honorable member as great friends and lovers of their country, notwithſtanding they are in office; and another man, becauſe he was in office, ſhould be treated as an enemy and an apoſtate; but what is the truth? Every thing of this ſort depends upon the principles on which office is taken, and on which it is retained; with regard to me, let no man imagine I am preaching up a doctrine for my own convenience; there is not a man leſs concerned in the propagation of it. I have no treaty with the right honorable gentleman on the floor, nor ſhall I have any.

Now, Sir, I ſhall beg leave ſhortly to ſtate the manner in which I accepted that office, which I give you my word I never will reſume. It was offered to me in the moſt honorable manner, with an aſſurance not only of being a placeman for my own profit, but a miniſter for the benefit of my country. My anſwer was, that I thought, in a conſtitution ſuch as ours, an intercourſe between the prince and the ſubject ought to be honorable; the being a miniſter ought to redound to a man's credit; but I lamented, that it often happened otherwiſe: men in office often give up thoſe principles, which they

maintained before. I told them, therefore, that my objections were not the going into office, but to following the examples, which I had ſometimes ſeen before me. I mentioned the public principles I held. I ſaid, if conſiſtently with thoſe principles, from an atom of which I would not depart, I could be of ſervice to his majeſty's government, I was ready to be ſo; I ſpeak in the preſence of men, who know what I ſay. After the office had come over, and landed in this kingdom, I ſent in writing to the chief governor, that I would not accept the office, unleſs upon that principle.

Thus, Sir, I took office; the adminiſtration before I oppoſed only in part of it; in the firſt ſeſſion of Lord Townſhend, I did not oppoſe; I never oppoſed Lord Townſhend till after his prorogation and proteſt. This appeared to me an infamous violation of the privileges of parliament. With regard to money bills, and after that proteſt, by which he endeavoured to make the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, inſtead of being the record of their privileges, the monument of their diſgrace, I oppoſed him; now what did I oppoſe in that adminiſtration? The violation of the privilege of this houſe, with regard to money bills, and the wanton augmentation of offices, by the diviſion of the board of commiſſioners into two parts. In Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration, what did I do? I had the two boards of commiſſioners reduced again into one. I do not ſay my ſingle voice effected this, but as far as it had any efficacy, it inſiſted on having the twelve commiſſioners again reduced to ſeven, and the two boards to one, a ſaving, including the whole arrangement, of twenty thouſand pounds a year to the nation. It went further; it inſiſted to have every altered money bill thrown out, and privy council money bills not defended by the crown. Thus, inſtead of giving ſanction to the meaſures I had oppoſed, my conduct was in fact to regiſter my principles in the records of the court, to make the privy council a witneſs to the privileges of parliament, and to give final energy to the tenets, with which I commenced my life. Œconomy did not ſtop with the reduction of the commiſſioners board. The right honorable gentleman, who has cenſured me, in order to depreciate that œconomy, ſaid, that we had ſwept with the feather of œconomy, the pens and paper of your table: a pointed and brilliant expreſſion is far from a juſt argument. This country has no reaſon to be aſhamed of that ſpecies of œconomy, when the great nation of Great Britain has been obliged to deſcend to an œconomy as minute. Neither, Sir, was this all; it is not my fault if infinitely more was not done for this country upon

upon that occaſion; they were offered a ſaving, they did not chuſe to take it; they were offered the abſentee tax, and they refuſed it: I am not to blame for that, it was a part of the ſaving propoſed. If adminiſtration were wrong on that occaſion, they were wrong with the prejudices of half a century; they were wrong with every great writer that had ever written upon the ſubject of Ireland; they were wrong with ſome of the plaineſt principles, as it ſeems, of human nature in their favor. I will ſuppoſe the determination not to accept it to have been right, ſtill it was meritorious in adminiſtration to offer it: and to ſhew, that I was not under any undue influence of office; I appeal to the memory of many men preſent, whether, when the diſpoſition of the houſe was made to alter upon that ſubject, and when adminiſtration yielded, not unwillingly, to the violence of parliament, I appeal to the conſcious and public knowledge of many, whether I did veer and turn about with the ſecretary, or whether I did not make a manly ſtand in favor of that principle, after having pledged myſelf to the public I would rather break with a million of adminiſtrations than retract?

I not only adhered to it, but by a ſingular inſtance of exertion, I forced it a ſecond time under the conſideration of this houſe. That this benefit was loſt to this country, if it be a benefit, it was not my fault. One thing I muſt go back to; I had repeatedly preſſed the bill for limiting the duration of parliament. In Lord Townſhend's time, I brought it in finally, and crowned it with ſucceſs: thus I reſtored to the univerſal community of Ireland, a right of which they had been robbed for near a century, namely, their firſt and fundamental franchiſe as electors, without which this houſe is but a ſhadow. And thus after having reſtored that root of all their other rights in Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration, after having reſtored œconomy, and reduced twelve commiſſioners to ſeven in Lord Harcourt's, I went on to the other great meaſure which I have mentioned, the militia law; and when a right honorable gentleman (Mr. Ogle) moved that queſtion, I engaged all the intereſt I could with government in behalf of it; I roſe up to ſecond his motion, and declared I would ſupport him and his militia bill to the laſt; accordingly, I gave him the aſſiſtance of my poor labours, and it was carried; thus therefore, Sir, I ſay, that in that adminiſtration, in which I accepted office, inſtead of relinquiſhing my principles, I preſerved them. Inſtead of getting a minority to vote for them, I brought the majority to give an efficient ſanction to their truth, by entering into office upon that occaſion, and acting as I did;

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I acted the part of an honeſt miniſter between the prince and the people; in doing ſo, I think I was more a patriot, than if out of office I had made empty declamations on empty ſubjects, without any advantage to the public. Moſt of thoſe who hear me can recollect the ſtate of this kingdom at the cloſe of Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration. I appeal to them all, and I aſk what was then my repute in the nation? I will not ſay it was the firſt, or the ſecond, or the third, but did it not ſtand in an honorable rank, and among the former rather than among the laſt? In Lord Harcourt's government, the vice-treaſurerſhip was offered to me, accompanied with every declaration that could render it acceptable to an honorable mind. When that office was offered to me, was my ſituation that of a reprobated man? Did the adminiſtration of England ſend over an office uſually reſerved for the parliament of England, and offer it of their own accord to a reprobated man? I take the facts of both countries to diſprove this calumny. Is it ſince I have become a mark of obloquy? I flatter myſelf not. Lord Buckinghamſhire's adminiſtration ſucceeded. With regard to Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration, the objection is, I did too much; the charge with regard to the other is, I did too little for it; thoſe two accuſations run a little in contrary direction, and like a double poiſon, each may cure the operation of the other; but the fact is this, I acted not upon viſions and imaginations, but on ſound common ſenſe, the beſt gift of God to man; which then told me, and ſtill whiſpers, that ſome adminiſtrations deſerve a more active ſupport than others; that ſome adminiſtrations deſerve little of either; I adapted my conduct to thoſe three conditions, I did not run headlong againſt government at one time, and with government at another, but adapted my conduct as I ought to do, to what I ſaw and what I felt. Did I ſupport Lord Harcourt? Why? Becauſe he gave me an influence in his councils. It is nonſenſe to ſay, a man is not to ſupport his own councils; but the next adminiſtration took another direction, and they did not give me any influence in their councils. What was the conſequence? I did not give them ſupport. Was there any thing more fair? I felt myſelf a man of too much ſituation to be a mere placeman. If not a miniſter to ſerve my country, I would not be the tool of ſalary. What was the conſequence? I voted with them in matters of importance when they were clearly right; I voted againſt them in matters of importance when they were clearly wrong; and in matters of ſmall moment I did not vote at all: and why? I ſcorned, by voting for them in ſuch matters, to

ſeem

ſeem to pay court. To vote againſt them in ſuch matters would have been abſurd. What remained? Not to vote at all. If you call that abſconding, going behind the chair, or eſcaping into the corridore, call it what you pleaſe, I ſay it was right. This is my plain way of dealing; it is common ſenſe. I told Lord Buckinghamſhire, I would not attend the cabinet councils of the ſage Mr. Heron. Was that duplicity? I think not. I did more; I ſent my reſignation to England, to the ſame friend through whom the firſt communication was made to me on the ſubject of office; but, from the ideas of friendſhip to me, he took time to conſider, and at length declined to deliver my reſignation. I have ſaid ſomething of the middle period, I ſhall come to the third, viz. Lord Carliſle's adminiſtration, in which my conduct has been ſlandered as the conduct of an incendiary; when that idea took place in ſome minds I cannot tell, but this I am ſure of, that the right honorable gentleman who cenſured me, was called an incendiary at that time, and ſo perhaps might I; but I am ſure the right honorable gentleman at that time did not think me an incendiary more than himſelf. There was not a ſingle inſtance in which he did not co-operate. If I am an incendiary, I ſhall gladly accept therefore of the ſociety of that right honorable gentleman under the ſame appellation: but he laughed at the folly of the accuſation at that time, and ſo do I now. If I was an incendiary, it was for moving what the parliaments of both kingdoms have ſince given their ſanction to: if that is to be an incendiary, God grant I may continue ſo! In this adminiſtration it was that I was diſmiſſed from office; now, Sir, I do not know that in general my diſmiſſion from office was thought any diſgrace to me: I do not think this houſe or the nation thought me diſhonored by that diſmiſſion. The firſt day I delivered thoſe ſentiments for which I was diſmiſſed, I remember it well, I thought it for my honour; ſome very honorable and worthy gentlemen, ſome ſince dead, and ſome ſtill alive, one of whom I ſhall ever love and ſhall ever lament; one of them is dead ſince to every thing but his own honor and the grateful memory of his country; one of them who thought me ſo little of the character of an incendiary, that he croſſed the houſe, together with others, to congratulate me on the honor of my conduct, and to embrace me in open parliament. At that moment I think I ſtood clear to the imputation of being an incendiary. The character of an incendiary therefore ſeems to have been ſuperinduced upon me of a ſudden; it has ſprouted out and germinated from that root of much evil, the ſimple repeal;

peal: ſince that moment only, it ſeems that I have been going down in the opinion of the public; ſince that moment they have found out my character and conduct deſerve all reprobation, and deſerve the brand of being an incendiary; and yet I can hardly prevail upon myſelf to think that is the caſe, becauſe, ſince that moment, I have received more honorable teſtimonies from every corner of the kingdom, than that right honorable member has received in the ſame period. I ſhall return once more to the ſentiments of that beloved character I have juſt deſcribed: he was a man, over whoſe life, or over whoſe grave, envy never hovered: he was a man, wiſhing ardently to ſerve his country himſelf, not wiſhing to monopolize the ſervice, but wiſhing to partake and to communicate the glory of what paſſed: he gave me in his motion for a free trade, a full participation of the honor. Upon another occaſion he ſaid, I remember the words, they are traced with the pencil of gratitude on my heart, "That I was a man whom the moſt lucrative office "in the land had never warped in point of integrity." The words were marked, I am ſure I repeat them fairly; they are words I ſhould be proud to have inſcribed upon my tomb. Conſider the man from whom they came; conſider the magnitude of the ſubject on which they were ſpoken; conſider the ſituation of the perſons concerned, and it adds to, and multiplies the honor. My noble friend—I beg pardon, he did not live to be ennobled by patent, but he was born ennobled by nature; his ſituation at that moment was this: he had found himſelf obliged to ſurrender office, and enter into active oppoſition to that government, from whom he had received it. I remained in office, though under the circumſtance of having ſent in my reſignation; that he did not know; in political poſition therefore we were contradiſtinguiſhed to each other: he did not know, while he was doing juſtice to me, but that he might be doing political detriment to himſelf; he did not know but he might ſerve the adminiſtration he oppoſed; but careleſs of every thing except juſtice and honor, he gave the ſentiments of his heart, and he approved. I have mentioned, Sir, that ſhort period, during which the character of an incendiary, if at all applicable to me, muſt have come upon me in the night, like an enemy, and have taken me unawares; I cannot think the opinion of the public ſo transformed, when I ſee every corner of the country expreſſing their approbation of my conduct, one after another; great and reſpectable ſocieties of men, compared with whoſe ſentiments the obloquy of an individual ſinks into nothing. Even this very day, I have received

received from the united delegates of the province of Connaught, an approbation, with one voice, as they expreſs it, of that conduct, which has been ſlandered as the conduct of an incendiary. Here is a congregation of men, not one of whom I have ever ſeen, to none of whom I have ever a chance of doing a ſervice, who could have nothing in contemplation, but the doing an act of juſtice. Sir, I may ſay, I had the ſame ſanction from another province, that of Ulſter. But it ſeems I went to Belfaſt in the character of an incendiary; I went to Dungannon in the character of an incendiary. Now I went to neither of thoſe places but by an invitation, and if a perſon invited be an incendiary, what muſt thoſe be that give the invitation? If I am an incendiary, all Ulſter is an incendiary; if I am an incendiary, all Connaught is an incendiary—with two provinces therefore at my back, and with the parliament of England behind me—in their having coincided honorably, and nobly in that ſentiment, which I ſuſtained, I think I am not much afraid of any ſingle and ſolitary accuſation. But I have not only the parliaments of both kingdoms, I have the judicial power in my favour. If my doctrine was not right, Lord Mansfield's was not right; I aſk you was he wrong? It has been ſaid he was the enemy of both countries on that occaſion. But has the accuſation been proved? Lord Mansfield has many political enemies. The adminiſtration at the time would have been glad to have proved him an enemy to both countries, yet was there a man in the parliament of England, the greateſt enemy to that noble judge, who attempted to find fault with his conduct? After having mentioned the judicial power, let me come to a highly reſpectable body, the corps of Lawyers in this country, who, after ſix months meditation by a committee choſen by ballot, gave their ſanction to that opinion, which is the opinion of an incendiary, if I deſerve that name. If Lord Mansfield be an incendiary, if the parliament of England be an incendiary, if the corps of Lawyers be incendiaries, if the Ulſter delegates be incendiaries, if the Connaught delegates be incendiaries, and all the ſocieties who have joined that opinion throughout the kingdom—if all theſe, be incendiaries, in the name of God let me be added to the number, and let me be an incendiary too. But though I may be ſuch an incendiary, I will never be that which would deſerve the name; I will never by any hollow compoſition—lay the ſeed of future diſſenſion. I will go clearly and fully to the work. I will be ſatisfied when ſatisfaction is given; my nature is as prone to ſatisfaction, and as diſtant from chagrin as that of any man. I ap-

peal to thoſe who know me from my childhood, firſt at a public ſchool, then at the univerſity of this kingdom, then at the univerſity of Oxford, and afterwards during twenty-four years, taking no very private part within the walls of this houſe—I have ſpoken to facts. I do not mean to arraign. Any man may be miſtaken, and I wiſh to ſuppoſe any man to be really miſtaken, rather than be ſo intendedly. I would rather reconcile all men to the public, than make unneceſſary diviſions. But though I would do every thing a man can do to prevent diſſenſion, I cannot be expected to ſacrifice my character to unlimited obloquy. Sir, one circumſtance I muſt mention as it is ſomewhat extraordinary. It has been ſaid by ſome authority on that ſide of the queſtion, that I am the out-caſt of government, and of my prince; certainly, Sir, my diſmiſſion from office was attended with the extraordinary circumſtance of my diſmiſſion from council; therefore I ſuppoſe it is that the right honorable member has called me the out-caſt of government and of my prince. It certainly, Sir, was an extraordinary tranſaction, but it was done in the caſe of Mr. Pulteney, it was done in the caſe of the Duke of Devonſhire: therefore I ſuppoſe it will not be a deciſive proof of any reprobated or factious character in the perſon to whom it happened. It is the firſt time it has been mentioned to my diſadvantage. It was in the Houſe of Lords of England mentioned to the diſadvantage of the miniſter who was ſuppoſed to have done it, by a moſt reſpectable character; it was thought not to my diſhonor here; it was thought not to my diſhonor in the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, where I have lately received from a very eminent peer, the ſanction of ſentiments very different from theſe. In a word, it is but the ſentence of one tongue, and upon that tongue I leave it. I do not however pretend to diſpute a miniſterial fact, which a gentleman in confidence alleges. He has been in the confidence of the Duke of Portland, he is as much a miniſter as any man who is not in office.

Thus much, therefore, I muſt give to this miniſterial aſſertion, that I ſhall find it impoſſible for me, under ſuch an interdict, to pay my reſpects at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, which otherwiſe I ſhould be prompted to diſcharge. And I mention it, thus publicly, that my abſence may not be interpreted into any want of the moſt perfect duty and loyalty to my prince, or of the greateſt reſpect to the nobleman who preſides there. I am not a man formed to court proſcription; I will not ſeek diſgrace; let it remain in its den, I will not revoke it. Sir, I have treſpaſſed too long, and I am oppreſſed with the

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weight and multitude of thanks which I owe you and the houſe; I have troubled you too long upon a private ſubject, but, with your permiſſion, I will endeavour to make amends the next day, by bringing before you a ſubject of more importance, the œconomy of the nation; I beg pardon for what I have ſaid, I have promiſed too much, I am in your judgment whether I ſhall do it. You have heard what has paſſed upon my ſubject; I appeal to you, if I am that character that has been drawn; if I am that character in any degree, I do not deprecate your juſtice, but I call for it, and exhort you, for yourſelves and your country, to get rid of a member who would be unworthy to ſit among you.

No. LXXI.

Mr. Monke Maſon's Speech againſt Parliamentary Reform. (*P.* 81.)

MR. John Monke Maſon began the debate, by apologizing to the houſe for ſpeaking at a time when he was ſo oppreſſed with a violent cold, that without their utmoſt indulgence he could not be heard at all. He ſaid, I ſhall leave it to other gentlemen to point out to the houſe the abſurdities of the plan that is now before you, and ſhall confine myſelf merely to the principle of the bill, and the reaſons ſtated in ſupport of it by the honorable gentleman by whom it was introduced, and the ſeveral petitions that lie on your table.

The honorable gentleman has ſaid, that our preſent mode of repreſentation is a novelty, and that what he contends for is not an innovation, but merely a reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution; and in the ſeveral petitions, it ſeems to be laid down as an incontrovertible maxim, that equality of repreſentation is a fundamental principle of the Engliſh conſtitution; an aſſertion, which, I acknowledge, theſe people may ſupport by the authority of ſeveral modern publications, the productions of ingenious and ſpeculative men, who, in their vacant moments, when they have nothing elſe to do, amuſe themſelves with delineating a fantaſtical form of government, which they are pleaſed to entitle the conſtitution of England; and in reducing a ſeries of political aphoriſms, which they tell us are the principles

of that conſtitution; but I am confident they cannot ſupport this aſſertion by any facts recorded in the general or parliamentary hiſtory of that country.

If the conſtitution requires an equal repreſentation of the people, the gentlemen will tell us the year of what reign that parliament aſſembled, in which the people were equally repreſented. If equality of repreſentation be a principle of the conſtitution, they will point to us the period, at which this principle had effectual operation;—if they cannot do that, they will never perſuade any man of common ſenſe, that that is the Engliſh conſtitution, which was never known to exiſt, or that that is a principle of the conſtitution which never has operated for a ſingle moment of time, from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour.

It was not till the 34th of Henry VIII. that the county and city of Cheſter were impowered to ſend members to ſerve in parliament, it was not till 130 years after, in the 26th of Charles II. that this power was extended to the county and city of Durham. Could this poſſibly have happened, if equality of repreſentation were a principle of the Engliſh conſtitution? In both theſe caſes, ſpecific acts of parliament were conſidered as requiſite to inveſt them with this right. Could that have been thought neceſſary, if equality of repreſentation were a principle of the conſtitution?

But to put this matter in a ſtronger light, it has ever been the undoubted prerogative of the crown, to impoſe the burden or extend the privileges of returning members to ſerve in parliament, to any communities or bodies of men that the king thought proper. This part of the prerogative has been conſtantly exerciſed without diſpute or controul from the firſt inſtitution of parliament to the time of the revolution: is it poſſible that this power ſhould even have exiſted for a ſingle moment, if equality of repreſentation were a principle of the conſtitution?

The reformers themſelves do not controvert either this power of the crown, or the validity of the charters that have been formerly granted in conſequence of that power; but they alledge that many of the boroughs which were, at the time the charters were granted, in a flouriſhing condition, are now depopulated and gone to decay. With reſpect to thoſe boroughs where the right of ſuffrage is veſted in the inhabitants at large, I do not believe that the aſſertion is true; I believe that in the greater part of thoſe towns there are as many Proteſtant inhabitants now as there were in the reign of King James I. and with reſpect to thoſe, which theſe people call rotten boroughs,

roughs, where the right of ſuffrage is veſted in a few perſons only, the depopulation of the places can have no effect upon the repreſentatives. Belfaſt is as much a rotten borough as Harriſtown; the number of inhabitants is nothing to the purpoſe, for thoſe inhabitants could have no right to poll, and the members for ſuch boroughs are returned at this day by the ſelf-ſame numbers of voters that they were at the time that the charters were granted. I will therefore aſſert that this pretended reform is not a renovation of the ancient conſtitution, but an idle and dangerous innovation.

A ſcheme for reforming the repreſentation of the people was propoſed in the Britiſh parliament in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, and was introduced by a gentleman, who, at an early period of life is already ſo diſtinguiſhed for his virtue and abilities, that he bids fair to be one of the moſt illuſtrious characters that country has ever produced, his father not excepted. But notwithſtanding the powerful ſupport it derived from ſuch reſpectable authority, the meaſure was rejected by that wiſe and prudent nation, even in the paroxiſm of political reformation. They could not be inſenſible of the defects of their conſtitution, but they were ſenſible of the danger of tampering with it, and choſe rather to ſuffer thoſe defects to continue, than to hazard the conſequence of breaking in upon a ſyſtem ſanctified by the wiſdom of ages, and under which they had flouriſhed for ſuch a length of time.

Yet if the people of Great Britain, in the preſent deplorable ſituation of that country, fallen from the higheſt pinnacle of glory to a ſtate of humiliating diſtreſs, deprived of half her empire, weighed down with a debt of 240 millions, and harraſſed with taxes ſo various and complicated, that they ſeem to have exhauſted the invention of her miniſters; if the people, I ſay, in this ſituation ſhould begin to ſuſpect that the numberleſs calamities they have lately ſuffered were owing to ſome inherent defect in their original conſtitution, and wiſh to amend it, it would not be ſurpriſing; but that the people of Ireland ſhould quarrel with a conſtitution which has raiſed them to the utmoſt ſummit of their wiſhes, is the higheſt degree of folly and ingratitude; a conſtitution under which they have ſo lately obtained a full reſtitution of their natural rights, an unlimited freedom of commerce extended to every part of the globe, and the moſt perfect degree of judicial and legiſlative independence, that any nation upon earth has ever yet enjoyed; a conſtitution, in ſhort, which has put them in poſſeſſion of every bleſſing that can render a people flouriſhing and happy, except thoſe which no conſtitution

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can beſtow; and which are only to be acquired by induſtry, ſobriety, and obedience to the laws; theſe are the only bleſſings we want to make us the happieſt nation upon earth; theſe are the virtues which every honeſt man, every true patriot, every man who has the real welfare of his country at heart ſhould endeavour to inculcate on the minds of the people, inſtead of turning their brains with political jargon, which they do not underſtand, and viſionary ſyſtems of government.—Theſe are the virtues that will render us in a ſhort time a nation of huſbandmen and manufacturers, artificers and merchants; but at the rate we go on we bid fair to be a nation of politicians only, and ſhall appear as ridiculous to all the rational part of mankind as the inhabitants of Swift's imaginary iſland, who waſted the whole of their time in watching, with the utmoſt anxiety and ſolicitude, every change and motion of the heavenly bodies, whilſt their wives and children were ſtarving at home. The complaints of the people of Great Britain are extorted from them by the preſſure of calamity; but, thank Heaven! the complaints of the people of Ireland are excited merely by wantonneſs of proſperity.

The wanton and innovating ſpirit of the times has given riſe to another new doctrine in this country, which was diligently propagated at the laſt general election, and ſeems to have been intended to pave the way for this pretended reformation.—The doctrine I mean is this, that the repreſentatives are bound to pay implicit obedience to the commands of their conſtituents. A doctrine repugnant to the firſt principle of the conſtitution, which is, that a member, when elected, becomes the repreſentative of the nation at large, not merely of that particular place that returned him to parliament; a doctrine which tends to deſtroy the unity of the ſtate, and to degrade the dignity of this houſe; for if this doctrine be eſtabliſhed, you are no longer the free independent repreſentative of a great and powerful kingdom, but the fettered deputies of a parcel of petty communities; united indeed under one common ſovereign, but as diſtinct from each other as the cantons of Switzerland, are from the provinces of America. If this doctrine is to prevail, if we are to be divided into theſe petty communities, it is juſt that each diſtrict ſhould have its particular repreſentatives; but if we adhere to the liberal and truly conſtitutional principle, that each member is the repreſentative of the nation at large, every part of the kingdom is equally repreſented; and every county of the kingdom has not two only but three hundred repreſentatives.

As an inſtance of the happy effects that would attend this new doctrine, let

let me recall the recollection of the houſe to the ridiculous ſcene that was exhibited on the floor in the beginning of laſt ſeſſion; when an honorable member, by order of his conſtituents, moved, that the bill of ſupply ſhould be granted for ſix months only. On the diviſion he went into the lobby, and was followed by every county member in the houſe, a few only excepted, who walked acroſs the floor, many of whom apologizing with their looks and geſtures, for the abſurd part they were acting, and deploring at once their own ſervile ſubjection, and the folly of their conſtituents.

Yet theſe, we are told, are the only independent members of the houſe;—independent indeed they are; independent of reaſon—independent of judgment—independent of choice—independent of every kind of public virtue; which can have no exiſtence without free agency.

This plan of reformation originated with the congreſs of Dungannon, who, after they had reſolved to adopt it, directed their ſecretary to write circular letters to every meddling prieſt, every political mountebank, whoſe names they read of in the Engliſh newſpaper, whom they rendered the arbiters of the Iriſh conſtitution. Theſe letters have ſince been publiſhed by authority; but why do we not find amongſt them any letter to Mr. Pitt, the advocate for reform in the Britiſh parliament? Becauſe they well knew that the ſentiments of Mr. Pitt were not congenial to their own; that he did not deſire to go the lengths which they were determined to proceed; his ſcheme of reform was confined to an addition of a certain number to the members for counties, and great communities. That the repreſentatives of the people ſhould preſume to diſfranchiſe their own conſtituents; that they ſhould attempt to deprive, of their chartered rights, and moſt invaluable privileges, the perſons to whoſe bounty they were indebted for their ſeats, and whoſe confidence had enabled them to ſtrike that mortal blow, was a monſtrous idea that never entered into the mind of that virtuous man, and was only reſerved for that ſelf-created monſter, the congreſs of Dungannon.

I ſhall now beg leave to make a few obſervations on the motives and conſequences of this pretended reform. The avowed motive is a deſire to diminiſh the ariſtocratic power in this kingdom; but I am thoroughly convinced, that this plan would counteract their own intentions, and increaſe the very intereſt they wiſh to deſtroy. The natural conſequence of this reform will be to throw the whole weight of power and influence in this country into

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the ſcale of property, and to bar for ever the doors of this houſe againſt riſing genius and aſpiring virtue.

I ſhall not heſitate to aſſert, that Great Britain owes the glory from which ſhe has lately fallen, and Ireland the glory to which ſhe has ariſen, and which I hope ſhe will ever maintain, to theſe very rotten boroughs that are now ſo reprobated.

You cannot but remember the wretched ſituation of Great Britain in 1757, when ſhe had France alone to contend with; ſo ſunk were the power, the reſources, and even the ſpirit of the nation, that inſtead of making any vigorous efforts againſt this ſingle enemy, ſhe thought it neceſſary to bring over twelve thouſand German troops to ſave her from invaſion. Such was the ſituation of Great Britain when Lord Chatham took the helm; and ſuch was the effect of the abilities and ſpirit of this one man, that in three years time the French were driven from the continent of America, and deprived of the fineſt of their Weſt Indian iſlands. Yet who was Mr. Pitt? a younger brother with 2000*l.* fortune, and a cornetcy of horſe, who had no more chance of repreſenting any great community in England than I have at this inſtant. Had he not been returned for a rotten borough he might have lived in obſcurity, and his virtues had been loſt to himſelf and to his country. What chance had Mr. Burke, who is an honor to this country; what chance had Mr. Fox, whoſe abilities are the objects of general admiration, of repreſenting the cities of Briſtol and Weſtminſter, if they had not firſt diſplayed their abilities, by being returned for private boroughs?

But to come nearer home, I will venture to aſſert, that you owe the emancipation of Ireland to thoſe boroughs. I will venture to aſſert, that you are principally indebted for the reſtitution of your rights to the ſpirit, the abilities, the perſeverance, and real integrity of the honorable gentleman near me; and I am ſupported, in this aſſertion, by the unanimous vote of this houſe, and the univerſal voice of the people at that time, though now I find he has loſt ſome part of his popularity by the moſt virtuous action of his life: the preferring the real ſubſtantial intereſts of his country to an idle punctilio.—What chance had this gentleman, with all his abilities, of repreſenting any but a private borough? Who were his principal aſſailants in this great revolution? members for rotten boroughs.—I know but of one county member who took a diſtinguiſhable part on that occaſion; I mean the right honorable gentleman who repreſents the county of Wexford, and who is juſtly entitled to

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the ſecond place in the gratitude of the public. Had this meaſure taken place but three years ago, which theſe people contended for as neceſſary to their freedom, it is probable that Ireland would not now be free; and that inſtead of waſting your time in this idle ſpeculation, you would now be deploring the ſhackles impoſed upon your trade, or the power aſſumed by the Britiſh parliament to make laws to bind this country. I ſhall conclude, conjuring the gentlemen who hear me, that they will not be ſuch dupes as to believe, that by paſſing this bill they will ſatisfy the people. He muſt be a young politician indeed, and but little acquainted with the hiſtory of mankind, or the human heart, who thinks that a people can be ſatisfied with conceſſions. If it was poſſible that conceſſions could ſatisfy a people, would there, at this day, be a murmur in Ireland? Beſides, people have acted fairly on this occaſion, they have told you that the paſſing of this bill will not ſatisfy them. This pretended reform is only the firſt of an alphabet of innovations, which the congreſs of Dungannon have voted, as neceſſary for the freedom of the people, and have determined to purſue; that they have been adviſed in the firſt inſtance to lay their ſhoulders to this particular object. If you yield to them in this point, they will attack you on ſome other, and ſo proceed from innovation to innovation, till they have ſubverted your conſtitution both in church and ſtate; this is therefore the time to reſiſt their encroachments.

Sir Hercules Langriſhe.—I am glad this great queſtion, which has ſo much engaged the public mind, and been agitated with ſo much induſtry from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, has at length been brought before parliament; and it is now our duty to give it a full, a free, and patient diſcuſſion. If the evil that it ſuppoſes has exiſtence, and the remedy it offers be adequate and ſafe, it will have many powerful advocates here. On the other hand, if it ſtates defects that do not exiſt, and offers remedies that are neither ſafe nor applicable, it is better the Houſe of Commons ſhould decide againſt it at once, that the people may no longer be diſturbed or deceived by it. And now let me ſay, if I wanted any new proof of the ſuperior excellence of our happy conſtitution, that alteration was unneceſſary and amendment impracticable, the plan of reform now read at your table would furniſh ample teſtimony: for when two gentlemen of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, aſſiſted by deliberate aſſemblies in their own country, and enlightened by the oracles that have been conſulted in another country; when gentlemen of

ſuch talents, ſo aſſiſted, have at length produced ſuch a plan of reform, I am juſtified in thinking that the taſk is beyond the ſtrength of man. And convinced as I am, that our preſent conſtitution, in its preſent condition, is competent to every degree of civil liberty, I muſt alſo be convinced that amendment is a dream, and alteration would not be wiſdom.

Conſider now, Sir, the plan before you, conſider it impartially, and tell me, is it founded in any one principle which it profeſſes? Does it tend to remove any one evil that it imagines? Does it meet any one of the ideas that have amuſed the people? No, not one! Is it a plan for an equal repreſentation of the people? No; it leaves above three-fourths of the people as it found them, unrepreſented. Is it a plan for a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament? No, it renders the repreſentation much more unequal than it found it: for inſtance, a freeholder in one barony, by this bill, may vote for four, or ſix, or eight members of parliament; a freeholder in the next barony ſhall vote only for two members. Is this to render the repreſentation of the people more equal? Good God! how the people are deceived! how they are abuſed!

Is it a plan for the more equal repreſentation of property, the ancient and original title to repreſentation? No, Sir, the reverſe! If this bill as you ſee it were a law, a worthy and reſpectable gentleman in the county to which I belong, who has 4000*l.* per annum, landed eſtate in one barony, would thereby be entitled to vote for two members, and the ſervant who ſtands behind my chair, who is poſſeſſed of a 40*s.* freehold in a neighbouring barony, ſhall vote for eight members of parliament. Is it a plan to enlarge the baſis of legiſlation, by encreaſing the number of the conſtituent body? No, Sir, it diminiſhes, it contracts, it ſtrikes off thouſands and tens of thouſands of your electors; it disfranchiſes every freeman in the nation who does not hold by birth, ſervitude, marriage, or trade. It disfranchiſes every freeholder under 20*l.* per annum, who does not reſide. It demoliſhes the whole tribe of potwallopers; men intitled to vote in right of reſidence (the freeſt title the conſtitution knows) are to be extinct, unleſs they can call in to their aid a multitude of freeholders in general too great to be found. For inſtance, if a borough were to conſiſt of 5000 Proteſtant inhabitants, intitled and accuſtomed to vote; no matter, they ſhall be extinguiſhed unleſs they likewiſe have within their precincts 70 or 100 reſident voters, qualified according to this act, which no borough in Ireland has, and which few ever would have. But it

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effects a new creation to ſupply this general maſſacre; it confers a right to vote for thoſe boroughs to others. To whom? To freeholders; perſons who were intitled to vote for other members before. It is true, amongſt thoſe a claſs of freeholders is incorporated, (new indeed to the conſtitution) freeholders on terms for years; but the freehold required is of ſo large amount, that their numbers will be ſmall. Now let me aſk, is it a plan to increaſe the number of your repreſentatives? No, Sir, to diminiſh it! In the firſt inſtance, it decays and depopulates every borough, and almoſt every city in the kingdom. For I do believe not one of them contains within its precincts 100 voters qualified and regiſtered according to this bill. I have heard of a clauſe of redemption for them. I only know what I ſee, and I ſee no ſuch thing in this bill; and if ſuch clauſe or ſchedule were inſerted, it would, on the principle of the bill, impoſe conditions that muſt for ever exclude ſeveral of them from reſtoration.

And here I lament the deſtiny, though I admire the virtue of the town of Newry, who petitioned for this reform. With their 12,000 inhabitants, all intitled, if they were Proteſtants, to vote for members, yet they are all diſfranchiſed unleſs they alſo contain within their precincts, 100 of another ſort of voters, qualified according to this bill. (He applied the principle and effects to Drogheda, Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, &c. and concluded with the borough of Dungannon.) And here let me lament the fate of poor Dungannon, at once the pride and the reproach of her ſons; Dungannon ſo late the centre of government, the head of legiſlation, the ſeat of empire, unleſs you have within your precincts (which I am ſure you have not) 100 voters qualified according to this bill, you are decayed, depopulated, and extinct. Will you not ſpare this town on account of the righteous people that were found therein? I know not whether you have a redemption in ſtore, but I know your redemption is not to be found in the bill on your table. What then can the friends of this bill, (if any ſuch there be) what can they ſay of it? They cannot ſay it is a bill for an equal repreſentation of the people. A bill for a more equal repreſentation of the people, a bill for the more equal repreſentation of property, a bill to widen the baſis of legiſlation, to encreaſe the number of electors, to encreaſe the number of repreſentatives: No ſuch thing! quite the reverſe! In the name of heaven what is its tendency? Is it a reform on any one ſettled principle? Does it, or would it correct any one abuſe? No, Sir, it is nothing but alteration; a tranſer of elec-

tion influence from one ſet of men to another, which would produce two or three years conteſt and confuſion, and then, by corruption or compromiſe, the dominion would ſettle with the moſt powerful of the neighbourhood. The power would change hands, but the exerciſe of it would be the ſame. And is it for this mighty benefit that the antient habits of the conſtitution are to be changed? For this your country is to be viſited by jubilee of licentiouſneſs, a ſaturnalia of anarchy for a few years, before it repoſes again in the abuſes you now complain of. Yet this is the great arcanum, the ſacred myſtery ſent abroad, like the miracles of Mahomet aſſiſted by the ſword, from the north to the ſouth, from the eaſt to the weſt, to ſubdue the obdurate, and multiply ſubſcribers to the true faith. I do not mean the leaſt diſreſpect to any man in what I ſay of this plan of reform. I ſpeak as I think of it. I think it all confuſion and danger, and nothing elſe. And it ſhews me into what inconſiſtencies even wiſe men will fall when they attempt a reform, where reformation is unneceſſary, what inſupportable difficulties they encounter in an attempt to new model a conſtitution which has ſtood for centuries the admiration and envy of the world, and diſtinguiſhed from all others by having preſerved civil liberty on the earth at this day. Under thoſe opinions, and with this veneration for the conſtitution, I will not ſo far admit its defects as to go into a committee to amend it. I will not carry into a committee this chaos of rude materials, out of which to create a new conſtitution, when I have one already formed ſo competent to human happineſs. I will not go paragraph by paragraph through a plan of alteration, where alteration is not neceſſary. I will not keep the public mind longer in a ſtate of ſuſpence between free government and fruitleſs ſpeculation, but endeavour to reſcue public tranquillity from the deſigns or deluſions of the viſionary, the raſh, and the reſtleſs.

Much has been ſaid, and much has been inferred concerning the petitions which are diſplayed on your table; but when gentlemen talk of thoſe petitions, they forget that there are between two and three millions of inhabitants in this country. There are ſeveral petitions on your table for a reform, ſome againſt it. I have no doubt but the majority of your petitions is in favour of reform, becauſe innovation is ever the moſt active. But it matters not on which ſide the majority lies; take them all together, they are but as a drop of water to the ocean of your population; they are as a unit in compariſon to the numbers of your people. And if thoſe perſons, however reſpectable,

petition

petition for any great innovation, you have no right to conclude the multitude on the ſuggeſtion of the few; and even if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe (which it is not) that a majority of the people petitioned for an alteration of the conſtitution intruſted to you, you have not a right to comply; you have not, in that caſe, a right to indulge their deſires, or inflict on them the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. If you comply in what you think a public injury, you are an accomplice in the injury, and betray the intereſt of the people on the bribe of their own favors.

It is to be lamented by every man, who feels for the honor and the happineſs of this country, that after the reputation we have acquired and the benefits we have obtained; acquiſitions, limited only by the bounds of our own demands, and adequate to every degree of human happineſs; we ſhould offer our enemies a pretext for charging us with a light, an inconſtant, and reſtleſs character; as if the accompliſhment of our wiſhes was but the beginning of our diſcontents, and unlimited demand the offspring of unlimited conceſſion; that we were falling under the deſcription Monteſquieu gives of a people unworthy of liberty;

" A people grown impatient of the power they have delegated, deſirous " to do every thing themſelves, debate for the ſenate, execute for the " magiſtrate, and decide for the judges." That having obtained the beſt conſtitution in the world, we had not the patience to try it for one ſeſſion of parliament; but in contempt of the high legiſlative aſſemblies, reſolved ourſelves in five hundred little parliaments in every corner of the kingdom, where we voted that conſtitution an unalterable grievance, and called aloud for a new one.'

Were I at liberty to remonſtrate with my countrymen, whom I love, I would aſk them, do you enjoy freedom? They muſt anſwer in the affirmative. Have you commerce? Undoubted as the ocean that ſurrounds you. Are you in poſſeſſion of all the bleſſings that can flow from the beſt and freeſt government? You are. Is it then wiſdom, is it common ſenſe, when you are ſure of thoſe, to throw them back into the ocean of uncertainty, to commit them to the wilderneſs of ſpeculation, or hazard of experiment? Is it wiſdom to interrupt your enjoyment of every thing that is valuable, by dreams of ſomething more free than freedom, more deſirable than happineſs? The loweſt man in the community has wiſdom enough to feel the force of this maxim: " When you are well keep yourſelves ſo." But there is not a philo-

philoſopher in the nation wiſe enough to ſay, what would be the conſequence of a change: neither Solon, nor Lycurgus, nor Plato, nor Locke, nor Sidney, if they were alive, would hazard a conjecture as to the effects on the conſtitution. If you were to adopt any one of thoſe plans which have been offered to you, they might make a democracy, they might make an ariſtocracy, they might encreaſe the power of the crown, they might make any thing but the conſtitution of England; yet every man in the community, the gentleman and the artificer, the learned and the unlearned, the man who can read, and the man who cannot, are all alike ready to undertake the taſk of conſtitution-making; or, if any of them ſhould happen not to have leiſure from the ſhuttle or the plough, they have only to ſay, "we entirely agree in the plan of reform digeſted and agreed on by the grand national convention." And there is a conſtitution ready made to their hands. I do not ſay our conſtitution, the work only of human wiſdom, is without defect; but there is an inherent ſtrength in it, that has in all convulſions produced remedies for its evils and controuls for its exceſſes; and through many revolutions has maintained liberty to this day. Now you have got it do not throw it away; condeſcend to enjoy it and be happy; your country wants improvement; your conſtitution does not; cultivate the one, and you will be ſure to enjoy the other. But if you grow diſcontented with your form of government, and are diſtracted about new ſchemes and new ſyſtems, you will be dupes of deſigning men in your own country, and ſtrangers will not come near you. Amidſt your controverſies and your arms, the ſtranger would not know where to find the laws that are to be his protection; and you may find, perhaps too late, that you have been cheated of your happineſs; you will be thought an unreaſonable, and you will feel yourſelves an unfortunate people; a people whom commerce could not enrich, and whom freedom could not ſatisfy.

No. LXXII.

The Speeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Beresford on the Revenues of Ireland. (*P.* 85.)

MR. GRATTAN began with obſerving, though the interference of a perſon utterly unconnected with revenue matters, in that department which was

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ſo ably adminiſtered by the preſent commiſſioners, might have ſomewhat of an invidious aſpect, yet he was happy to declare that thoſe gentlemen had not viewed it in that light, but had with the utmoſt alacrity given him every poſſible aſſiſtance, in promoting the object for which the committee was appointed, and it appeared to him throughout, that they had acted not only honorably and diligently, but with a laudable ambition to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the faithful diſcharge of the high truſt repoſed in them. He therefore deſired to be conſidered, as not imputing the ſmalleſt fault or applying the leaſt cenſure to thoſe gentlemen, while he endeavoured to rectify ſome errors and abuſes, that in a ſucceſſion of many years, and under different boards, had found way into the revenue eſtabliſhment. Having ſaid this, in juſtification of the preſent commiſſioners, to whom he declared no blame was imputable,

He proceeded to ſtate the expence of collecting the revenue at two periods, viz. 1758 and 1783.

In 1758, he ſtated the expence of collecting to have amounted to	£81,000
In 1783, it amounted to - - - -	180,000
In the latter period, he allowed that - - -	23,000
an expence incurred by the new cuſtom-houſe was included; but deducting that expence, the expence of collecting amounted to	157,000

The increaſe of collecting, he ſaid, did not ariſe from the increaſe of articles taxed, or any neceſſity of adding to the number of officers employed in collecting, as was obvious to any one who would conſider that moſt of the new taxes were only additional duties on articles heretofore taxed; and it was as eaſy for an officer to receive two ſhillings as one on any article; therefore that the increaſe of expence aroſe from the increaſe of ſalaries, he thought might very fairly be preſumed.

In the year 1758, the expence of collecting, he ſaid, was about 13 per cent. at preſent it is 16.

The revenue expences are divided into two claſſes—the eſtabliſhment and the incidents.

In 1758, the eſtabliſhment was - - -	£58,000
In 1783, - - - - -	92,000
In 1758, the incidents were - - - -	17,000
In 1783, - - - - - -	79,000

The per centage for a courſe of years fluctuated from ten to fourteen; at preſent

preſent it is ſixteen; ſo that the expence of collecting the revenue is not increaſed by the increaſe of the revenue itſelf, but by the increaſe of the per centage.

I have now, Sir, continued he, ſhewn you the facts, but not their cauſes; in order to come at their cauſes, I moved that an account ſhould be laid before the committee of all the additions that had been made to the revenue eſtabliſhments ſince 1758, ſtating the cauſes of ſuch additions, and the authority by which they were made; this account was made out, it employed ſeveral clerks for ſeveral weeks, and is indeed ſo voluminous, that I own I have not yet had time to look through it; I do not therefore condemn nor approve what may there be found; when the committee examines, they will be the beſt judges; they will, I believe, ſee much to reform; and I am convinced from the candour of the commiſſioners, which I have already experienced, they will have their aſſiſtance.

I find that there exiſts a charity fund for ſuperannuated officers, ſuch as have ſerved forty years without cenſure: this fund is ſupplied by a ſtoppage of ſix-pence in the pound of all ſalaries, and the ſuperannuated officer receives out of it 3-5ths of his ſalary. When this fund has been found inſufficient, from the increaſed number of revenue officers, penſions have been granted on the incidents, in order to make it out. The progreſs is natural, from private charity to public bounty, and from public bounty to abuſe. Every man who is tired of doing his duty, or who is unable or unwilling to do it, if he can make intereſt with government, gets an order to the commiſſioners, and is immediately put on the revenue incidents, from which he in fact receives a penſion; not an open, but a maſked penſion. I do not ſpeak of the preſent adminiſtration, or the preſent commiſſioners. This abuſe has been growing five and twenty years; the preſent is the proper time to check it.

I find that the number of penſions on the incidents are 343—I have made obſervations on almoſt all of them, but I will not go through the painful taſk of animadverting on them now, as my object is to prevent future abuſes, not to diſturb the preſent poſſeſſors; I muſt, however, remark, that having ſerved forty years, has not always been deemed a neceſſary title to a penſion; thirty-eight years, thirty-five years, twenty-nine years, twenty-two years, and ſometimes the words *long ſervice*, have been deemed ſufficient.

Great importunity, I know, will at laſt prevail over men; and however the commiſſioners may determine to act with rigorous attention, and to grant no penſions

penſions but to men who have ſerved the neceſſary period of forty years, yet ſtill they will be fortified in their determination by a reſolution of this houſe; beſides there are many offices in the revenue that may be performed by men who are become unfit for the more active and laborious duties; and by putting ſuch men into thoſe eaſy offices, the neceſſity of penſions may in a great meaſure be obviated.

The orders of government have ſometimes iſſued to place perſons on the revenue incidents, without any reference to the commiſſioners, or any reaſon being aſſigned to entitle the penſioner to ſuch. This kind of procedure carries its own cenſure along with it. Government would not iſſue a peremptory order, if any reaſons could be found for granting ſuch penſions. This is, I think, a very great hardſhip on the commiſſioners, who often reſiſted, but reſiſted in vain. Where men are reſponſible, they ſhould have power; and what they have not power to controul, they ſhould not be anſwerable for.

To remedy this abuſe, and to fortify the commiſſioners, I will propoſe a reſolution, "That no perſon ſhall be entitled to receive a penſion on the re-"venue incidents, who has not ſerved forty years without cenſure, or who has "not been ſo wounded or hurt in diſcharge of his duty, as to be rendered to-"tally unfit for ſervice; or who is not the widow of ſome officer that has loſt "his life in the revenue ſervice."

I find, Sir, that there have been granted ſeveral additional ſalaries, which have been continued to the ſucceſſors of the grantee:—This practice I would aboliſh, as nothing would be more abſurd, than to reward John for the ſervices performed by Tom.

Some expence has alſo been incurred by the experimental offices:—Theſe cannot be aboliſhed, but may be limited to two years.

I come now to uſeleſs officers, whoſe employments, I think, ought to be aboliſhed as they fall in; though it would be cruel to turn the preſent poſſeſſors adrift, as they have no other means of living.

And firſt, land-carriage officers. Theſe appear to be of very little uſe, and from the nature of their duty cannot well be moved into any other ſituation. It is impoſſible for them to perform any conſiderable ſervice, except by ſearching all perſons coming in or going out of the city; and this would be a breach of law, and an high infringement of the ſubject's liberty.

I deſired to know the amount of ſalaries paid to this claſs of men for ten years laſt paſt, and find it amounts to 12,000*l.* the ſeizures made by them in

the ſame ſpace of time amount to 1000*l.* Their uſefulneſs may be eſtimated from thoſe circumſtances.

Coaſt officers are of as little uſe as land-carriage officers, and with them ought to be aboliſhed.

I ſent for a paper to inform myſelf concerning hearth-money officers. I find that ſince the year 1760, the hearth-money has increaſed 10,000*l.* per annum, and that the expence of collecting it has increaſed one-third; the revenue of hearth-money has increaſed one-ſixth, and the expence of collecting it one-third:—this is in a great meaſure owing to the creation of new collectors. I enquired into the neceſſity of that creation, and was informed, that it aroſe from the great extent of ſome of the former diſtricts; a ſingle collector being formerly obliged to collect in a range often from thirty to forty miles. Yet I do not find that any great increaſe of the hearth-money took place directly after the creation of additional collectors; and the 10,000*l.* a year, which I have ſtated may, I think, rather be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the increaſe of houſes in twenty-four years, than from the increaſe of hearth-money collectors.

Hearth-money ſuperviſors appear to me very uſeleſs officers, and may be put down; but this I ſubmit to the commiſſioners; at preſent I do not mean to take any further notice either of them or coaſt officers.

The law expences incurred by the revenue every year are already enormouſly great, and ought to be reduced; I ſpeak freely on this head, becauſe I know that the preſent law ſervants of the crown are too independent in fortune and principle, to regard any vails of this ſort.

The number of bills paſſed each ſeſſion have increaſed, and the ſeſſions being in future annual, muſt alſo multiply expence; this is therefore a ſubject worthy of enquiry: I do not mean to move any thing on it at preſent, but ſhall juſt mention that within a very ſhort ſpace, the law expences have amounted to 11,000*l.*

Revenue cruizers have been another ſubject of very great expence.

The ſeizures made by theſe veſſels amount to 40,000*l.*

The expence of their eſtabliſhment to 140,000*l.* Till of late there has been one great error in the mode of conducting theſe veſſels, which is now rectified by the commiſſioners. The error was this: the captain of each cruizer was permitted to ſupply his own crew with proviſions, for which he made a charge againſt the revenue. Now it is manifeſt, that this made it his intereſt

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to have nominally a large crew, but actually a ſmall one. That it was his intereſt to ſtay on ſhore, where his men being at liberty to provide for themſelves, while he charged their daily allowance; and that he never could want a pretence to ſtay on ſhore; and while he was always at liberty to have his veſſel under repair, to enlarge her from time to time, always enlarging his crew in proportion; this was indeed, a moſt happy invention to reward men for not doing their duty; and this I am happy to ſee aboliſhed.

The next abuſe that I ſhall ſtate is, the abſence of collectors from their diſtricts.

The collector is an officer of very great conſequence, and the true performance of his duty would be of high advantage to the public. In his diſtrict he has all the authority of a commiſſioner; he ſhould regulate all the officers under him; and yet ſo far are many collectors from doing this, that they ſcarce ever ſee the place of their collection, but leave their duty to be done by a clerk, whom the law does not recognize, and who is not anſwerable to the board for his conduct; he gives no ſecurity to the public; and not unfrequently have great ſums been loſt by truſting to ſuch men. One of my reſolutions, therefore, goes to compel the reſidence of collectors.

Another regulation that I think would much promote the due collection of the revenue is, the raiſing of officers from the lower to the higher departments in ſucceſſion; I do not mean an indiſcriminate ſucceſſion by ſeniority, but that in every department of the revenue, as at preſent in the exciſe, men acquainted with the buſineſs ſhould riſe by ſucceſſive degrees, and that he who has been checked, ſhould check in his turn.

The ſurveyors-general have two ſalaries, one a fixed ſalary of 300*l.* a year on the eſtabliſhment, the other 200*l.* on the incidents. I would wiſh to have this altered, and that they ſhould be paid a premium of a certain ſum per day, while they were in the performance of their duty.

I come now to the laſt article, though I mean firſt to move upon it, becauſe gentlemen who coincide with me on moſt of the other points which I have mentioned, differ upon this.

The cuſtom-officers—they were originally effective officers, but when the revenue was formed, they were rendered uſeleſs, and therefore we now find them on our civil eſtabliſhment; afterwards, when the crown took the revenue into its own hands, it was thought prudent to employ in the collection the perſons that had been employed by the farmers; the cuſtom officers continued

uſeleſs; notwithſtanding this, additional ſalaries have been granted to them, which are in fact maſked penſions. I know while I ſpeak on this ſubject, I ſtand on delicate ground; but with what face could I propoſe a reduction of petty officers, and leave thoſe great ones remaining? The greatneſs of the perſons who poſſeſs them are my beſt apology, for while their talents and fortune render them fit for the higheſt departments in the ſtate, I truſt their magnanimity will teach them to deſpiſe the paltry emoluments of cuſtom offices. I would not venture to ſpeak thus to inferior minds, but as I have had the aid of ſome of thoſe gentlemen in the other parts of the reform I have propoſed, I doubt not they will aſſiſt me, even where they are themſelves in ſome degree affected.

I have called thoſe additional ſalaries, maſked penſions; they are ſo indeed, and of the moſt exceptionable kind. There are not, indeed, above ſeven or eight of them in the kingdom, but they may increaſe, and this is the time to ſtop them; I have therefore prepared a reſolution for that purpoſe, which will not affect the preſent poſſeſſors, but eventually will prove highly advantageous to the nation.

Mr. Grattan then moved his reſolution, "To prevent the grant of any fu-" ture additional ſalary to cuſtom officers."

Right Honorable John Beresford—I was very happy, Sir, when the right honorable gentleman undertook the taſk of enquiring into the cauſe of the great expence of collecting the revenue, becauſe I was very certain, that an enquiry, ably and impartially conducted, would fully evince to the public, that the aſſertions which have been ſo liberally made for ſome years paſt, and the inſinuations which have been thrown out, of the prodigality and profuſion of the preſent board of commiſſioners of the revenue, were without any ſort of foundation. I therefore took the liberty of ſeconding the right honorable gentleman's motion for this enquiry, and I am now, not a little proud, to find that a four months laborious examination has confirmed my conſtant aſſertions, and overturned the ſeveral charges laid to the door of the revenue board; the right honorable gentleman has fully acquitted them; but has ſtated ſome errors and abuſes, which appear to him to have crept into the revenue eſtabliſhment, in a ſucceſſion of many years, which he wiſhes to be rectified.

He has ſtated, that ſince the year 1758, the per centage expence of collecting the revenue has greatly increaſed.

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If the right honorable gentleman will take the trouble of examining that voluminous heap of papers, (cuſtom houſe accounts, and reports, which Mr. Grattan had called for) he will find, that he has choſen an unfair æra for his compariſon, for that immediately after the period of 1758, at which time there had been a parliamentary enquiry into the management of the revenue, there was not only a general increaſe of the number of tide waiters, and boatmen in the ſeveral ports of the kingdom, but that an addition was made to their ſalaries, whereby there was an increaſe to the eſtabliſhment of about 10,000*l.* a year.

The right honorable gentleman will alſo ſee that ſince the iſle of Man was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, the whole ſyſtem of preventing ſmuggling has neceſſarily undergone a total change, and a change attended with a great additional expence; before that period our cruiſers conſiſted of ſmall open wherries, which were ſufficient to guard our coaſts againſt ſmugglers, who carried on their trade in the ſame ſort of veſſels; but ſince by the ceſſion of the Iſle of Man, the ſmugglers have been driven to Dunkirk, Gottenburg, and other diſtant ports, and of courſe have been obliged to increaſe the ſize of the ſhipping. We have been obliged to follow them, ſtep by ſtep, until we have got to ſtout cruiſers, fitted out with from twelve to twenty pieces of cannon, and well furniſhed with ammunition, and manned with an adequate number of ſeamen. Such an alteration in our naval eſtabliſhment, every gentleman muſt ſee, was neceſſarily attended with a very great additional expence.

The law expences of the revenue have alſo increaſed exceedingly, and particularly that part of them which ariſes from the buſineſs of drawing bills for this houſe. Formerly there were but three bills to be paid for; the great money bill, as it is called, the loan bill, and the revenue bill; of late years, the enlargement of our trade has neceſſarily cauſed many bills every ſeſſions, which amount to an enormous expence.

The buſineſs of the commiſſioners of the revenue is infinitely increaſed, inſomuch that inſtead of meeting at eleven o'clock, and adjourning at two, we are obliged to meet at half-paſt ten, and ſit until four, and often until five o'clock; the increaſe of buſineſs of courſe is attended with an increaſe of expence.

The right honorable gentleman has ſaid, that the per centage of the collection has varied very conſiderably ſince the year 1758, from twelve to ſixteen per cent. The nature of incidental expences is variable, they cannot be otherwiſe; but the high per centage of one year is not a proof of an increaſed

eſtabliſhment.

eſtabliſhment. For inſtance, the higheſt per centage I remember, was in the year 1781; when the collection came to eighteen per cent. in 1782, it coſt but ſixteen; and yet the actual ſum expended in the latter year was higher than that of the former, although the per centage was leſs, for the per centage does not depend ſolely upon the number of officers, or their ſalaries, but upon the proportion which the expence bears to the ſum collected; and therefore becauſe in the year 1781, the revenue was very low, and the ſum collected ſmall, the per centage amounted to eighteen per cent. whereas in the following year, when the ſum collected was larger, the per centage was but ſixteen, although the expence of collecting was higher than the year before. Let the expence of collecting be the ſame in two given years, and let the ſum collected in one of them be double that of the other, and the per centage will be but half as much in that year.

It has been the faſhion for ſeveral years to judge of the expence of collecting our revenue, by comparing it with the collection of the cuſtoms and exciſe in England. Nothing can be falſer than ſuch a compariſon, becauſe every part of England where officers are ſtationed is productive, every port brings in revenue to the public, and the exciſe is univerſally productive: But what is the caſe in Ireland? Perhaps gentlemen will be ſurpriſed to hear that out of twenty-five ports there are but ſeven, which pay the expence of collecting, although the neceſſity of a revenue eſtabliſhment in the other nineteen is a fact too manifeſt to require the aid of argument.

I ſhall, however, to open gentlemen's eyes, juſt ſtate to the houſe a few inſtances:—Cork and Limerick are two of the productive ports; between them lie Kinſale, Baltimore, and Tralee or Dingle, ports which do not go near to pay the expence of their own eſtabliſhments; the collection of Kinſale coſts one hundred and thirty-nine per cent. that of Dingle one thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, and that of Baltimore two thouſand three hundred per cent. but if theſe ports even were left unguarded, very little indeed would be collected at Cork or Limerick, the ſmugglers would ſoon find an eaſy way of ſupplying theſe two great cities from the inferior ports.

If any man has a mind to judge fairly of the collection of the revenue, let him not go to ports which have no trade, which cannot pay their own eſtabliſhment, but let him look at the productive ports; in Dublin, where the expence is the heavieſt, both in the incidental and eſtabliſhed expences, becauſe the greateſt part of the law expence is incurred there, and moſt of the repairs and

building

building of boats and veſſels is executed there, and on account of the great weight of the new cuſtom-houſe expence, and becauſe the ſalaries of the commiſſioners and all the principal and cheque officers are paid there, the per centage amounts to ſixteen per cent.—in Limerick it is but fourteen, in Belfaſt but nine, in Londonderry but eight, in Waterford but ſeven and a half, in Cork but ſix.

Inſtead of comparing Ireland with England, it would be more juſt to compare her with Scotland, in point of revenue collection, becauſe that her ſituation and circumſtances are more ſimilar to ours. If this be done, it will be found that the per centage in Scotland amounts to thirty-three per cent.

But if gentlemen will compare this country with England, they ſhould, I inſiſt upon it, only take the net revenue of England into the account, for the circumſtances of England and Ireland are very different indeed in point of importation; the former imports not only for her own conſumption, but for that of the whole world; the latter for her own conſumption only. England has her colonies in Aſia, Africa and America, and ſhe brings home the produce of all theſe colonies to her own ports, where they pay a great duty at import; but as theſe goods are not for her conſumption only, but to be exported again to other countries, and not only to draw back theſe duties ſo paid, but to receive a bounty poſſibly on the exportation, the real duty returned, that is, the duty on their own conſumption, is all that can fairly be compared with the duties of a country which has no colonies, and which imports only for her own uſe.

Gentlemen who have choſen to compare our collection with that of England, have aſſerted, that our's coſt fourteen per cent. when the cuſtoms of England coſt but ſeven. Now, in making this calculation, gentlemen have taken the mere ſalaries and incidents, as they appear upon the face of the higheſt cuſtom-houſe accounts, and have omitted many expences, particularly thoſe of the revenue cruiſers and the admiralty cruiſers employed in the revenue ſervice, the expence of which they will find in the late report of the committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of ſmuggling, &c. in England. If they take theſe into the account, they will find it to ſtand thus:

The groſs revenue of cuſtoms is in England - - -	£. 3,873,985
Expence of collection, as ſtated in cuſtom-houſe accounts - -	281,209
To which add the revenue cruiſers - - - - -	42,845
Admiralty cruiſers in revenue ſervice - - - - -	220,220
	£. 544,274

This will be found to be as one hundred are to fourteen, or fourteen per cent. upon the groſs—But if you calculate upon the net revenue, you will find it as one hundred are to twenty-one, or twenty-one per cent. and in this calculation the expences attending law are not included, which muſt be very heavy, as all ſuits are carried on in the Exchequer. So that take this matter in any light, and the ſtatement and aſſertions of gentlemen will be found to be erroneous.

In 1744, after the union of the boards, this change of our eſtabliſhment was 5000*l.* greater than it was laſt year; a ſure proof that the preſent commiſſioners have not been wanting in their endeavours to reduce them.

The incidents, I acknowledge, are very great; but deduct 23,000*l.* the expence incurred by the new cuſtom-houſe, and they are brought into a more moderate compaſs. We are ſtill endeavouring to cut them down further, and if any gentleman will point out a ſingle article in that account of incidents, now lying on your table, where a ſaving can be made, I ſhall be ready hereafter to ſuffer any cenſure the houſe can deviſe, if ſuch ſaving be not made.

The next objects taken notice of by the right honorable gentleman are, the ſalaries of the ſuperannuated officers. Theſe ſalaries ariſe from two funds, one is a ſubſcription amongſt the officers themſelves, from which every man who has been a ſubſcriber for ſeven years is entitled to an annuity proportioned to his rate of ſubſcription. The right honorable gentleman will ſee that this is the private property of the officers themſelves, purchaſed with their own money, and over which parliament can have no controul.

The other fund is the common incidents. As to the penſions granted on this, I confeſs I agree with the right honorable gentleman, that many of them are very great abuſes. Of late, it is grown a faſhion for men to get out upon their full ſalaries: moſt people would rather be paid for doing nothing, than for doing ſomething. For my own part, I ſhould like it very well myſelf; but at the ſame time I know, that while I am able to do my duty I ought to be compelled to do it. I agree with the right honorable gentleman, as to the period of ſervice which ſhould entitle a man to be ſuperannuated on his full ſalary: forty years was fixed by Sir William Oſborne, when firſt I went into the revenue, but ſoon after that rule was broken through, and men of all ſtandings allowed to enjoy their otium. However, I muſt, ſay that if the board had not frequently remonſtrated with government againſt this practice, the number on the liſt would have been double at this day. If there are now

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upon it 343 numbers, as the right honorable gentleman has ſtated, many of them are widows, who were put upon it by the humanity of Lord Buckingham; during his adminiſtration the widows fund failed, and if he had not been graciouſly pleaſed to interfere for their relief, theſe poor people muſt have ſtarved.

The right honorable gentleman ſeems to think land-carriage officers uſeleſs, but I can aſſure him they are a very neceſſary ſet of men. Their duty is to watch the avenues of great cities, and ſee that all exciſeable goods have permits; and the very reaſon why they do not make ſeizures is, becauſe their vigilance is known to be ſo great, that ſmugglers will not run the riſk of bringing their goods paſt them. However, if land-carriage officers make few ſeizures, it is amply compenſated by another ſet of men, who have no ſalaries at all, but what ariſe from a fund created by themſelves—the preventive officers: theſe men have made very conſiderable ſeizures indeed.

Mr. Beresford then proceeded to the hearth-money; pointed out the abuſes that had obtained in that department, and the remedies that had been applied; from which he went on to the article of revenue cruizers, agreeing with Mr. Grattan in what he had ſaid concerning them: he alſo agreed with him as to the neceſſity of collectors reſiding within their diſtricts, and as to the propriety of deſerving officers being promoted in ſucceſſion, and the mode propoſed of paying ſurveyors general: in a word, he agreed with the whole of Mr. Grattan's plan of regulation, ſave only as to cuſtom officers, who, he ſaid, were officers by the common law, were abſolutely neceſſary, and ought not to be aboliſhed.

No. LXXIII.

The Speech of Mr. Gardiner on Iriſh Commerce. (*P.* 85.)

MR. GARDINER ſaid, it is not my fault that this buſineſs lies under an additional diſadvantage, from the late part of the ſeſſion in which it is introduced. It is in the recollection of gentlemen, that no endeavours of mine were wanting to bring it in on an earlier day. I muſt confeſs this is an arduous buſineſs, and far exceeding my ſtrength; but I hope and requeſt the aſſiſtance of gentlemen of greater talents than I poſſeſs. I only furniſh the raw materials, let them erect the ſuperſtructure.

I ſhall, ſir, firſt ſtate the purport of my propoſitions. This is a meaſure to reſtrain importation, but does not affect the exportation of raw materials. Gentlemen would have the evidence on that head alſo included in the report of the committee, but one had no connexion with the other. The committee was ordered to enquire into the ſtate of manufactures at large, but they did it partially; they confined themſelves to the woollen branch, to blankets, carpets, hats, &c. My ſyſtem is not confined to theſe objects only, but alſo includes paper, hardware, and other articles. The weaving branch is certainly a very material branch of commerce, but other objects alſo have their weight.

Here Mr. Gardiner obviated many objections which he ſaid had been made to his meaſure. It is not, ſaid he, calculated to divide, but to unite the two countries. The people of England will think it no cauſe of enmity with us, that we follow their example. She adopted protecting duties, becauſe ſhe thought it her intereſt—let us act the ſame part—what's good for one, muſt be good for the other.

The meaſure is no oppoſition to government. I never made it my buſineſs to introduce any thing for the purpoſe of embarraſſing government. On the contrary, I thought it my duty to ſupport them when right. I think it alſo my duty to admoniſh them of their error when wrong. Government ought to be informed of the grievances of the people.

This meaſure has not been brought forward irregularly—it is grounded on the report of a committee, and the petitions of the people. I confeſs, ſir, I am ſtrongly biaſſed in its favor. The deſpondency and diſtreſs of this country, together with the juſtice and expediency of the meaſure itſelf, muſt make every gentleman its friend. Who can behold ſo many thouſands of his fellow-creatures ſtruggling with calamities, almoſt inſupportable by humanity, and not be inclined to give relief? The misfortune is not particular—it is univerſal—not confined to Dublin, it extends to Cork, Limerick, Waterford, the Queen's County, and every part of the kingdom where the woollen manufacture is carried on—not limited to even the woollen, but affecting every infant manufacture in this country.

With reſpect to the poverty and wretchedneſs of this miſerable deſcription of our fellow-creatures, I think it unneceſſary to uſe a ſingle word. Gentlemen cannot but know the reality of this fact already; it is impoſſible to go through the ſtreets without meeting teſtimonies that this aſſertion is but too well founded. If, however, gentlemen chuſe to diſpute a thing ſo ſelf-evi-

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dent, I am ready to produce witneſſes of character at your bar, to put it beyond diſpute.

If gentlemen wiſh to judge fairly, it is right to wave theory and ſpeculation, and confine their attention to the different effects of the different modes adopted in Great Britain and Ireland. They will perceive that the long depreſſion of this country is owing to her want of protection for her trade. In England, to what is owing the great degree of power and wealth ſhe has attained, but to protecting duties?

Now, ſir, I ſhall enter on the main part of the buſineſs, and let me entreat gentlemen to be free from prejudice, to diveſt themſelves of every bias. I do not mean to proceed on ſpeculation, but to reaſon from facts, and the ties of policy of the two kingdoms. England has flouriſhed from adopting protecting duties, and Ireland has ſunk by a neglect of them. Woollens were always the ſtaple commodity of this country as well as of England. It was ſo far back as Edward III. in whoſe reign acts of parliament were paſſed, in which we find clauſes for protecting the trade of Ireland. At every period before 1698, we enjoyed every advantage of a free country: we had nothing then to contend with, as no jealouſy exiſted in the breaſt of England before the laſt-mentioned period. Our trade was guaranteed by Magna Charta; our exports acknowledged by that venerable ſtatute—no treaty was made in which we were not nominally or virtually included. Antecedent to the year 1698, our exports were double our imports, and the number of ſhipping almoſt doubled in the ten preceding years. At that period the balance of trade was exceedingly in favor of Ireland, being no leſs than 224,000*l.* a year. If we conſider the difficulties this country laboured under in thoſe days, and the comparative value of money then and now, this will be found an enormous balance. When Ireland exhibited nothing but a continued ſcene of diſturbance, diſunion, tumult, and frequently of civil wars within herſelf, to what are we to attribute her advantages in commerce but to her protecting duties, her geographical ſituation, and induſtry?

When William III. came to the throne of theſe kingdoms, he laid ſeveral unjuſt and pernicious reſtrictions on the trade of Ireland, in order to gratify England, which began to grow jealous of our proſperity; in other reſpects he may have ſerved this kingdom; he may have been wiſe and good; but certainly theſe unjuſt and deſtructive reſtrictions, together with other partialities,

manifeſted by him againſt us on all occaſions, are more than a counterpoiſe to every good he has done this country.

The firſt ſtab given in his reign to our riſing trade was in 1698, when a corrupt majority in this houſe laid a duty on cloths exported to England. Some ſpirited and patriotic members ſtanding up to oppoſe this meaſure, it was defended on the ground of being an experiment, and that it would continue only for three years, but was in the year following made perpetual. Let us mark the conſequences. The manufacturers, no longer able to find ſubſiſtence at home, emigrated, where they were received with open arms. The French, notwithſtanding every exertion, had been unable to eſtabliſh the woollen manufactures, until they procured Iriſh wool to mix with their own, and Iriſhmen to weave it. They then, conſcious of the advantages of protecting their trade, laid additional duties on the importation of Engliſh cloths. The event ſoon confirmed with what propriety they adopted theſe protecting duties; they in a ſhort time manufactured enough for the home market, and by raiſing from time to time, the protecting duties, at length to a prohibition, are enabled not only to rival Great Britain, but to underſell her in every market in Europe.

Before the laſt mentioned reign, it was as uſual to recommend from the throne, at the opening of every ſeſſion, the woollen manufacture, to the conſideration of parliament, as of late it has been to recommend the linen manufacture, or any other branch of trade. Our journals, ſir, are full of ſuch recommendations.

Another argument in favor of this propoſition can be drawn from the great benefits this country derived, from a power obtained by James, Duke of Ormond, of prohibiting the importation of Scotch manufactures. The protection was obtained againſt Scotland, and not England, becauſe we were not then afraid of the latter. The utility of this duty was ſo great, as to give in our favor a balance, notwithſtanding the pernicious effects of the plantation laws, and the other unfair reſtrictions of King William's reign, on our trade. Have not we, therefore, a right to expect the ſame ſalutary conſequences from the adoption of a like meaſure now?

Let no man ſay that England is ſo inſenſible of her own intereſt as to be averſe from this meaſure. England, from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her impolicy. The emigration of the Iriſh manufacturers in the reign of King William, is not the only inſtance that has taught

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that nation the ruinous effects of reſtrictive laws. Our own remembrance has furniſhed a ſad inſtance of the truth of this aſſertion—furniſhed it in the American war. America was loſt by Iriſh emigrants.—Theſe emigrations are freſh in the recollection of every gentleman in this houſe; and when the unhappy differences took place, I am aſſured, from the beſt authority, the major part of the American army was compoſed of Iriſh; and that the Iriſh language was as commonly ſpoken in the American ranks as Engliſh. I am alſo informed, it was their valor determined the conteſt; ſo that England not only loſt a principal protection of her woollen trade in Europe, but alſo had America detached from her by force of Iriſh emigrants.

Mr. Gardiner, after dwelling ſome time on the pernicious effects of the act of William III. ſhewed by what progreſs importations had ariſen, from an average ſum of 14,000*l.* to the enormous ſum of 836,000*l.* in the year 1778.

In 1779, this country, no longer able to ſupport the pernicious effects of the oppreſſions under which ſhe laboured, undertook a great meaſure. We ſpoke out, and demanded a free trade. It is but juſtice to gentlemen, it is but juſtice to the nation, that they were unanimous and perſevered. England acted wiſely and juſtly on the occaſion, and reſtored us our right. But of what uſe will this free trade be—will it be any thing but a name, if we do not ſeize the advantages of it by promoting it? It is impoſſible to do ſo, unleſs we have an opportunity of ſupplying our home conſumption, and exporting the redundancy. It is impoſſible to underſell other nations in foreign markets, if underſold in our own. While our ports are open to the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of Britiſh manufactures, can we expect to reap any benefit from the extenſion of our commerce? Let us turn our thoughts to the article of cotton, and we ſhall find great quanties imported, and not a ſingle yard exported. The very ſame might be affirmed of many other manufactures.

England, ſo early as the reign of Edward III. perceived the neceſſity of protecting her woollens. When a law was enacted to prevent wearing foreign manufactures: with reſpect to Ireland, however, ſhe was not then conſidered as coming under the denomination of foreign. The habits of intimacy and connexion between the two countries, prevented England from excluding Ireland, when ſhe excluded the reſt of the world. Here are two points proved, the adoption of protecting duties, and that we were not conſidered a foreign nation with reſpect to England. But the manufactures of England were

were then in a progreſſive ſtate, and it appears that the home market was then the principal object in impoſing a duty on the importation of woollens. In the ſame reign it muſt be admitted, a duty was laid on bay yarn, but this was only to raiſe a revenue to the crown by diſpenſations. England flouriſhed, but flouriſhed from a different cauſe—from the protecting duties, which procured her a home market; ſhe ſoon far outſtripped other nations in her manufactures; but in the reign of Elizabeth, the reſt of Europe, perceiving the good effects of the meaſure to England, began to lay on protecting duties alſo. France laid a duty of half a livre on cloth imported; this was ſhortly after augmented to a livre, and ſo by degrees to actual prohibition. The Dutch followed the example. The effect of thoſe protections on the manufactures of England was quickly perceptible.

In the year 1616, the exports decreaſed 160,000*l.*; in ſome time after, the balance was found to be more conſiderably againſt her; her imports being above a million, and her exports not quite 300,000*l.* a year. She then found it neceſſary to recur to freſh protecting duties, and to prohibit the importation of broad ſilk. She alſo ſaw it neceſſary to prohibit the wear of India goods. Theſe protecting duties have ever ſince been accumulating, and Ireland included, as well as other countries. They have been conſtantly, as far as reſpected Ireland, increaſed during the reign of George I. and II. but it muſt be confeſſed, no ſuch thing has been done in the reign of George III. On the contrary, more has been procured for this country, during that period, than ſince our firſt connexion.

Before the protection of her manufactures, the balance was conſiderably againſt her; the French importations were computed at an average to amount to 1,500,000*l.* per annum. Afterwards, by means of protecting duties, inſtead of importing, her exports of woollens amounted to 5,000,000 yards. Her home conſumption to 6,000,000; making together 11,000,000. So that ſhe arrived to ſuch a ſummit of greatneſs as no country ſince the fall of the Roman empire, ever attained. By means of the wealth procured by manufactures, ſhe was in the year 1763, able to impoſe the law on Europe.

In the late unſucceſsful war, we have ſeen her maintain a ſtruggle no country in the world would be able to maintain but herſelf. We ſee her now, after it, great, feared, and reſpected, and that under the burthen of an enormous national debt, which no other nation would be able to bear.

Having, on real matter of fact, ſhewn the progreſs and ſucceſs of the manufactures

manufactures of the two countries; having ſhewn how England has riſen, and Ireland declined; having ſhewn that her ſyſtem of policy is the cauſe of her grandeur, permit me to draw your attention to the difference of ſituations. In England, the loweſt peaſant wears good broad cloth, feeds well, and is lodged comfortably. The face of the country preſents a view of good habitations, and communicates an unſpeakable pleaſure to every man of humanity. I feel a warmth whenever I ſee and contemplate its beauty; but when I reflect on the miſery of my own unhappy country, that I left behind me, I ſink on the compariſon. In England, all is joy, eaſe and content. It may be ſaid, in the ſcripture-phraſe of that country, "the hills and vallies ſing with joy." Let us now for a moment view the wretched condition of the miſerable Iriſhman.

The Iriſhman, ſir, feeds the cattle whoſe fleſh he is debarred from taſting. As to clothes, he has ſcarcely any. As for habitation, he has perhaps, ſome miſerable hovel, whither an Engliſhman would not venture to turn his beaſt. Here he, with an unhappy wife, and wretched offspring, muſt endeavour to drag out exiſtence, half ſtarved, and half famiſhed with cold. What a diſtinction, alas! between beings of the ſame ſpecies!

When, ſir, we thus view the different conditions of two people, it is natural to enquire into the cauſe of this difference. Are Iriſhmen leſs fitted by nature to earn a livelihood than Engliſhmen? Is there any difference in their frames to produce theſe very different effects? Are their conſtitutions worſe, or appetites greater? Is there any diſadvantage in the nature of our climate, ſoil, or ſituation of our country, to prevent our proſperity?—No! the climate of this country is delightful—the ſoil as rich and vegetating in general as any in the world—and our ſituation adapted for intercourſe with both worlds. Thus, thoſe who render our people idle, are the firſt to ridicule them for that idleneſs, and to ridicule them without cauſe. National characteriſtics are always unjuſt, as there never was a country that has not produced both good and bad. Though one man may be idle, another will be induſtrious, and though that man may be a drunkard, this may be ſober. I am grieved, ſir, to hear thoſe uncandid reflections thrown on Iriſhmen. They are general aſſertions, falſe as they are illiberal. Iriſhmen have ſhewn ſpirit and genius in whatever they have undertaken. They have ſhewn that they can make great exertions, when they are encouraged; the difference of the cultivation of this country, from what it was before the laws for promoting

ing agriculture, will evince the truth of my aſſertion. A great proportion of the inhabitants of this country, previous to thoſe laws, lived on imported corn, but no ſooner was encouragement held forth to the plough, than the national induſtry broke forth, and inſtead of importing, a great quantity of corn was annually exported. This will ever remain a poſitive contradiction to the vague and ill-founded reflections on Iriſhmen. I will even go farther, and call on gentlemen to ſpecify one inſtance, where the people were indolent, where the laws of their country protected them in their endeavours. Let us conſider what has been done in reſpect to our linens. Though we were compelled to yield an eſtabliſhed manufacture, and to apply ourſelves to it, under the diſadvantage of contending with a country that has arrived at great perfection, yet we proſpered. And why? Becauſe we were not interfered with. If this be not a proof of induſtry, I know not what may be called ſo. Whenever this country has been encouraged, it ſhewed great induſtry—witneſs our linens, our broad ſtuffs, our tabinets, and poplins: how, groundleſs, therefore, is the charge of indolence? Even admitting the people of this country were indolent, inſtead of contributing to keep them in it, by continuing their oppreſſions, this houſe ought to remove that indolence.

As every cauſe but the true one, has been aſſigned for the preſent diſtreſſes of the poor, thoſe have not been wanting, who have attributed it to the low price of whiſkey, and the drunkenneſs of the working manufacturers; but thoſe gentlemen, who have of late been ſo fond of praiſing the induſtry of the north, ought to be informed, that there is no part of Ireland, in which the people drink more whiſkey, and yet manufactures ſucceed there perfectly. This I know, becauſe I have an eſtate in that part of the kingdom. I know they think nothing of drinking a pint of whiſkey in a day, and are able to attend to their buſineſs after. Some of my tenants have informed me, they could drink half a pint of whiſkey with as much eaſe as any of us could a glaſs of wine. As for me, no man more diſapproves of the abominable cuſtom of drinking ſpirits; but yet, I will be free to ſay the diſtreſs of our manufacturers, is by no means imputable to drunkenneſs.

As theſe are not the cauſes of the preſent calamities, it is natural to aſk what may be the ſource of them? It may be anſwered, that want of employment is that ſource. Numbers of manufacturers cannot get their goods ſold. How therefore, can they give employment? Several circumſtances contribute to forwarding the importation of Engliſh goods, whereby our own are injured.

injured. In England they have large capitals; they can buy and ſell much cheaper than our manufacturers, who have in general very ſmall capitals. The man with a large capital can afford to give long credit, which the other cannot, and eight per cent. will yield a greater profit to him in trade, who has 10,000*l.* than ten per cent. to him who has but 1000*l.* In England they give two years credit, when we can ſcarcely give ſix months, which induces people to deal with them, as they have a year and ſix months intereſt on the money. This enables them to turn their capitals oftener, ſo that if they ſell, even for leſs than others, the quick diſpoſal of their goods will not fail to bring them at the end of the year a much greater profit.

Something muſt be done to relieve the thouſands who now are famiſhing in your ſtreets. The city of Dublin, with a degree of humanity that will ever do it honor, has hitherto ſuccoured them by voluntary donations. But the donations of the city of Dublin will be found inadequate to the miſeries of thoſe poor men. The non-importation agreement entered into in 1779, afforded them ſome ſmall relief for that time, but ſerved only to augment their diſtreſs ſince, as magazines of Engliſh cloaths were then formed in this country.

Another expedient was: eſtabliſh manufactories here: but, Sir, theſe have ended generally in the ruin of thoſe, who have attempted it: for the Engliſh riders immediately give notice to their employers, when a manufactory is going to be ſet up; the conſequence is, the Britiſh merchant reſolves to loſe for a time, ſends over an abundance of the commodity, ſells it cheaper than it poſſibly can be wrought for, and totally overthrows his rival. Sir, I remember an inſtance of this in England itſelf; there was a houſe in Nottingham carried on a conſiderable trade in one branch of buſineſs; another finding it ſo profitable, determined to undertake it alſo; but the owner of the firſt houſe determined to loſe an immenſity, and underſell the new one; the latter, conſequently, failed in a ſhort time, and the buſineſs returned to its ancient channel. This ſhews, Sir, that the Engliſh merchant will always be an overmatch for any manufactory we ſet up, which can any way injure him. Now, Sir, another expedient was, opening our export trade; I never ſhall arraign that meaſure: It was conducted by a gentleman, whoſe memory I ſhall ever revere, and whom I never think of without emotions which I cannot expreſs; but, Sir, an export trade is beginning at the wrong end; unleſs there be a home conſumption it will never avail.

The home conſumption is what gives money and ſpirit to the undertaker;

without money he cannot pay the men whom he employs, and that money is only to be had by home conſumption. Since then the remedies that have been applied are ineffectual, let us now ſee what may be ſucceſsful; and in this let us copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries; and that is by protecting our manufactures at home.

Then, Sir, faſhion, though it may appear at firſt a trivial matter, has a very great effect on our trade, and for this reaſon, whatever is the faſhion, the manufacturer has a home conſumption for, and ſells at an enormous advanced profit for ready money; as ſoon as the faſhion alters, he has made ſo much by it, that he can ſend over the redundancy here, and ſell it at firſt coſt, or conſiderably under the firſt coſt, and ſtill be a gainer; and therefore, though ſome perſons here have ſent to England, and got patterns of the faſhionable articles, yet before the patterns could be procured, the dies prepared, and the manufacture wrought, the Engliſh merchant would have varied his faſhion there, and ſent the redundancy over to us, and underſold us ſo as to deſtroy our hopes.

Now, Sir, what have been the remedies, which we have endeavoured to provide? A non-importation agreement, which, while it laſted, had ſome effect, but it was but temporary, the benefit ariſing from it was but for a ſeaſon, and I fear it has eſtabliſhed a permanent evil; for, Sir, it was by no means general, and the people, particularly in the north, who were not ſo much injured by importation, eſtabliſhed warehouſes, opened their ports, and laid in ſuch a quantity of Engliſh goods, as poured an inundation upon us, the moment the agreement was at an end. A few words, continued Mr. Gardiner, will be ſufficient to prove, that this meaſure will not be injurious to the landed property of this country. The advantages of the man of landed eſtate, and of the manufacturer are reciprocal; for the proſperity of the one is the ſupport of the other. The petition therefore preſented to this houſe, by an honorable gentleman, from certain landholders of his county, cannot with any degree of propriety be urged againſt this meaſure.

Mr. Gardiner then read the following reſolutions.

1ſt. That it appears to this houſe, that the working manufacturers of this kingdom, are in the greateſt poverty and diſtreſs.

2dly. That the importation of foreign manufactures into this kingdom, has of late years conſiderably increaſed, and ſtill continues to do ſo.

3rdly.

3dly. That this great importation, by impeding our manufactures, is the cauſe of this poverty and diſtreſs.

4thly. That the interference of parliament is neceſſary to remove thoſe evils.

No. LXXIV.

Paſtoral Exhortation of the Right Reverend Doctor TROY, *the Catholic Biſhop of Oſſory to his Flock.* (*P.* 107.)

DEAR CHRISTIANS,

AT this particular time, when the bleſſings of peace and a plentiful harveſt ſhould warm the hearts of Chriſtians with becoming gratitude to the Father of Mercies, and excite a ſpirit of induſtry amongſt all ranks of people, we are much concerned to obſerve riot and diſorder pervading many of our communion in ſeveral parts of this county and dioceſe. Unmindful of the untimely and ignominious death of their relations and acquaintances formerly diſtinguiſhed by the execrable appellation of White Boys, and deaf to the dictates of reaſon and religion conſtantly enforced by our exhortation from the altars, they are endeavouring to renew the horrid ſcenes of confuſion and bloodſhed, which diſgraced this part of the kingdom not many years ago. They again ſeem to glory in the opprobrious name of White Boys, and have lately aſſembled at unſeaſonable hours, and in different parties, ſounding their riotous horn. They have preſumed to adminiſter oaths of combination, and proceed to barbarous acts of violence againſt the perſons and property of ſeveral individuals. In a word, they notoriouſly violate the moſt ſacred laws, and equally deſpiſe the injunctions of their ſpiritual and temporal rulers. Such accumulated enormities call to heaven for vengeance, which will moſt aſſuredly fall on the deluded offenders, if they do not ſpeedily expiate their crimes by ſincere and exemplary repentance. As our ſilence upon this occaſion might be miſunderſtood by ignorant, or ſiniſtrouſly interpreted by malevolent perſons, we think it highly incumbent on us to declare, as we do hereby ſolemnly, in the name and by the authority of our holy mother the church: Firſt, that the aſſociation oaths uſually taken by the miſguided and unhappy wretches called White Boys, are bonds of iniquity, and conſequently unlawful, wicked, and damnable. They are not, therefore, binding in any manner whatever. Secondly, we in like manner

declare, that we condemn, abhor, and deteſt the above mentioned outrages, as contrary to the maxims and canons of our holy religion, deſtructive of the public peace, injurious to private property, and ſubverſive of every law. Finally, we condemn theſe deluded offenders, who call themſelves Roman Catholics, as ſcandalous and rotten members of our holy church, from which they have been already cut off by the ſentence of excommunication ſolemnly fulminated againſt them on the 17th of October, 1779, in all the chapels of this dioceſe. We cannot conclude without beſeeching you, deareſt Chriſtians, to join us in fervent and conſtant prayer for the ſpeedy converſion of theſe unthinking creatures. Their condition is truly deplorable; in this life expoſed, by their nocturnal excurſions and wanton depredations, to ſickneſs, loathſome impriſonment, and an infamous death; whilſt in the next their obſtinacy will be puniſhed with endleſs torture. May our gracious God, by his efficacious grace, avert this greateſt of all evils, and thereby prevent the bitter recollection of their having diſregarded our timely and paſtoral admonitions. We ſhudder at the very apprehenſion of the manifold evils which muſt neceſſarily enſue to themſelves, to their families, and to their country, from a continuation of their unwarrantable proceedings.

It being equally our wiſh and duty to promote the happineſs of mankind in general, and that of our country and flock in particular, we ſhall invariably conduct ourſelves in a manner becoming miniſters of the goſpel and members of ſociety. Uninfluenced by fear or any worldly conſideration, we are determined to adopt ſuch further means, as ſhall be found conducive to the above mentioned, and other great objects of our vocation.

Kilkenny, 12th November, 1784. J. T. TROY.

No. LXXV.*

Addreſs preſented to his Majeſty, at St. James's, by the Lords and Commons on the 29th of July, 1785. (*P.* 134.)

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the

* This work having encreaſed under the author's pen to ſo large a bulk, the debate intended to have been here inſerted, which is very long, is omitted, and the reader is referred for it to the 18th volume of the Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 546 to 592.

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lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, have taken into moſt ſerious conſideration, the important ſubject of commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, recommended in your majeſty's ſpeech at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, and the reſolutions of the two houſes of parliament in Ireland, which were laid before us by your majeſty's command, on the 22d of February laſt.

After a long and careful inveſtigation of the various queſtions neceſſarily ariſing out of this comprehenſive ſubject, we have come to the ſeveral reſolutions, which we now humbly preſent to your majeſty, and which, we truſt, will form the baſis of an advantageous and permanent commercial ſettlement between your majeſty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

We have proceeded on the foundation of the reſolutions of the parliament of Ireland; but in conſidering ſo extenſive an arrangement, we have found it neceſſary to introduce ſome modifications and exceptions, and we have added ſuch regulations and conditions as appeared to us indiſpenſably neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the propoſed agreement, on juſt and equitable principles, and for ſecuring to both countries thoſe commercial advantages to an equal enjoyment of which they are in future to be entitled.

Your majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland, being ſecured in a full and laſting participation of the trade with the Britiſh colonies, muſt, we are perſuaded, acknowledge the juſtice of their continuing to enjoy it on the ſame terms with your majeſty's ſubjects in Great Britain.

And it is, we conceive, equally manifeſt, that as the ſhips and mariners of Ireland are to continue in all time to come to enjoy the ſame privileges with thoſe of Great Britain, the ſame proviſion ſhould be adopted in Ireland as may be found neceſſary in this country, for ſecuring thoſe advantages excluſively to the ſubjects of the empire. This object is eſſentially connected with the maritime ſtrength of your majeſty's dominions, and conſequently with the ſafety and proſperity both of Great Britain and Ireland.

We therefore deem it indiſpenſable, that theſe points ſhould be ſecured as conditions neceſſary to the exiſtence and duration of the agreement between the two countries; they can only be carried into effect by laws to be paſſed in the parliament of Ireland; which is alone competent to bind your majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom, and whoſe legiſlative rights we ſhall ever hold as ſacred as our own.

It remains for the parliament of Ireland to judge, according to their wiſ-

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dom and diſcretion, of theſe conditions, as well as of every other part of the ſettlement propoſed to be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent.

Our purpoſe in theſe reſolutions is to promote alike the commercial intereſts of your majeſty's ſubjects in both countries; and we are perſuaded, that the common proſperity of the two kingdoms will be thereby greatly advanced; the ſubjects of each will in future apply themſelves to thoſe branches of commerce which they can exerciſe with moſt advantage, and the wealth ſo diffuſed through every part will operate as a general benefit to the whole.

We have thus far performed our part in this important buſineſs; and we truſt that in the whole of its progreſs reciprocal intereſts and mutual affection will inſure that ſpirit of union, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the great end, which the two countries have equally in view.

In this perſuaſion we look forward with confidence to the final completion of a meaſure, which, while it tends to perpetuate harmony and friendſhip between the two kingdoms, muſt, by augmenting their reſources, uniting their efforts, and conſolidating their ſtrength, afford your majeſty the ſureſt means of eſtabliſhing, on a laſting foundation, the ſafety, proſperity, and glory of the empire.

To which his Majeſty made the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.

I RECEIVE with the greateſt ſatisfaction theſe reſolutions, which, after ſo long and diligent an inveſtigation, you conſider as affording the baſis of an advantageous and permanent commercial ſettlement between my two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing can more clearly manifeſt your regard for the intereſts of both my kingdoms and your zeal for the general proſperity of my dominions, than the attention you have given to this important object. A full and equal participation of commercial advantages, and a ſimilarity of laws in thoſe points, which are neceſſary for their preſervation and ſecurity, muſt be the ſureſt bond of union between the two kingdoms and the ſource of reciprocal and increaſing benefits to both. The ſame ſpirit, in which this great work has begun and proceeded, will, I doubt not, appear throughout the whole of its progreſs; and I concur with you in thinking, that the final completion of it is of eſſential importance to the future happineſs of both countries, and to the ſafety, glory, and proſperity, of the empire.

No.

No. LXXVI.

Speech of Mr. GRATTAN *on the Eaſt India Trade.* (*P.* 135.)

Mr. Grattan.—Sir, I can excuſe the right honorable member, who moves you for leave to bring in the bill. He is an Engliſhman, and contends for the power of his own country, while I am contending for the liberty of mine; he might have ſpared himſelf the trouble of ſtating his own bill. I read it before, I read it in the twenty reſolutions, I read it in the Engliſh bill, which is to all intents and purpoſes the ſame; and which he might read without the trouble of reſorting to his own. His comment is of little moment; a lord lieutenant's ſecretary is an unſafe commentator on an Iriſh conſtitution; the former merit of the right honorable gentleman in preſſing for the original propoſitions and contending againſt the preſent, which he now ſupports, may have been very great, and I am willing to thank him for his paſt ſervices; they may be a private conſolation to himſelf. No more; I differ from him in his account of this tranſaction. He was pledged to theſe eleven propoſitions; his offer was the propoſitions; ours the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former. I leave both, and come to his ſyſtem. Here it becomes neceſſary to go back a little: I begin with your free trade obtained in 1779: by that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whoſe ports were open to you, ſubject to your own unſtipulated duties, the Britiſh plantations only excepted; by that you obtained the benefit of your inſular ſituation, the benefit of your weſtern ſituation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. When theſe advantages might be, no man could ſay, but any man who had ſeen the ſtruggle you had made during a century of depreſſion, could foreſee, that a ſpirit of induſtry operating upon the ſtate of liberty in a young nation, muſt in the courſe of time, produce ſignal advantages: the ſea is like the earth; to non-exertion, a waſte, to induſtry, a mine; this trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade: in this you retained your right to trade directly with the Britiſh plantations in a variety of articles, without a reference to Britiſh duties; by this you obtained a right to trade with the Britiſh plantations directly in each and every other article, ſubject to the rate of Britiſh duty; by this, you obtained a right to ſelect; ſo that the general trade ſhould not hang on the ſpecial conformity;

formity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or poſtpone the produce of foreign plantations. The reaſon was obvious: you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then miniſter inſiſted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade inſtead of a free trade (whereas your demand was for both) and his grant had been inadequate, unſatisfactory and inadmiſſible. Theſe points of trade being ſettled, a third in the opinion of ſome remained; namely, the intercourſe with England or the channel trade. A ſucceſsful political campaign, an unſucceſsful harveſt, the poverty of not a few, together with the example of England, brought forward, in the year 1783, a number of famiſhing manufacturers with a demand of protecting duties; the extent of their demand was idle, the manner of conveying that demand tumultuary; but not being wholly reſiſted nor yet adequately aſſiſted, they laid the foundation of another plan, which made its appearance in 1785, oppoſite indeed to their wiſhes and fatal to their expectation; this was the ſyſtem of reciprocity; a ſyſtem fair in its principle, and in proceſs of time likely to be beneficial, but not likely to be of any great preſent advantage, other than by ſtopping the growth of demand, allaying a commercial fever, and producing ſettlement and incorporation, with the people of England; this ſyſtem was founded on the only principle, which could obtain between two independent nations equality; and the equality conſiſted in ſimilarity of duty; now as the total abatement of duties on both ſides had driven the Iriſhman out of his own market, as the raiſing our duties to the Britiſh ſtandard had driven the Engliſhman out of the Iriſh market, a third method was reſorted to, the abatement of Britiſh duty to the Iriſh ſtandard: but then this equality of duty was inequality of trade: for as the Engliſhman with that duty againſt him had beaten you in the Iriſh market, with that duty in his favor he muſt keep you out of the Engliſh: ſo that under this arrangement the Engliſh manufacturer continued protected, and the Iriſh manufacturer continued expoſed, and the abatement of duty was no more than diſarming the argument of retaliation. Had the arrangement ſtopped here, it had been unjuſt indeed: but as Ireland was to covenant, that ſhe would not raiſe her duties on Britiſh manufactures, England on her part was to covenant, that ſhe would not diminiſh her preference in favor of Iriſh linen, and the adjuſtment amounted to a covenant, that neither country in their reſpective markets would affect the manufacture of the other by any operative alteration of duty; however

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the adjuſtment did not ſtop at the home manufacture, it went to plantation produce, and here you ſtood on two grounds, law and juſtice; law, becauſe you only deſired that the ſame words of the ſame act of nagivation ſhould have the ſame conſtruction on one ſide the channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one, I cannot conceive, otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing that in your antient ſtate of dependency you were not entitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the anſwer to this argument was unſatisfactory, that England had altered the law; but if England had ſo altered the law, it ceaſed to impoſe the ſame reſtrictions and confer the ſame advantages, and then a doubt might ariſe whether the act of navigation were the law of Ireland, ſo that you ſeemed entitled to the conſtruction or free from the act; now it is of more conſequence to England, that you ſhould be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair conſtruction of it. But you ſtood on ſtill better ground---juſtice; was it juſt that you ſhould receive plantation goods from England, and that England ſhould not receive them from you? here if you do not find the law equal, you may make it ſo: for as yet you are a free parliament.

I leave this part of the ſubject; equality of duty, but no preſent equality of trade. I come to that part of the adjuſtment which is inequality of both;—and firſt, that part which relates to the *primum* of your manufactures. When the original propoſitions were argued, gentlemen exclaimed, "England reſerves her wool, and Ireland does not reſerve her woollen yarn," it was anſwered, "Ireland may if ſhe pleaſe." What will thoſe gentlemen now ſay, when England reſerves both;—the *primum* of her manufactures and of yours? and not only woollen yarn, but linen yarn, hides, &c? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland is to tell me nothing; the queſtion is not about ſtopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in inſtances where England, retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me that this exportation is neceſſary for England is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England, and therefore ſhould have obtained at leaſt equal terms. I own, to aſſiſt the manufactures of Great Britain as far as it is not abſolutely inconſiſtent with thoſe of Ireland is to me an object; but ſtill the difference recurs: ſhe is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part, but exacts perpetual export from you in the very article, in which ſhe retains abſolute prohibition—no new prohibition---every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before---none

in favor of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province, and every province is a victim; your provincial ſtate ceaſed, but before the provincial regulations were done away, this arrangement eſtabliſhes a principle *uti poſſidetis*, that is, Great Britain ſhall retain all her advantages, and Ireland ſhall retain all her diſadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjuſtment where reciprocity is diſclaimed in the outſet of treaty and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to inſtances of more ſtriking inequality, and firſt, your ſituation in the Eaſt. You are to give a monopoly to the preſent or any future Eaſt-India company during its exiſtence, and to the Britiſh nation for ever after. It has been ſaid that the Iriſhman in this is in the ſame ſituation as the Engliſhman, but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the Britiſh parliament has judged it moſt expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the Eaſt, by an excluſive company; the Iriſh parliament is now to determine it moſt expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in thoſe parts. This is not a ſurrender of the political rights of the conſtitution, but of the natural rights of man---not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations---not to ſail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, an awful interdict! Not only European ſettlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence ſhut out in the moſt opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reaſons, becauſe they belong to certain European ſtates, but here are neutral regions forbidden, and a path preſcribed to the Iriſhman on open ſea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of reſtraint; you are to have no trade at all during the exiſtence of any company, and no free trade to thoſe countries after its expiration; this reſembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the legiſlature, whether you meaſure it by immenſity of ſpace or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its preſumption.

What you loſe by this ſurrender, what you forfeit by giving up the poſſibility of intercourſe with ſo great a proportion of the inhabited globe, I cannot preſume to ſay; but this I can ſay, that gentlemen have no right to argue from preſent want of capital againſt future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade, becauſe they have not yet brought that capacity into action; ſtill leſs have they a right to do ſo without the ſhadow of compenſation, and leaſt of all on the affected compenſation which, trifling with your underſtanding as well as intereſt, ſuffers a veſſel to go to the Weſt, in its way to

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the Eaſt. I leave this uncompenſated ſurrender---I leave your ſituation in the Eaſt which is blank---I leave your ſituation in the Eaſt which is the ſurrender of trade itſelf; and I come to your ſituation in the Weſt which is a ſurrender of its freedom. You are to give a monopoly to the Britiſh plantations at their own taxes; before, you did ſo only in certain articles, with a power of ſelection, and then only as long as you pleaſed to conform to the condition, and without any ſtipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to covenant to do ſo for ever, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power for ever, and you give to the Engliſh, Weſt as well as Eaſt, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce in the taxing and regulating of which you have no ſort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a complete ſupremacy. Here you will conſider the advantage you receive from that monopoly, and judge how far it may be expedient to ſet up againſt yourſelves that monopoly for ever; there is ſcarcely an article of the Britiſh plantation, that is not out of all proportion dearer than the ſame article is in any other part of the globe, nor any other article that is not produced elſewhere, for ſome of which articles you might eſtabliſh a mart for your manufactures. Portugal, for inſtance, is capable of being a better market for our drapery than Great Britain; this enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax, what then is this covenant? to take theſe articles from the Britiſh plantations, and from none others, at the preſent high rates and taxes, and to take them at all times to come, ſubject to whatever further rates and taxes the parliament of Great Britain ſhall enact. Let me aſk you, why did you refuſe protecting duties to your own people? becauſe they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the Eaſt India merchant, and the Weſt India planter ſomething more? a monopoly where the monopoliſt is in ſome degree the lawgiver. The principle of equal duty or the ſame reſtriction is not the ſhadow of ſecurity; to make ſuch a principle applicable, the objects muſt be equal, but here the objects are not only diſſimilar but oppoſite; the condition of England is great debt and greater capital, great incumbrance, but ſtill greater abilities; the condition of Ireland, little capital, but a ſmall debt, poverty, but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal burthens will have oppoſite effects, they will fund the debt of one country and deſtroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away

your reſource, which is exemption from them, but will be a fund for Great Britain; thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree. Suppoſe Great Britain ſhould raiſe her colony duties to a ſtill greater degree, to anſwer the exigency of ſome future war, or to fund her preſent debt, you muſt follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you muſt follow, not becauſe you wanted the tax, but leſt your exemption from taxes ſhould give your manufactures any comparative advantage. Iriſh taxes are to be precautions againſt the proſperity of Iriſh manufactures! you muſt follow, becauſe your taxes here would be no longer meaſured by the wants of the country or the intereſt of her commerce, becauſe we ſhould have inſtituted a falſe meaſure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches. I fear we ſhould have done more, we ſhould have made Engliſh jealouſy the barometer of Iriſh taxation. Suppoſe this country ſhould in any degree eſtabliſh a direct trade with the Britiſh plantations, ſuppoſe the apprehenſions of the Britiſh manufacturers in any degree realized, they may dictate your duties, they may petition the Britiſh parliament to raiſe certain duties, which ſhall not affect the articles of their intercourſe, but may ſtop yours; or which ſhall affect the articles of their intercourſe a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the ſame duty raiſe a revenue in England, and deſtroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an inſtance of the former, and every valuable plantation import an inſtance of the latter; your option in foreign trade had been a reſtraint on England, or a reſource to Ireland, but under this adjuſtment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourſelf to that, which you muſt not preſume to regulate. The excluſion of foreign plantation produce would ſeem ſufficient, for every purpoſe of power and domination, but to aggravate, and it would ſeem, to inſult, the independent ſtates of North America are moſt ungraciouſly brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland were a Britiſh colony, or North America continued a part of the Britiſh dominion; by the reſolutions almoſt all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, ſubject to Britiſh duties; the bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles; but what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has ſhe to dictate to us on the ſubject of North America trade? How far this country may be further affected by clogging her plantation trade and ſurrendering her free trade, I ſhall not for the preſent ſtop more minutely to enquire, but I muſt

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ſtop to proteſt againſt one circumſtance in this arrangement, which ſhould not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to ſettlement itſelf, and tear aſunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumſtance I mean, is the opening of the ſettlements of the colony trade, and free trade of 1779; this adjuſtment takes from you the power of chuſing the article, ſo that the whole covenant hangs on the ſpecial circumſtance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a reviſion in peace of the ſettlements of war, it is a revocation in peace of the acquiſition of war. I here aſk by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for paſt acquiſitions? Did the petition of the manufacturers deſire it? Did the addreſſes of the laſt ſeſſion deſire it? Did the miniſter in this ſeſſion ſuggeſt it? No; I call for authority, whereby we can be juſtified in waving the benefit of paſt treaties, and bringing the whole relative ſituation of this country into queſtion in an arrangement which only profeſſes to ſettle her channel trade? I conceive the ſettlements of the laſt war are ſacred; you may make other ſettlements with the Britiſh nation, but you will never make any ſo beneficial as theſe are; they were the reſult of a conjuncture miraculouſly formed and fortunately ſeized. The American war was the Iriſh harveſt. From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, conſtitution, and mind took form and vigor; and to that period, and to a firſt and ſalient principle muſt they recur for life and renovation. It is therefore I conſider thoſe ſettlements as ſacred, and from them I am naturally led to that part of the ſubject which relates to compenſation, the payment which we are to make for the loſſes which we are to ſuſtain; certainly compenſation cannot apply to the free trade ſuppoſing it uninvaded: firſt, becauſe that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you ſhould never have loſt, had been to a great degree unjuſt and derogatory; ſecondly, becauſe that free trade was eſtabliſhed in 1779, and the ſettlement then cloſed and cannot be opened now; to do ſo were to deſtroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the preſent ſettlement, and to render it vain to enter into any ſettlement with the Britiſh miniſter. The ſame may be ſaid of the colony trade; that too was ſettled in 1779, on terms then ſpecified, not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned or circumſcribed; ſtill leſs does compenſation apply to the free conſtitution of 1782. His majeſty then informed you from the throne, "theſe things come unaccompanied with any ſtipulation," beſides, the free conſtitution like the free trade was your right.

Free

Free men wont pay for the recovery of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; ſo we then ſtated to miniſtry. It was then thought that to have annexed ſubſidy to conſtitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had married an illuſtrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither ſatisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which ſaw how much may be got by tax, and how much muſt be left to honor, which made a bold puſh for the heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her diſpoſition to give, had its effect; for ſince that time, until the preſent moſt unfortunate attempt, a great bulk of the community were on the ſide of government, and the parliamentary conſtitution was a guarantee for public peace.

See then what you obtained without compenſation, a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extenſion of the unconſtitutional powers of your council, the reſtoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legiſlature!

See now what you obtain by compenſation---a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain ſhall permit; a covenant not to take Britiſh plantation produce, but as Great Britain ſhall preſcribe; a covenant to make ſuch acts of navigation as Great Britain ſhall preſcribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of thoſe manufactures! Theſe things are accompanied, I do acknowlege, with a covenant on the part of England to diſarm your argument for protecting duties, to give the Engliſh language in the act of navigation the ſame conſtruction in Ireland, and to leave our linen markets without moleſtation or diminution. One ſhould think ſome God preſided over the liberties of this country, who made it frugality in the Iriſh nation to continue free, but has annexed the penalties of fine or infamy to the ſurrender of the conſtitution! From this conſideration of commerce, a queſtion much more high, much more deep, the invaluable queſtion of conſtitution ariſes, in which the idea of protecting duties, the idea of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, and all that detail vaniſh, and the energies of every heart, and the prudence of every head, are called upon to ſhield this nation, that long depreſſed, and at length by domeſtic virtues, and foreign misfortune emancipated, has now to defend her newly acquired

acquired rights, and her juſtly acquired reputation; the queſtion is no leſs than that, which three years ago agitated, fired, and exalted the Iriſh nation, the independency of the Iriſh parliament! By this bill we are to covenant that the parliament of Ireland ſhall ſubſcribe whatever laws the parliament of England ſhall preſcribe, reſpecting your trade with the Britiſh plantations, your trade in the produce of foreign plantations, and part of your trade from the united ſtates of North America. There is alſo a ſweeping covenant or condition, whereby we are to agree to ſubſcribe whatever laws the parliament of England ſhall preſcribe reſpecting navigation; the adjuſtment ſubjects alſo your reverſionary trade to the Eaſt to the ſame terms---over all theſe objects you are to have no propounding, no deliberative, no negative, no legiſlative power whatſoever. Here then is an end of your free trade and your free conſtitution! I acquit the people of England; an ill-grounded jealouſy for their trade ſeems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquiſh, but when relinquiſhed, too magnanimous and too wiſe to reſume abdicated tyranny; they feel in theſe propoſitions an honorable ſolicitude for the freedom of Ireland, and the good faith of Great Britain, and ſee the darling principles and paſſions of both countries wounded in an arrangement, which was to compoſe them for ever: to a propoſal therefore ſo little warranted by the great body of the people of England, ſo little expected by the people of Ireland, ſo little ſuggeſted by the miniſter, and ſo involving to whatever is dear to your intereſt, honor, and freedom, I anſwer, no. I plead paſt ſettlements, I inſiſt on the faith of nations; the objection ſhould have been made when theſe ſettlements were making; but now the logic of empire comes too late; no accommodation, no deprecation on this ſubject: aſſertion, national aſſertion, national re-aſſertion! If three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by your example, will ſurrender; but if you ſtand firm and inexorable, you make a ſeaſonable impreſſion on the people of England, you give a wholeſome example to your children, afford an awful inſtruction to his majeſty's miniſters, and make (as the Old Engliſh did in the caſe of their charter) the attempt on Iriſh liberty, its confirmation and eſtabliſhment!

However, leſt certain gloſſes ſhould ſeem to go unanſwered, I ſhall, for the ſake of argument, waive paſt ſettlements, and combat the reaſoning of the Engliſh reſolutions, the addreſs and his majeſty's anſwer, and the reaſoning of this day. It is here ſaid, that the laws reſpecting commerce and navi-

gation ſhould be ſimilar, and inferred, that Ireland ſhould ſubſcribe the laws of England on thoſe ſubjects, that is, the ſame law, the ſame legiſlature; but this argument goes a great deal too far, it goes to the army, for the mutiny bill ſhould be the ſame; it was endeavored to be extended to the collection of your revenue, and is in train to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the moſt invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, eſtabliſhing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and repoſing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union where our parliament preſerves its exiſtence after it has loſt its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary eſtabliſhment, without any proportion of parliamentary repreſentation. In oppoſing the right honorable gentleman's bill, I conſider myſelf as oppoſing an union *in limine*, and that argument for union which makes ſimilarity of law and community of intereſt (reaſon ſtrong for the freedom of Ireland) a pretence for a condition, which would be diſſimilarity of law, becauſe extinction of conſtitution, and therefore hoſtility, not community of intereſt; I aſk on what experience is this argument founded?--- Have you ever ſince your redemption refuſed to preſerve a ſimilarity of law in trade and navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes in the act of navigation, during the whole of that unpalatable buſineſs the American war? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other plantations, in order that Iriſh poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of Britiſh colonies? Have you not made a better uſe of your liberty than Great Britain did of her power? But I have an objection to this argument, ſtronger even than its want of foundation, in reaſon and experiment; I hold it to be nothing leſs than an intolerance of the parliamentary conſtitution of Ireland, a declaration that the full and free external legiſlation of the Iriſh parliament is incompatible with the Britiſh empire. I do acknowledge that by your external power, you might diſcompoſe the harmony of empire, and I add, that by your power over the purſe you might diſſolve the ſtate; but to the latter you owe your exiſtence in the conſtitution, and to the former your authority and ſtation in the empire; this argument, therefore, reſts the connection upon a new and a falſe principle, goes directly againſt the root of parliament, and is not a difficulty to be accommodated, but an error to be eradicated; and if any body of men can ſtill think that the Iriſh conſtitution is incompatible with the Britiſh empire,

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doctrine which I abjure as ſedition againſt the connexion; but if any body of men are juſtified in thinking, that the Iriſh conſtitution is incompatible with the Britiſh empire, periſh the empire! live the conſtitution! Reduced by this falſe dilemma to take a part, my ſecond wiſh is the Britiſh empire, my firſt wiſh and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland; but we are told this imperial power is not only neceſſary for England, but ſafe for Ireland. What is the preſent queſtion? What but the abuſe of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the Britiſh parliament excluding you, and including herſelf by virtue of the ſame words of the ſame act of navigation? And what was the promovent cauſe of this arrangement? What but the power you are going to ſurrender, the diſtinct and independent external authority of the Iriſh parliament, competent to queſtion that miſconſtruction? What is the remedy now propoſed? the evil. Go back to the parliament of England; I aſk again, what were the difficulties in the way of your eleven propoſitions? What but the jealouſy of the Britiſh manufacturers on the ſubject of trade? And will you make them your parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the ſubject of their jealouſy, and in the moment they diſplayed it—Safe! I will ſuppoſe that jealouſy realized, that you rival them in ſome market abroad, and that they petition their parliament to impoſe a regulation, which ſhall affect a tonnage which you have, and Great Britain has not; how would you then feel your ſituation, when you ſhould be obliged to regiſter all this? And how would you feel your degradation, when you ſhould ſee your own manufacturers paſs you by as a cypher in the conſtitution, and deprecate their ruin at the bar of a foreign parliament—Safe! Whence the American war? Whence the Iriſh reſtrictions? Whence the miſconſtruction of the act of navigation? Whence but from the evil of ſuffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of inſtituting, under the idea of general protectoreſs, a proud domination, which ſacrifices the intereſt of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little paſſions of the monopoliſt with the ſovereign potency of an imperial parliament; for great nations when curſed with unnatural ſway follow but their nature when they invade; and human wiſdom has not better provided for human ſafety than by limiting the principles of human power. The ſurrender of legiſlature has been likened to caſes that not unfrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to ſuſpend in particular caſes their reſpective legiſlative powers for mutual benefit; thus Great Britain and Portugal agree to ſuſpend their legiſlative

power in favor of the wine of the one, and the woollen of the other; but if Portugal had gone farther, and agreed to ſubſcribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been a treaty, but conqueſt; ſo Great Britain and Ireland may covenant, not to raiſe high duties on each other's manufactures; but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to ſubſcribe Britiſh law, this is not a mutual ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe of legiſlative power, but a transfer of the power itſelf from one country to another, to be exerciſed by another hand; ſuch covenant is not reciprocity of trade, it is a ſurrender of the government of your trade, inequality of trade, and inequality of conſtitution. I ſpeak however as if ſuch transfer could take place, but in fact it could not: any arrangement ſo covenanting is a mere nullity; it could not bind you, ſtill leſs could it bind your ſucceſſors; for a man is not omnipotent over himſelf, neither are your parliaments omnipotent over themſelves, to accompliſh their own deſtruction, and propagate death to their ſucceſſors; there is in theſe caſes a ſuperior relationſhip to our reſpective creators—God—the community, which in the inſtance of the individual, arreſts the hand of ſuicide, and in that of the political body, ſtops the act of ſurrender, and makes man the means of propagation, and parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to deſtroy it. However, though the ſurrender be void, there are two ways of attempting it, one by a ſurrender in form, the other by a ſurrender in ſubſtance; appointing another parliament your ſubſtitute, and conſenting to be its regiſter or ſtamp, by virtue of which to introduce the law and edict of another land; to clothe with the forms of your law foreign deliberations, and to preſide over the diſgraceful ceremony of your own abdicated authority; both methods are equally ſurrenders, and both are wholly void. I ſpeak on principle, the principle on which you ſtand---your creation. We, the limited truſtees of the delegated power, born for a particular purpoſe, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationſhip to the people, who ſent us to parliament, cannot break that relationſhip, counteract that purpoſe, ſurrender, diminiſh, or derogate from thoſe privileges we breathe but to preſerve. Could the parliament of England covenant to ſubſcribe your laws? Could ſhe covenant that young Ireland ſhould command, and Old England ſhould obey? If ſuch a propoſal to England were mockery to Ireland, it cannot be conſtitution. I reſt on authority as well as principle, the authority on which the revolution reſts. Mr. Locke, who in his chapter on the abolition of government, ſays, that the transfer of legiſlative power is the abolition

abolition of the ſtate, not a transfer. Thus I may congratulate this houſe and myſelf, that it is one of the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, that it cannot periſh of a rapid mortality, nor die in a day, like the men who ſhould protect her; any act that would deſtroy the liberty of the people, is dead-born from the womb; men may put down the public cauſe for a ſeaſon, but another year would ſee old conſtitution advance the honors of his head, and the good inſtitution of parliament ſhaking off the tomb to reaſcend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!

Sir, I have ſtated theſe propoſitions and the bill as a mere transfer of external legiſlative authority to the parliament of Great Britain, but I have underſtated their miſchief: they go to taxation, taxes on the trade with the Britiſh plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on ſome of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, ſuch as Great Britain laid on America! the mode is varied, but the principle is the ſame. Here Great Britain takes the ſtamp of the Iriſh parliament; Great Britain is to preſcribe, and Ireland is to obey! We anticipate the rape by previous ſurrender, and throw into the ſcale our honor as well as our liberty. Do not imagine that all theſe reſolutions are mere acts of regulation; they are ſolid ſubſtantial revenue, great part of your additional duty. I allow the bill excepts rum and tobacco; but the principle is retained, and the operation of it only kept back. I have ſtated that Great Britain may by theſe propoſitions cruſh your commerce, but ſhall be told that the commercial jealouſy of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? Are her wiſhes for Iriſh ſubſidy at an end? No; and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herſelf, and ſo raiſing on Ireland an imperial revenue to be ſubſcribed by our parliament, without the conſent of our parliament, and in deſpite of our people. Or if a miniſter ſhould pleaſe to turn himſelf to a general exciſe, if wiſhing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if wiſhing to relieve the alarms of the Engliſh manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from exciſes, particularly on ſoap, candles, and leather; he ſhould proceed on thoſe already regiſtered articles of taxation, he might tax you by threats, ſuggeſting, that if you refuſe to raiſe an exciſe on yourſelf, England will raiſe colony duties on both. See what a mighty inſtrument of coercion this bill and theſe reſolutions are. Stir, and the miniſter can cruſh you in the name of Great Britain; he can cruſh your imports; he can cruſh your exports; he can do this in a manner

peculiarly gratifying, by virtue of a clauſe in a Britiſh act of parliament that would ſeem to impoſe the ſame reſtrictions on Great Britain; he can do this in a manner ſtill more offenſive by the immediate means of your own parliament, who would be then an active cypher, and notorious ſtamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falſify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have conſidered your ſituation under theſe propoſitions with reſpect to Great Britain: ſee what would be your ſituation with reſpect to the crown? You would have granted to the king a perpetual money bill, or a money bill to continue as long as the parliament of Great Britain ſhall pleaſe, with a covenant to increaſe it as often as the Britiſh parliament ſhall pleaſe. By the reſolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been ſo granted; the trade of the country is made dependent on the parliament of Great Britain, and the crown is made leſs dependent on the parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this ſhould petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your anſwer, "trade is in covenant." If your conſtituents ſhould inſtruct you to limit the bill of ſupply, or paſs a ſhort money bill, your anſwer, "the purſe of the nation like her trade is in covenant." No more of ſix months money bills; no more of inſtructions from conſtituents; that connection is broken by this bill; paſs this, you have no conſtituents, you are not the repreſentative of the people of Ireland, but the regiſter of the *Britiſh* parliament, and the equalizer of Britiſh duties!

In order to complete this chain of power, one link (I do acknowledge) was wanting, a perpetual revenue bill, or a covenant from time to time to renew the bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth reſolution, and this bill founded upon it, attain that object. Sir, this houſe reſts on three pillars; your power over the annual mutiny bill; your power over the annual additional duties; your power over the collection of the revenue. The latter power is of great conſequence, becauſe a great part of our revenues are granted for ever. Your anceſtors were ſlaves; and for their eſtates, that is, for the act of ſettlement granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceaſed to be a parliament; nor was it till many years after that parliament revived; but it revived as you under this bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil meaſure derived argument, energy and effence from this unconſtitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the crown, he was told a frugal government could go on without a parliament, and that we held

held our exiſtence, by withholding the diſcharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the proviſion for the collection was inadequate; the ſmuggler learned to evade the penalties, and parliament, though not neceſſary for granting the hereditary revenue, became neceſſary for its collection. Here then we reſt on three pillars, the annual mutiny bill, the annual additional ſupply, and the annual collection of the revenue. If you remove all theſe, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chain, nor this dome, but the deliberate voice reſident therein that conſtitutes the eſſence of parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a parliament, with a thouſand gaudy ſurviving circumſtances of ſhew and authority.

Contemplate for a moment the powers this bill preſumes to perpetuate; a perpetual repeal of trial by jury; a perpetual repeal of the great charter; a perpetual writ of aſſiſtance; a perpetual felony to ſtrike an exciſeman!

The late Chief Baron Burgh, ſpeaking of the revenue bill, exclaimed, "you give to the dipping rule, what you ſhould deny to the ſceptre." All the unconſtitutional powers of the exciſe we are to perpetuate, the conſtitutional powers of parliament we are to abdicate. Can we do all this? Can we make theſe bulky ſurrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of parliament, and in violation of thoſe eternal relationſhips, which the body that repreſents ſhould bear to the community which conſtitutes?

The pretence given for this unconſtitutional idea is weak indeed; that as the benefits are permanent, ſo ſhould be the compenſation. But trade laws are to follow their nature, revenue laws to follow theirs. On the permanent nature of commercial advantages depends the faith of trade, on the limited nature of revenue laws depends the exiſtence of parliament; but the error of the argument ariſes from the vice of dealing. It is a market for a conſtitution; and a logic applicable to barter only, is applied to freedom. To qualify this dereliction of every principle and power, the ſurrender is made conſtitutional; that is, the Britiſh market for the Iriſh conſtitution, the ſhadow of a market for the ſubſtance of a conſtitution! You are to reſerve an option, trade or liberty; if you mean to come to the Britiſh market, you muſt paſs under the Britiſh yoke. I object to this principle in every ſhape, whether you are, as the reſolution was firſt worded, directly to transfer legiſlative power to the Britiſh parliament; whether, as it was afterwards altered, you are to covenant to ſubſcribe her acts; or whether, as it is now ſoftened, you are

to

to take the chance of the Britiſh market, ſo long as you wave the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution—terms diſhonorable, derogatory, incapable of forming the foundation of any fair and friendly ſettlement, injurious to the political morality of the nation; I would not harbour a ſlaviſh principle, nor give it the hoſpitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty! Slavery is like any other vice: tolerate and you embrace; you ſhould guard your conſtitution by ſettled maxims of honor, as well as wholeſome rules of law; and one maxim ſhould be, never to tolerate a condition, which trenches on the privileges of parliament, or derogates from the pride of the iſland. Liberal in matters of revenue, practicable in matters of commerce; on theſe ſubjects I would be inexorable: if the genius of Old England came to that bar, with the Britiſh conſtitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains or all that ſhe has loſt of commerce, I ſhould turn my back on the latter, and pay my obedience to the bleſſings of her conſtitution; for that conſtitution will give you commerce, and it was the loſs of that conſtitution, that deprived you of commerce. Why are you not now a woollen country? becauſe another country regulated your trade. Why are you not now a country of re-export? becauſe another country regulated your navigation. I oppoſe the original terms as ſlaviſh, and I oppoſe the conditional clauſe as an artful way of introducing ſlavery, of ſoothing a high-ſpirited nation into a ſubmiſſion by the ignominious deluſion that ſhe may ſhake off the yoke when ſhe pleaſes, and once more become a free people. The direct unconſtitutional propoſition could not have been liſtened to, and therefore reſort is had to the only poſſible chance of deſtroying the liberty of the people, by holding up the bright reverſion of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the ſpeculation of future liberty, as a conſolation for the preſent ſubmiſſion. But would any gentleman here wear a livery to-night, becauſe he might lay it aſide in the morning? or would this houſe ſubſtitute another, becauſe next year it might reſume its authority, and once more become the parliament of Ireland. I do not believe we ſhould get the Britiſh, but I do not want to make an experiment on the Britiſh market, by making an experiment likewiſe on the conſtitution and ſpirit of the people of Ireland. But do not imagine if you ſhall yield for a year, you will get ſo eaſily clear of this inglorious experiment; if this is not the Britiſh market, why accept the adjuſtment? and if it is, the benefit thereof may take away your deliberative voice. You will be bribed out of your conſtitution by your commerce; there are two ways of taking away free

free will, the one by direct compulſion, the other by eſtabliſhing a præpollent motive. Thus a ſervant of the crown may loſe his free will, when he is to give his vote at the hazard of his office; and thus a parliament would loſe its free will, if it acted under a conviction, that it exerciſed its deliberative function at the riſk of its commerce. No one queſtion would ſtand upon its own legs, but each queſtion would involve every conſideration of trade, and indeed the whole relative ſituation of the two countries. And I beſeech you to conſider that ſituation, and contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to ſurrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the Britiſh plantations, in certain articles, without reference to Britiſh duties; that you have a right to trade with the Britiſh plantations in every other article, ſubject to the Britiſh duties; that you have a right to get clear of each and every other part of that bargain; that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, ſubject to your own unſtipulated duties; that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America; that you have a right to carry on an experimental trade in countries contiguous to which Great Britain has eſtabliſhed her monopolies, the power of trade this, and an inſtrument of power, and ſtation, and authority in the Britiſh empire! Conſider that you have likewiſe a right to the excluſive ſupply of your own market, and to the excluſive of the rudiment of your manufactures; that you have an abſolute dominion over the public purſe and over the collection of the revenue. If you aſk me how you ſhall uſe theſe powers, I ſay for Ireland with due regard to the Britiſh nation, let them be governed by the ſpirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connection; but when the mover of the bill aſks me to ſurrender thoſe powers, I am aſtoniſhed at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make ſuch a ſacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exerted every nerve in 1779; that free conſtitution, for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the ſervice of the empire; but our liberties! no—we received them from our Father, which is in Heaven, and we will hand them down to our children. But if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the miſchief of theſe propoſitions, are they convinced of their ſafety? the ſafety of giving up the government of your trade? No! the miſchief is prominent, but the advantage is of a moſt enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen conſidered the ſubject, have they traced over the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to ſurrender for ever? Have they traced

traced the map of Aſia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portugueſe, and Spaniſh ſettlements? Do they know the neutral powers of thoſe countries, their produce, aptitudes, and diſpoſitions? Have they conſidered the ſtate of North America? its preſent ſtate, future growth, and every opportunity in the endleſs ſucceſſion of time attending that nurſe of commerce and aſylum of mankind? Are they now competent to declare on the part of themſelves and all their poſterity, that a free trade to thoſe regions will never in the influx of time be of any ſervice to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this ſubject, it muſt be by a communication with God, for they have none with man: it muſt be inſpiration, for it cannot be knowledge. In ſuch circumſtances to ſubſcribe this agreement, without knowledge, without even the affectation of knowledge, when Great Britain with all her experience and every means of information from Eaſt Indies, Weſt Indies, America, and with the official knowledge at her feet, has taken ſix months to deliberate, and has now produced twenty reſolutions with an hiſtory to each, amounting to a code of empire, not a ſyſtem of commerce: I ſay in ſuch circumſtances for Ireland to ſubſcribe this agreement, would be infatuation, an infatuation to which the nation could not be a party, but would appear to be concluded, indeed huddled with all her poſterity into a fallacious arrangement, by the influence of the crown, without the deliberation of parliament, or the conſent of the people! This would appear the more inexcuſable, becauſe we are not driven to it; adjuſtment is not indiſpenſible; the great points have been carried! An inferior queſtion about the home market has been ſtarted, and a commercial fever artificially raiſed, but while the great points remain undiſturbed, the nations cannot be committed; the manufacturers applied for protecting duties, and have failed; the miniſter offered a ſyſtem of reciprocity, and ſucceeded in Ireland, but has failed in England; he makes you another offer inconſiſtent with the former, which offer the Engliſh do not ſupport, and the Iriſh deprecate. We can go on, we have a growing proſperity, and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cheriſh our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing proſperity of young Ireland. In the mean time we will guard our free trade and free conſtitution as our only real reſources; they were the ſtruggles of great virtue, the reſult of much perſeverance, and our broad baſe of public action! We ſhould recollect that this houſe may now, with peculiar propriety, interpoſe, becauſe you did with great zeal and ſucceſs, on this very

ſubject

ſubject of trade, bring on the people, and you did with great prudence and moderation, on another occaſion, check a certain deſcription of the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preſerve this iſland long, and preſerve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the conſtitution of the country, you will command and inſure her tranquillity, for our beſt authority with the people is, protection afforded againſt the miniſters of the crown. It is not public clamour, but public injury, that ſhould alarm you; your high ground of expoſtulation with your fellow ſubjects has been your ſervices; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free conſtitution you have given the iſland! Make your third great effort, preſerve them, and with them preſerve unaltered your own calm ſenſe of public right, the dignity of the parliament, the majeſty of the people, and the powers of the iſland! Keep them unſullied, uncovenanted, uncircumſcribed, and unſtipendiary! Theſe paths are the paths to glory; and let me add, theſe ways are the ways of peace: ſo ſhall the proſperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the bleſſings of conſtitution and of commerce, bear atteſtation to your ſervices, and wait on your progreſs with involuntary praiſe!

No. LXXVII.

The Reſolutions of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons relating to the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with the French King. (*P.* 172.)

1. RESOLVED, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which are not ſpecified in the ſixth article of the treaty of navigation and commerce between his Britannic Majeſty and the Moſt Chriſtian King, ſigned at Verſailles the 26th of September, 1786, ſhall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any, which ſhall be payable on the importation of the like articles from any other European nation.

2. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty to be paid on wines imported directly from France into Ireland ſhall be no higher than thoſe duties which they now pay.

3. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee, that the duty hereafter to

be paid upon beer, the produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 30*l. per centum ad valorem.*

4. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all cabinet work and turnery, and for all inſtruments of muſic, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 10*l. per centum ad valorem.*

5. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles compoſed of iron or ſteel ſeparately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, ſuch articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, and not exceeding in their value 50*s.* Britiſh, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Iriſh currency, by the hundred weight, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 5*l. per centum ad valorem.*

6. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles compoſed of iron or ſteel ſeparately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, and exceeding in their value 50*s.* Britiſh, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Iriſh currency, by the hundred weight; and for all buttons, buckles, knives or ſciſſars, and for all other articles of hardware or cutlery, and for all articles compoſed of copper and braſs ſeparately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, ſuch articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 10*l. per centum ad valorem.*

7. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all ſorts of cottons and woollens, whether knit or woven, including hoſiery, the product or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 12*l. per centum ad valorem.*

8. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all linens made of flax or hemp, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be no higher than the duty which linens, the manufacture of Holland, imported into this kingdom, now pay.

9. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty

duty hereafter to be paid for cambrics and lawns, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be for every demi piece of cambric, and for every demi piece of lawn, not exceeding ſeven yards and three quarters of a yard Engliſh meaſure in length, and not being above the value of 50*s.* Britiſh, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Iriſh currency, reſpectively 5*s.* 5*d.* and ſo in proportion for any greater length; and that the duty for any cambric imported in demi pieces exceeding ſeven-eighths of a yard Engliſh meaſure in breadth, and for any lawn imported in pieces exceeding one yard and a quarter Engliſh meaſure in breadth, and being above the value of 50*s.* Britiſh, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Iriſh currency, reſpectively, ſhall be 10*l.* *per centum ad valorem.*

10. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all ſadlery, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 15*l.* *per centum ad valorem.*

11. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon gauzes of all ſorts of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 15*l.* *per centum ad valorem.*

12. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon the importation into this kingdom of millinery made up of muſlin, lawn, cambrick or gauze of any kind, or of any other article ſpecified in the ſixth article of the ſaid treaty of navigation and commerce, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, ſhall be at the rate of 12*l.* *per centum ad valorem*; and that if any article not ſo ſpecified, and which may be legally imported into this kingdom, ſhall be uſed in ſuch millinery, ſuch articles ſhall pay duties as if ſeparately imported into this kingdom.

13. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all porcelains, earthen-ware and pottery of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 12*l.* *per centum ad valorem.*

14. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all glaſs and glaſs-ware of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 12*l.* *per centum ad valorem.*

15. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that beer being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, ſhall pay, over and above the duty to be paid on the importation thereof, a further duty ſufficient to countervail the internal duty actually paid on beer brewed in Ireland.

No. LXXVIII.

MR. GRATTAN'S *ſpeech upon Tithes.* (*P.* 185.)

Mr. GRATTAN.—The people in the ſouth have grievances, and one of their principal grievances is tithe; do not take it on my authority, go into a committee. It has been ſaid in defence of clerical exactions, that though ſometimes exorbitant, they have never been illegal. I deny it; and will produce proof at your bar, that exactions in ſome of the diſturbed parts have been not exorbitant only, but illegal likewiſe. I will prove that, in many inſtances, tithe has been demanded, and paid for turf; that tithe of turf has been aſſeſſed at one or two ſhillings a houſe like hearth-money; and in addition to hearth-money, with this difference, that in the caſe of hearth-money, there is an exemption for the poor of a certain deſcription; but here it is the poor of the pooreſt order, that is the moſt reſiſtleſs people, who pay. I will prove to you, that men have been excommunicated by a moſt illegal ſentence, for refuſing to pay tithe of turf. I have two decrees in my hand from the Vicarial Court of Cloyne; the firſt excommunicating one man, the ſecond excommunicating four men moſt illegally, moſt arbitrarily, for refuſing to pay tithe of turf: nor has tithe of turf, without pretence of law or cuſtom been a practice only; but in ſome part of the ſouth, it has been a formed exaction with its own diſtinct and facetious appellation, the familiar denomination of ſmoke-money. A right to tithe of turf has been uſurped againſt law, and a legiſlative power of commutation has been exerciſed, I ſuppoſe for familiarity of appellation and facility of collection.

I am ready, if the houſe will go into the enquiry, to name the men, the pariſh, and all the circumſtances.

I underſtand that in ſome caſes this demand has ceaſed; that is, it has been interrupted by the terror of reſiſtance; not by a reſpect for the law (a ſad encouragement this to diſturbance) but even in ſome of theſe caſes the claim has

has been preſerved, though the attempt has been deterred, and to an endeavour to preſerve this claim, and to inſert it in the body of the agreement with the pariſh, are we to attribute in ſome places, I underſtand, the defeat of compoſition and of concord.

It has been urged, the law would relieve in the caſe of demand for tithe of turf; but you have admitted the poverty of the peaſant, and you cannot deny the expence of litigation. Sir, the law has been applied, and has not relieved.

I have authority from a perſon, now a moſt eminent judge, and ſome years ago a moſt diſtinguiſhed lawyer, to affirm to this houſe, that he in the courſe of his profeſſion, did repeatedly take exceptions to libels in the Spiritual Court for tithe of turf, and that they were uniformly over-ruled; and I have the ſame authority to affirm to you, that the Spiritual Courts do maintain a right to tithe of turf, and that in ſo doing, they have acted, and do act in groſs violation of the law.

I am informed that tithe has been demanded for furze ſpent on the premiſes; and therefore, in circumſtances not ſubject to tithe, a demand oppreſſive to the poor, and repugnant to the law.

Under this head the allegation is, that in ſome of the diſturbed pariſhes of the ſouth, tithe has been demanded and paid without cuſtom, and againſt law; and that the eccleſiaſtical courts have allowed ſuch demands againſt law; and this will be verified on oath.

The exactions of the tithe-proctor are another inſtance of illegality; he gets, he exacts, he extorts from the pariſhioners, in ſome of the diſturbed pariſhes one, frequently two ſhillings in the pound. The clergyman's agent is then paid by the pariſh, and paid extravagantly. The landlord's agent is not paid in this manner, your tenants do not pay your agent ten per cent. or five per cent. or any per centage at all. What right has the clergyman to throw his agent on his pariſh? As well might he make them pay the wages of his butler, or his footman, or his coachman, or his poſtillion, or his cook.

This demand, palpably illegal, muſt have commenced in bribery; an illegal perquiſite growing out of the abuſe of power; a bribe for mercy: as if the tithe-proctor were the natural paſtoral-protector of the poverty of the peaſant, againſt the poſſible oppreſſions of the law, and the exactions of the goſpel. He was ſuppoſed to take leſs than his employer would exact, or the law would allow; and was bribed by the ſweat of the poor for his perfidy and mercy.

This

This original bribe has now become a ſtated perquiſite; and, inſtead of being payment for moderation, it is now a per centage on rapacity. The more he extorts for the parſon, the more he ſhall get for himſelf.

Are there any decent clergymen who will defend ſuch a practice? Will they allow that the men they employ are ruffians, who would cheat the parſon, if they did not plunder the poor; and that the clerical remedy againſt connivance, is to make the poor pay a premium for the encreaſe of that plunder and exaction, of which they themſelves are the objects?

I excuſe the tithe-proctor; the law is in fault which gives great and ſummary powers to the indefinite claims of the church, and ſuffers both to be veſted in the hands, not only of the parſon, but of a wretch who follows his own nature, when he converts authority into corruption, and law into peculation.

I have ſeen a catalogue of ſome of their charges; ſo much for potatoes; ſo much for wheat; ſo much for oats; ſo much for hay---all exorbitant: and after a long liſt of unconſcionable demands for the parſon, comes in a peculation for the proctor: two ſhillings in the pound for proctorage; that is, for making a charge, for whoſe exceſs and extravagance the proctor ought not to have been paid, but puniſhed.

Thus peculation has now become a law; the proctor's fees, paid at firſt, for a low valuation, are now in ſome caſes added to a full one; and the pariſh is obliged to pay ten per cent. to the proctor, for the privilege of paying the full tithe to the parſon.

Under this head the allegation is, that the tithe-proctors in certain pariſhes of the ſouth, do aſk and extort from the poor pariſhioners one or two ſhillings in the pound under the deſcription of proctorage; a fee at once illegal and oppreſſive; and this they are ready to verify at your bar.

It has been ſaid, that an equity has been always obſerved in favor of the tiller of the ſoil. This, I underſtand, will be controverted, and it will be proved, that in ſome of the diſturbed pariſhes, the demands of the following articles will be found to pay tithe: wheat, potatoes, barley, bere, rye, flax, hemp, ſheep, lambs, milch-cows, turf, pigs, apples, peaches, bees, cabbage, oziers; in ſome, oblations, Eaſter-offerings, burial-money.

I underſtand that every thing, of any conſequence, which is tithed in any part of Ireland, is tithed in Munſter; that potatoes, which are tithed in no other

other part of Ireland, are tithed here; and that each article is, in moſt of the diſturbed parts, tithed higher than in any other part of Ireland.

I underſtand that it will appear, that in ſome parts of Kerry, they tithe potatoes 1*l.* wheat 16*s.* barley 13*s.* oats 12*s.* hay 2*s.*

In Kerry they do not meaſure by the acre, but the ſpade. They reckon, as I am informed, the breadth of their potatoe-ridge, or trench, to be an Iriſh perch, or ten feet and an half, the length therefore when 320 perches make an acre, they meaſure by the ſpade length, which is five feet and a half long; twenty of theſe Iriſh ſpades they ſuppoſe to contain eighteen ſtone of potatoes, or what they call two Kerry pecks; and as there are little more than 61 ſcore ſpades in the bed of 320 perches, that is, in an acre, the whole quantity of potatoes is valued at 1100, or 122 Kerry pecks, which averages at twenty-pence the peck, that is 20s. the acre for tithe of potatoes.

In a pariſh in the county of Cork, I underſtand, the following demand was made and paid:

Wheat 8*s.* the Engliſh acre; barley the ſame; meadow 4*s.* oats 4*s.* potatoes 12*s.* proctor's fees 2*s.* 2*d.* in the pound, and this not for one year, but a ſucceſſion. This, when valued by the Iriſh acre, is for wheat 13*s.* barley 13*s.* meadow 6*s.* 6*d.* oats 6*s.* 6*d.* potatoes 19*s.*

This will better appear, by ſtating to you ſome of the proctor's bills for a ſeries of years, which I underſtand will be proved at your bar.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In the year 1782.			
For 113 Engliſh acres of meadow - -	21	16	0
16 ditto barley - - -	5	12	0
8 ditto oats - - - -	1	12	0
2 ditto potatoes - - -	1	4	0
2*s.* proctorage - - -	3	5	0
In the year 1783.			
For 92 Engliſh acres of meadow - -	18	0	0
18 ditto oats - - -	3	0	0
4 ditto potatoes - - -	2	8	0
2*s.* in the pound proctorage - -	2	12	0
Valuation for 1784.			
74 acres of meadow - - -	14	0	0
9 ditto ſecond crop potatoes - -	4	10	0

For

For 1785.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
8 acres barley ſecond crop - -	2	16	0
1 ditto potatoes ſecond crop - -	0	10	0
For 1786.			
3 acres and half potatoes and flax -	2	2	0
2 ditto barley - - -	0	16	0
7 ditto meadow - - -	1	1	0
10 cows - - - -	0	3	4

You will obſerve that theſe are all the Engliſh acre, and make the acreable ratages about what I have ſtated, in round numbers.

I have alſo to produce ſeveral affidavits of different people, (peaſants I ſuppoſe they are) from the county of Cork. The brief of which affidavits I will now ſtate to you: they depoſe, that a charge was made of ten ſhillings (Engliſh acre I am informed) for wheat, and ten for potatoes, of the worſt kind.

That a charge was made of twenty ſhillings for an acre and half of barley, and that the crop was a bad one.

That a charge was made and exacted, of fifteen ſhillings for half an Engliſh acre of wheat, and half an acre of oats.

They prove that the tithe has encreaſed of late, in ſome parts, from 5 to 8 or 10 ſhillings the Engliſh acre for potatoes; from 4 to 8 or 10 ſhillings for wheat; and for barley, oats, and hay, in a ſimilar proportion.

They prove that the charges in the eccleſiaſtical courts have ſwelled to ten times the original ſum.

They prove that the tithe demanded in 1786, in ſome inſtances exceeded the rack-rent of the land; they prove that it is a practice to charge for more acres than the peaſant has in tillage; and they produce the charge of the proctor, and the return of the ſurveyor; they prove that the prices charged in ſome inſtances in 1786, exceeded the value of the tithe.

They prove an unchriſtian and uncharitable exaction. What credit is to be given to theſe affidavits, you will be the beſt judge when you go into the commitee; but this I think, even on the ſtatement you can decide, that theſe peaſants have been oppreſſed by tithe, and however fondly and partially theſe men may ſtate their own caſe, yet it appears that they have a caſe which you ought to conſider, and that there has not been that moderation on the part of parſon and proctor, as by the former is ſo confidently alleged.

I underſtand

I underſtand in the courſe of your enquiry it will appear, that a living has been lately and rapidly raiſed from 60*l.* to 300*l.* by the new incumbent; that a farm from 12*l.* a year tithe, has been raiſed to 60*l.*; that a living in theſe diſturbed parts from 130*l.* has been in the ſame manner and expedition raiſed to 340*l.*; that another living in theſe diſturbed parts, in the ſame manner, has been raiſed from 300*l.* to 1000*l.*

I underſtand it will appear to you, that 14*l.* have been demanded and paid for 11 acres, the rent of which was only 11*l.* 11*s.*; that flax has been in ſome of thoſe diſturbed parts rated exorbitantly; that rape has been rated at one guinea an acre; nay one return goes ſo far as to ſay, 16*l.* were demanded for four acres of rape. Theſe particulars you will judge of, when you open your committee, how far they may be exaggerations, how far they may be grievances, after every allowance for ſanguine ſtatement on the part of the huſbandman.

But there are ſome returns, which cannot be exaggerations, and which are exorbitant: they are the returns of the proper officer appointed by the Court of Chancery, to try petitions under the compenſation act.

From Limerick there are five; one is

Flax	from	10*s.*	to	0*s.*	Meadow	from	2*s.*	3*d.*	to	3*s.*
Potatoes		8	—	10	Sheep		0	4	—	0
Wheat		6	—	0	Lambs		0	3	—	0
Barley		6	—	0	Cows		0	2	—	0
Oats		4	—	5	Receivers fees		2	2	—	0

Proved to have been conſtantly paid.

November 5th, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Flax	12*s.*	0*d.*	Oats	4*s.*	0*d.*
Potatoes	10	0	Meadow	2	10
Rye	6	0			

per acre.

Cows, 4*d.* each.

October 31ſt, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Potatoes	10*s.*	0*d.*	Oats	5*s.*	0*d.*
Wheat	10	0	Meadow	3	0

per a.

Cows, 3*d.* each.

December 19th, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Wheat	9s.	0d.	Oats	4s.	6d.
Potatoes	8	0	Meadow	2	6
Barley	7	6			

per acre.

Sheep, 4d. Cows, 2d. each.

October 18th, 1787—Valuation per report made to the Lord Chancellor.

Potatoes	12s.	0d.	Barley	10s.	0d.
Flax	12	0	Oats	6	0
Rape	12	0	Meadow	6	0
Wheat	10	0			

per acre.

Cows, 3d. Sheep and Lambs together, 3d.

I ſhall now read you the return from Cork, from the proper officer appointed to try petitions. The return conſiſts of different acreable ratages. The acre, I am told, in that country, is the Engliſh acre: if ſo the ratages are as follow:

Potatoes.			Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Meadow.		
E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.	
s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.
5	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	11	4	6	9	9	0	0	0	2	6	4	0	0	0
8	13	0	7	11	0	0	0	0	3	4	10	2	3	3
9	14	0	8	13	0	5	8	1	4	6	6	3	4	10
10	16	0	10	16	0	6	9	9	5	0	8	4	6	6

I believe there is no man who hears theſe charges, that will not pronounce ſome of them exorbitant, unconſcionable, and totally different from thoſe which the advocates for tithe have ventured publicly to acknowledge or defend. I believe no man who hears theſe ratages, that will not ſay, that ſome of them preclude the idea of any equity in favor of the tiller of the ſoil, and that the perſon who makes ſuch a demand means to exact the laſt penny of his claim, and if he talks of moderation is a hypocrite.

As to potatoes, the clergyman ought not to proceed with reference to the produce, but the price of labour: in the parts of which I have been ſpeaking, the price of labour is not more than 5d. a day the year round; that is, 6l. 4s. the year; ſuppoſing the labourer to work every day but Sunday, making an allowance

allowance for ſickneſs, broken weather, and holidays, you ſhould ſtrike off more than a ſixth: he has not in fact then more than 5*l.* a year by his labour; his family average above five perſons, nearer ſix, of whom the wife may make ſomething by ſpinning (in theſe parts of the country there are conſiderable manufactories). Five pounds a year, with the wife's ſmall earnings, is the capital to ſupport ſuch a family, and pay rent and hearth-money, and in ſome caſes of illegal exaction, ſmoke-money to the parſon. When a gentleman of the church of Ireland comes to a peaſant ſo circumſtanced, and demands 12 or 16*s.* an acre for tithe of potatoes---he demands a child's proviſion---he exacts contribution from a pauper---he gleans from wretchedneſs---he leaſes from penury---he fattens on hunger, raggedneſs, and deſtitution. In vain ſhall he ſtate to ſuch a man, the proctor's valuation, and inform him, that an acre of potatoes, well tilled, and in good ground, ſhould produce ſo many barrels; that each barrel at the market price is worth ſo many ſhillings, which after allowing for digging, tithes at ſo much.

The peaſant may anſwer this reaſoning by the Bible: he may ſet up againſt the tithe-proctor's valuation the New Teſtament; the precepts of Chriſt againſt the clergyman's arithmetic; the parſon's ſpiritual profeſſions againſt his temporal exactions, and in the argument, the peaſant would have the advantage of the parſon. It is an odious conteſt between poverty and luxury—between the ſtruggles of a pauper and the luxury of a prieſt.

Such a man, making ſuch a demand, may have many good qualities; may be a good theologian; an excellent controverſialiſt; deeply read in church hiſtory; very accurate in the value of church benefices; an excellent high prieſt---but no Chriſtian paſtor. He is not the idea of a Chriſtian miniſter; the White-boy is the leaſt of his foes; his great enemy is the precept of the goſpel and the example of the apoſtles.

With reſpect to the rudiments of manufacture, you ought not to proceed according either to the produce or to the price of labour; you ſhould obſerve an equity in favor of the manufacturer. When 12*s.* an acre are demanded for flax, the tithe is fatal to the progreſs of the linen trade in the ſouth; and the great word increaſe and multiply meets obſtruction in this inſtance, from ſome of the miniſters of the goſpel, or thoſe employed by them, preventing the growth of manufacture and population, by the exceſs of demand and the love of riches. England eſtabliſhed a modus for flax, a modus of 5*s.* an acre, and yet the linen manufacture is not the ſtaple of England, but was given up

by England to be the ſtaple of Ireland. The parliament of England eſtabliſhes there a modus of 5*s.* an acre for your ſtaple, and ſome of your clergy here demand for it 12*s.* an acre.

Under the head of exceſs the following allegation is ſubmitted to your conſideration; that in certain pariſhes of the ſouth the charge for tithe has been unconſcionable, and has not obſerved any equity in favor of the huſbandman, the poor, or the manufacturer.

But the law would relieve: turn to the eccleſiaſtical courts---the judge is a clergyman, or appointed by a clergyman, and of courſe is a party judge; and though in ſome caſes his perſonal rectitude may correct his ſituation, and prevent him from being a partial, yet, from the conſtitution of his court, he is a party judge. The eccleſiaſtical courts in England maintained gravel and ſtone to be titheable; as ſome of ours have maintained turf to be titheable. Lord Holt ſaid, they made every thing titheable; but, ſays he, I do not regard that; the pope, from whom our clergy derive their claim, though they depart from its alleged application, ſubjected to tithe the gains of the merchant, and the pay of the army: the canons went farther, and held the tithe of fornication and adultery to be the undoubted property of the church. We are now too enlightened to liſten to claims carried to ſo very great an extent, and eccleſiaſtical courts are leſs extravagant now; but ſtill, the principle continues, the bias continues---ſtill they are party courts; the evidence, like the judge, is a party; he is worſe, he is frequently the ſervant of the party, and the nature of his evidence is the beſt calculated to give every latitude to partiality and corruption: he generally views the crop, when the crop is ripe, or when the ground is red; in the firſt caſe, he cannot, with any great accuracy, aſcertain the quantum of produce, and in the laſt caſe, he cannot, with any accuracy at all; and yet, without ſurvey, without meaſure, and in ſome caſes, without inſpection of the crop, hear him ſwearing before a party judge, to the quantum of ground and produce.

I have ſelected ſome caſes from the Vicar's Court of Caſhel. I will read them, and on ſome of them will make ſuch obſervations as occur to me. I will begin with the year 1766, to prove the preſent mode and meaſure to be encroachment.

1766.

Seymour againſt *Burke*.---Subtracted two-thirds of two acres of bere, two acres of oats, five acres of oats and one acre and an half of potatoes, and three acres of meadowing, pariſh of Ballybrood, and county of Limerick, valued

valued at 1*l.* 12*s.* it was proved, that all the tithes of the ſaid pariſh belonged to promovent, and that two-thirds of the tithes were ſubtracted by the impugnant.

Hanley againſt *Ryan* and others.---Seven lambs and forty-two ſheep, 8*s.* 2*d.* ---one acre of oats and potatoes, 3*s.*---half an acre of oats, 1*s.* 6*d.*---ſeven acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre, 10*s.* 6*d.*

1767.---They had two acres of potatoes, 10*s.*---two acres of new potatoes, 12*s.*---three roods of oats, 2*s.* 3*d.*---ſix acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre---forty-one ſheep, and twelve lambs, at 2*d.* a piece, 8*s.* 10*d.*

1768.---They had four acres of potatoes, 1*l.*---half an acre of new potatoes, 3*s.*---ſix acres of meadow, 9*s.*

September 1, 1769---Knockgraffon.

The Reverend *Nicholas Herbert* againſt *Parker.*---Eight acres of wheat, at 5*s.* an acre.

Maſſey againſt *Smithwick.*---Oats one acre and an half, 6*s.* on the lands of Ballynagrana, in the pariſh of Emly.

Morgan againſt *Fitzpatrick.*---Ballydarrid, dioceſe of Caſhel. One acre and an half of bere, 7*s.* 6*d.*---two acres of meadow, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 5*s.*---three acres of oats, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 7*s.* 6*d.*

February 16, 1771.

Doctor Jervais againſt the *Morriſey*'s.---Half an acre of potatoes, 4*s.*---one acre and a half of wheat, 12*s.*---ſix acres of meadow, 18*s.*---two acres of oats, 8*s.*---one acre of wheat and ſome potatoes, 8*s.*---one acre of wheat and ſome potatoes, 6*s.*---one acre of wheat and ſome potatoes, 8*s.*---half an acre of potatoes and oats, 3*s.*---half an acre of wheat, 4*s.*---half an acre of potatoes, 4*s.* ---one acre of oats and potatoes, 6*s.*

Cooper againſt *Gliſſan.*---One acre of oats, 3*s.* 6*d.*---one acre of bere, 5*s.*---two acres of wheat, 10*s.*---two acres of rape, 14*s.*

February 8, 1772.

Lloyd againſt *Hourigan.*---Subtracted in 1770, an orchard, on the lands of Grange, in the pariſh of Cahirconliſh, two-thirds of the tithes, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and on the lands of Knockeen, another orchard, two-thirds of the tithes of which, 16*s.* 8*d.*

Hanley againſt *Sadlier.*---Thirty acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 1*d.* an acre---twelve acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre---Decreed, with 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt. Note, the lands in the Union of Toom.

January

January 23, 1773.

Blake againſt *Bryan*.---Brittas in the pariſh of Thurles, impugnant, in 1771 ſubtracted two one-half acres of potatoes, at 7*s*. 6*d*.---one acre of barley, at 5*s*.---eighteen acres of meadow, at 3*s*.---And in 1772 he ſubtracted ſeven one-half acres, at 8*s*.---four one-half acres of bere, at 7*s*.---four one-half acres of barley, at 5*s*.---eight acres of oats, at 5*s*.---twelve acres of meadow, at 3*s*.

January 8, 1774.

Moore againſt *ſeveral Perſons*.---Barley, 6*s*. 6*d*. an acre---wheat, 7*s*.---meadow, 2*s*. 6*d*.---potatoes, 8*s*.---in the pariſh of Emly.

Rial againſt *ſeveral perſons*.---Five one-half acres of potatoes, 1*l*. 13*s*.---two acres of oats, 8*s*.---one one-half acre of meadow, 6*s*.---one acre of rape, 8*s*.---Killenaule, decreed with 6*d*. coſt in each.

Cooper againſt *Gliſſan*.---Bere, 5*s*. an acre---oats, 4*s*. an acre---oats, 3*s*. 6*d*. an acre---wheat, 5*s*. Deaneſgrove, in the pariſh of the Rocks.

Herbert againſt *M'Encraw*.---Wheat 8*s*. an acre---oats, 3*s*. 6*d*.---bere and flax, 6*s*.---potatoes, 8*s*. Knockgraffon pariſh.

February 2, 1775.

Lockwood againſt *Mockler*.---Barley, 5*s*. an acre---oats, 3*s*. 6*d*.---bere, one one-fourth acre, 6*s*. 3*d*. Ardmayle pariſh.

Lockwood againſt *Meagher*.---Bere, 5*s*. an acre---oats, 3*s*. 6*d*.---wheat, 6*s*. Ardmayle pariſh.

January 20, 1778.

Cooper againſt *Cunningham*.---Thurleſbegg, the pariſh of the Rocks, oats, 3*s*. 6*d*. an acre---barley, 5*s*.---rape, 8*s*.

1780.

Riall againſt *Freehy*.---Ballingarry pariſh, wheat, 5*s*. an acre---potatoes, 2*s*.---oats, 10*d*.---ſubtracted in 1777.

Tierney againſt *Cleary* and others.---Pariſh of Tennor, potatoes, 6*s*. an acre---wheat, 7*s*.---bere, 6*s*.---oats, 4*s*.

Shaw againſt *Carroll*.---Ballyſheehan pariſh, two-thirds of the tithes; two hundred and ſixty-five barrels of potatoes, growing on four one-half acres, at 3*s*. 6*d*. a barrel, 3*l*. 1*s*. 3*d*.---forty-two barrels of wheat, on ſeven acres, 2*l*. 15*s*.---ſixty-four barrels of bere on four acres, 1*l*. 10*s*. 3*d*.---in all, 7*l*. 6*s*. 6*d*. with 1*l*. coſt.

Hare againſt *ſame*.---Two hundred and ſixty-five barrels of potatoes, one-third

third of the tithes thereof, 1*l.* 9*s.* 8½*d.*---forty-two barrels, one-third of the tithes thereof, 1*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*---ſixty-four barrels of bere, one-third of the tithes thereof, 13*s.* 7½*d.*---Decree, with 1*l.* coſt.

Same againſt *Mary Strang.*---Two thouſand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one-half of the tithe of which, 22*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.*---bere, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels, one-half of the tithe of which, 2*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*---oats, one hundred and forty-three barrels, one-half of the tithe of which, 2*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*---flax, one-half of the tithe of which, 5*s.*---hay, one hundred and twenty-five tons, one-half of the tithe of which, 6*l.* 5*s.*---in all, 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* The archbiſhop took time to conſider.

July 16, 1780.

Same againſt *Mary Strang.*---Nave for the impugnant prayed to be let into the merits, but his grace over-ruled him.---Nave then tendered 10*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* as a compenſation, which the promovent refuſed.---Griffith prayed ſentence, which was decreed by his grace for 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſts.

Auguſt 12, 1782.

Maſſey againſt *Murnane.*---Meadow, five acres, 1*l.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt.

October 7, 1782.

Shaw againſt *Mahony.*---Ordered that Gilbert Meara, the proctor of Cæſar Sutton, be injoined from collecting or demanding tithes from any of the pariſhioners of Ballyſheehan, which are claimed by ſaid Sutton.

Hare againſt *Strang.*---Decree, that the appeal is deſerted in pain, and that a monition ſhall iſſue for 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* purſuant to the rule of the 16th July, 1781.

March 10, 1783.

Lloyd againſt *Hoops*---60 acres of meadow, producing 240 tons, valued 16*l.*---10 acres, 40 tons, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*---6048 ſtone of potatoes, at 1*d.* per ſtone ---the tithe in all 2*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt.

Ryan againſt *Madden*---Decree for 4*s.* 6*d.* for the tithe of two acres of meadow, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt.

Moore againſt *Pat. Moroney*---1 acre potatoes, producing 60 barrels, at 9*s.* 9*d.* per barrel, that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per acre---4 acres of meadow, at two one-half tons per acre at 1*l.* a ton.

June, 1785.

Ryan againſt *Greene*---4 acres and three-fourths potatoes, at 64 barrels, containing

containing 4256 ſtone, the tithe 425 ſtone at 4*d.* per ſtone, amount to 5*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*---flax 2 acres and one-half, 160 ſtone, the tithe, 16 ſtone at 4*s.* 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*---oats, 4 acres and one-quarter, containing 232 ſtone, the tithe 43 ſtone at 6*d.* per ſtone, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*---meadow ten acres, 30 tons, the tithe 3 tons, at 2 guineas per acre, 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in all 16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

Pariſh of Ballingarry, June 26, 1784.

Preſton againſt *Clifford*---In 1783, 420 ſtone of potatoes, tithe at 3*d.* per ſtone, amount to 10*s.* 6*d.*---oats 48 ſtone, tithe at 9*d.* per ſtone, 3*s.* 4½*d.*---barley, 196 ſtone, tithe at 8*d.* per ſtone, 13*s.*---hay, 10 tons, tithe whereof 1 ton, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Decree, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt.

July 26, 1784.

Walſh againſt *Fanning*---Pariſh Kilcooly, in 1783, had two-one-half ton, at 20*s.* per, the tithe 5 cwt. value 5*s.*---potatoes, 100 barrels at 3*s.* per, the tithe 1*l.* 10*s.*---oats 5 barrels, tithe half barrel, value 3*s.* 6*d.* in all 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Decree, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt.

It appears from one of theſe decrees, that in the year 1780, a demand is brought for two hundred and ſixty-five barrels of potatoes, as two-thirds of the tithe of the pariſh of Ballyſheegan. By what learned proceſs the proctor or evidence can prove this preciſe value, or whether he has meaſured the crop, I cannot ſay, but I moſt ſtrongly ſuſpect the contrary; and then his valuation is a falſe and arbitrary accuracy, and his ſub-diviſion of the crop is a trick to increaſe the charge. The minuteneſs of charge is the multiplication of oppreſſion. Do not imagine that the proprietor of tithe cannot proceed otherwiſe than by this ſpecies of minute valuation, for I have read you the report of ſuits brought in a different manner, to which I beg you may advert. This method appears from the report, an innovation; it is tithing by mouthfuls.

It appears from this decree, that theſe two hundred and ſixty-five barrels of potatoes, were the produce of four acres and an half; the charge appears to be 4*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* that is near 1*l.* the acre for potatoes; the caſe goes on and charges for forty-two barrels of wheat, (not meaſured, I apprehend) 4*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* value 20*s.* the barrel, and as this appears to ariſe from ſeven acres, the charge is 12*s.* the acre; to this is added, 20*s.* coſt.

The caſe that follows this, is a demand brought for one-third of the tithe, and proceeds exactly on the ſame principles of crafty minuteneſs, falſe accuracy, and real oppreſſion.

In

In theſe caſes you will recollect, that there ſhould ever be made a difference between the field price and market price: the field price is what the crop is worth at the time, and in the ſtate in which the parſon's right accrues; and the market price is that to which the parſon has no right. Theſe diſtinctions do not ſeem always to have been religiouſly adhered to by theſe clerical judges.

The next caſe I ſhall obſerve on is, a demand brought for two thouſand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels of bere, and one hundred and forty-eight barrels of oats. On what evidence? Who was the laborious indefatigable man who went through the long proceſs of meaſuring and weighing this ponderous and bulky produce? This is the caſe of Mrs. Strang, and the reſult of this charge is, a decree for 33*l.* 14*s.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſt. There is no neceſſity for knowledge of fact to ſupport ſuch a demand; the evidence does it by his power of gueſſing, by his craft, his ſagacity; which, it ſeems, before ſuch a tribunal, is ſatisfactory. You think this meaſure by the barrel a criminal ingenuity; but they carry it much farther, they ſwear to the ſtone. I have read you a ſuit brought for ſix thouſand and forty-eight ſtone of potatoes; but there is a caſe which ſums up all the principles which I have ſtated and objected to; it is the caſe of Ryan againſt Greene. In this four acres and a quarter of potatoes are alleged to have contained four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſix ſtone, and are tithed at 5*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* which is above one guinea an acre for potatoes; two acres and a half of flax are alleged to contain one hundred and ſixty ſtone, and are charged above 3*l.* 4*s.* above a guinea an acre for flax; four acres and a quarter of oats, alleged to contain four hundred and thirty-two ſtone, are charged 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* about 5*s.* the acre; ten acres of meadow, alleged to contain thirty ton, are charged at 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* that is above 12*s.* the acre meadow; the decree went for the ſum charged, 16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* and the coſt 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* An obſervation which aggravates even this caſe, will occur, when I tell you this charge was made in a year of famine---the famine of 1783, when an embargo was laid on your exports, and the people nouriſhed by contribution. There is another aggravation even to this; they charge a famine price, and calculate a plenty produce, and avail themſelves of both.

There is another caſe of ſcarcity, where a ſuite is brought for four hundred and thirty ſtone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* per ſtone, a price of ſcarcity; for forty-eight ſtone of oats, a price of ſcarcity; and for ten tons of hay, valued

at 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the ton, a price of ſcarcity, decreed with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſts. Another caſe of ſcarcity---where a demand is made for ſix hundred and thirty ſtone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* per ſtone, a price of ſcarcity; ninety-ſix ſtone of oats, valued at 9*d.* per ſtone, a price of ſcarcity; eleven tons of hay, at 2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* the ton---total tithe, 3*l.* 16*s.* decreed with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coſts; and theſe ſeem to be the caſe of poor peaſants, who have but ſix hundred or four hundred ſtone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* a ſtone, in a hard year, in the famine of 1783, decreed with the aggravation of the higheſt coſts the law would allow.

But there is a caſe of a moſt extraordinary appearance---a caſe which riſes on famine. I do not ſee that any decree was made upon it; one acre of potatoes is alleged to contain ſixty barrels of potatoes, and each barrel is valued at 9*s.* 9*d.*---that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* tithe for the acre of potatoes.

With regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who in rating his pariſhioners, takes advantage of a famine, and brings up as it were the rear of divine vengeance, and becomes in his own perſon, the laſt great ſcourge of the huſbandman---with regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who not only takes the advantage of famine, but joins a famine price to a plenty produce, and by one and the ſame act puniſhes human induſtry, and aggravates phyſical misfortune---as to the legality of ſuch a conduct, I ſhall ſay nothing---it may be perfectly conſiſtent with his temporal claims, but blaſts his ſpiritual pretenſions—for ever.

After theſe oppreſſions, the moſt grievous kind of oppreſſions---oppreſſions by judgment of law, you would hardly liſten to the minor grievance where the decree ſhall be for 1*l.* and the coſts 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*---where the decree ſhall be for 4*s.* and coſts 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* There are ſeveral of this kind---but this would ſeem the mercy of the court admoniſhing the peaſantry never to appear again before ſuch a tribunal.

From theſe inſtances I may infer, that the peaſantry muſt look for redreſs to parliament, and will not find it in the ſpiritual courts, which, from their diſtance, from the uncertainty of their ſeſſion, from their conſtitution, and from their judgments, muſt rather give the tithe-farmer a confidence in extortion, than the huſbandman a confidence in the law. From theſe inſtances, I think I have proved, that there has exiſted ſuch a thing as exceſs of demand---exceſs of demand without remedy; and this exceſs would be better underſtood, if you compare the ratages of the South with thoſe of other parts of the kingdom.

Here

Here Mr. Grattan obſerved, that two material differences exiſted: firſt, that potatoes were tithed no where but in the South; ſecondly, that the other articles of tillage were tithed no where ſo high as in the South; that there were ſome few pariſhes, 'tis true, in the North, and ſome parts of counties that bordered on Munſter, where potatoes were tithed; but that the inſtances were few, and the exception proved the rule.

That the other articles of tillage were not tithed ſo high in other places, after making every allowance for difference of ſoil.

Here Mr. Grattan ſtated the ratages which were uſual in the other provinces, and which were much leſs than thoſe exacted in the South, which, he ſaid, appeared to be the region of poverty, exaction, and tumult, and that the tumult ſeemed commenſurate with the exaction, which, he ſaid, fell particularly heavy on thoſe who were the leaſt able to pay. He ſhewed, that in the other provinces, that not only the tithe on tillage was leſs, but that there were certain moduſſes in ſome of their counties for articles which, in the South, was heavily tithed---Thus, in the North, there was a modus for flax ſix-pence, be the quantity ever ſo great. That, in part of Connaught there was a modus for hay, ſix-pence per farm, be the quantity ever ſo great. That, conſidering the exemption of potatoes, theſe moduſſes, and the ratages on tillage in the other parts of the kingdom, two obſervations muſt ariſe, 1ſt, either that the clergy were greatly cheated in the three parts of Ireland, or that the people were greatly oppreſſed in the South; 2dly, that you muſt raiſe the ratages of the clergy in Ulſter, Connaught, and Leinſter, or you muſt now check them in Munſter. Are you prepared for the former of thoſe events? Are you prepared in Connaught and Ulſter to pay 12*s.* or 14*s.* for potatoes and 12*s.* the acre for flax? Are you prepared in Ulſter for the Compenſation-bill, and the Magiſtracy-bill, which muſt accompany and enforce ſuch efforts to introduce among you thoſe exactions which oppreſs Munſter? It is true, the North is teized in ſome counties, by ſmall-dues, which it is a part of my ſcheme to put an end to, and make a compenſation to the clergy.

The ratages of the South will be ſtill better underſtood by comparing them with her own ratages at a former period—that from every information he could collect, they had greatly increaſed. This will be a very proper ſubject for your committee.

That he had affidavits to produce ſtating the encreaſe, which was rapid and exhorbitant, bearing no proportion whatſoever to the general increaſe in the

value of things. That theſe affidavits ſeemed warranted by current teſtimony of public opinion, and particularly by extracts from the decrees of the Vicar's Court, where it appeared, not from one decree, but a courſe of decrees, that the acreable ratages of late had greatly encreaſed.

Here he read ſome of the decrees before referred to. That it had been ſaid, that in the dioceſe of Cork and Roſs, the ratages had not encreaſed theſe laſt thirty years. That he was willing to reſt the caſe on that principle, and if the ratages in the South had not within thoſe laſt thirty years greatly encreaſed, he was willing to give up the queſtion; and he deſired a committee to inveſtigate and determine that important point. That this encroachment, on which he inſiſted, was the more inexcuſable, when we conſidered the great increaſe of tillage in the South, which of itſelf would have encreaſed the incomes of the clergy, even though they had diminiſhed their ratages; the cauſes of the increaſe of tillage make the encreaſe of ratage improper as well as unneceſſary; becauſe they are in ſome degree artificial; the bounty on corn is an artificial cauſe. That bounty ſhould not be tithed. The effect of that bounty has not been prevented; but the full operation of it has been checked by exceſſive tithe, and has been interrupted by tumult, the companion of theſe exceſſive demands, ſo that the exceſs of tithe re-acts on the premium, and makes it doubtful whether the plough ſhall advance under the bounty, or go back under the tithe.

Another artificial cauſe of the growth of your tillage in the South, is your want of manufacture: a poor and rapid population, that cannot be employed in manufacture muſt be employed in huſbandry; but then it is the miſerable and experimental huſbandry; what Mr. Young calls an execrable tillage on bog or mountain, which by the laws of England would be for ſeven years exempt from tithes, and which by the laws of Ireland ought to be ſo. You have two acts, one exempting newly reclaimed ground from tithe of flax or hemp for ſeven years; and another exempting reclaimed bog, provided ten acres ſhall be reclaimed, from tithe generally for ſeven years; but why not as in England, exempt all newly reclaimed ground from all manner of tithe for ſeven years?

Here Mr. Grattan mentioned, that he learned, in ſome of the Weſtern parts of the county of Cork, they rated the mountaineers higher than in many parts of the richeſt low land: charging them by the ſpade length a ſum, which, when applied to the acre, was equal to 20 or 30*s.* the plantation acre. Theſe parts

parts and their inhabitants, he underſtood, were entirely conſigned to the dominion of the tithe-proctor or tithe-farmer, and were equally ſavage, and oppreſſed, and turbulent.

This encroachment, this diſproportion, and this exceſs, which I have already particularized, are the more to be lamented, becauſe the law does not adminiſter the remedy. The eccleſiaſtical courts I have proved to afford no redreſs whatever; I have ſhewn that their judgments are not founded in moderation, and are not always founded in law.

The right of ſetting out the tithe has not always proved, in the caſe of the poor, a ſecurity againſt illegal demands, and does not affect to be a ſecurity againſt unconſcionable demands.

By the law, the tenant muſt give forty-eight hours notice, and bind himſelf to a day, whether fair or foul. In the caſe of potatoes, he muſt, if the parſon does not chooſe to attend, leave the ridge in the field, which may prevent his ſowing winter corn, and be the difference between the profit on wheat and on oats. The tenant cannot dig his potatoes till October, he ſeldom does till November; and he muſt uſe them in Auguſt, becauſe the ſtock of laſt year is exhauſted. Now, the digging a bowl of potatoes is by conſtruction in the eccleſiaſtical courts, the ſubtraction, not of the particular tithe, but of the tithes of the year: for ſimplicity of ſuit they conſtrue ſubtraction of one prœdial tithe to be ſubtraction of the whole; and for extent of power, that is, for the ſake of bringing the whole under their juriſdiction, they conſtrue potatoes to be prœdial tithe. Thus the neceſſity of the year brings the peaſant under the laſh of eccleſiaſtical authority, that great ſcourge of the farmer.

In the laſt year, the peaſantry very generally ſet out their tithe, and the clergy in ſeveral inſtances refuſed to draw; they did ſo in ſeveral inſtances where there was no illegal combination, unleſs a combination among themſelves, to deprive the peaſant of a right to ſet out his tithes, and get an *ex poſt facto* law to collect their tithe in a new, ſummary, and oppreſſive mode. Sir, it will be proved, that the countryman has waited day after day until the parſon ſhould draw his tithe. It will be proved, that he has left his crop in the field until it has become green. It will be proved, that he has offered to the parſon or proctor to hire them horſes to draw their tithe. It will be proved, that he has offered to draw it home at his own expence.

Here Mr. Grattan read a notice from a landholder to a clergyman, informing him, that he ſhould draw on ſuch a day, and offering to lend the parſon horſes

horſes and cars, to draw his tithe wherever he ſhould appoint; and he obſerved, that the parſon had refuſed. He alſo obſerved, that an offer had been made to a clergyman by a gentleman, to draw, keep, and preſerve the tithe in the gentleman's haggard, if the clergyman did not chooſe to keep it in his own; which offer, Mr. Grattan ſtated, to have been refuſed; the clergyman chooſing to recover by a compenſation, or an *ex poſt facto* law, which went to deprive the countryman of his common right, without any proof of his guilt.

That if ſuch a bill was permitted it would take from the countryman, in ſome of the caſes mentioned above, not the tenth, but the fifth; for the tenant had loſt by weather the tithe ſevered and ſet out, and was likely to pay another tithe by act of parliament. That this would be, not compenſation, but robbery, and the worſt ſpecies of robbery, robbery by authority of parliament; it would be to take the moſt decided and unconſtitutional part, in a caſe where this houſe affected to take no part at all; and where it declined every kind of information whatſoever, to enable it to take any part with dignity, juſtice, or effect; and that by ſuch a ſtep we ſhould put the Iriſh farmer with reſpect to his tithe, on ground very different from that of the Engliſh farmer, and much more diſadvantageous.

That the law in England does not require forty-eight hours. That where the tithe is left too long on the ground, the law of England gave the owner of the land an action on the caſe againſt the parſon for his negligence. You give the parſon a compenſation for his negligence.

If tithes ſet out remain too long on the ground, the law of England gives the owner of the land a right to take thoſe tithes as damage faiſant; if ſued for them, he is to ſet forth how long they remained on the premiſes, and the jury (whom your bill excludes and thus indirectly ſtigmatizes) is to decide. By the law of England the care of the tithe, after ſeverance, reſts with the parſon. In England, where the tithe of corn was ſet out, and the parſon would not take it, but prayed a remedy in the eccleſiaſtical court, a prohibition againſt the parſon was granted.

See how much more care the law of England takes of the huſbandman; how much more attention it affords him than the law of the parliament of Ireland: and it is one of the charges and allegations of the huſbandman of the ſouth;

" That in certain pariſhes, the pariſhioners have duly and legally ſet out

" their

" their tithes, have given due notice, and have taken all the legal ſteps; but " that no perſon has attended on the part of the clergyman, under the ex- " pectation, they conceive, of getting ſome new method of recovery, hitherto " unknown to the law, and tending to deprive, by a paſt operation, the pariſh " of the benefit of its ancient right and privilege of ſetting out the tithe."

This oppreſſion connects itſelf with another part of this ſubject, a very obnoxious, a very oppreſſive, and a very notorious part of it, the tithe-farmer. The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea. It is the practice of abſolute kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careleſs about their people, get a fixed income from ſome deſperate adventurer, and then let looſe on the community, this animal of prey, at once deſtitute of remorſe, and armed with authority.

In free countries ſuch a practice is not permitted. You would not allow it to the king, and you ought not to allow it to the church. It is an evil in politics, but a ſcandal in religion; and the more dangerous in the latter, becauſe tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion is indefinite. The uſe of the tithe-farmer is to get from the pariſhioner, what the parſon would be aſhamed to demand, and to enable the clergyman to abſent himſelf from his duty: the powers of the tithe-farmer are ſummary laws and eccleſiaſtical courts; his livelihood is extortion; his rank in ſociety is generally the loweſt, and his occupation is to pounce on the poor in the name of the Lord. He is a ſpecies of wolf, left by the ſhepherd to take care of the flock in his abſence; he fleeces both, and begins with the parſon.

Here Mr. Grattan ſtated, that the tithe-farmer ſeldom got leſs than one-fourth of the money collected; but ſometimes one-third. That there were inſtances where he got even more, and had reduced the parſon to the ſtate of a poor penſioner, on his own living. That he had heard, that in one of the diſturbed pariſhes, the pariſh had wiſhed to come to a good underſtanding with the clergyman, and to pay him in perſon, but that the tithe-farmer had obſtructed ſuch an accommodation, and had by his mercenary intervention prevented concord, moderation and compoſition: pariſhes were not only ſubject to one tithe-farmer, but, in ſome caſes, were curſed with a legion of them. A non-reſident clergyman ſhall employ a tithe-farmer, who ſhall ſet the tithe over again, to two blackſmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. A tithe-farmer ſhall, on being queſtioned, give the following account of himſelf: That he held the tithe from one, who had them from an officer, who held

them

them from a clergyman, who did not reſide in a pariſh, where there were reſident no dean, no rector, no vicar, no ſchoolmaſter; where the whole buſineſs of Chriſtianity, on the Proteſtant ſide, was tranſacted by a curate at 50*l.* a year; and as the pariſh has been diſturbed by the tithe-farmer or proctor, ſo has it in ſome caſes been quieted in getting rid of him. I have known a caſe where the pariſh made, with their clergyman, the following agreement: Sir, we pay your proctor 800*l.* a year, and he gives you 600*l.* We will give you 600*l.* and become your collectors and your ſecurity. In another living, the pariſh paid the proctor 450*l.* a year, and the proctor paid the parſon 300*l.* The pariſhioners became the collector and the ſecurity, paid the clergyman 300*l.* a year, took for their trouble 30*l.* and eaſed the pariſh of 120*l.*; the conſequence was peace: and the more you inveſtigate this ſubject, the more you will find, that the diſturbance of the people, and the exactions of the church, have been commenſurate; and that the peace of the former has attended the moderation of the latter; nor is it only the exceſs of exaction which makes the tithe-farmer a public misfortune — his mode of collection is another ſcourge. He puts his charges into one or more notes, payable at a certain time; if not then diſcharged, he ſerves the countryman with a ſummons, charging him 6*d.* for the ſervice, and 1*s.* for the ſummons; he then ſometimes puts the whole into a Kerry-bond or inſtrument, which bears intereſt: he then either keeps the bond over his head, or iſſues out execution, and gets the countryman's body and goods completely into his power. To ſuch an abuſe is this abominable practice carried, that in ſome of the ſouthern parts of Ireland, the peaſantry are made tributary to the tithe-farmer; draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf, for nothing; give him their labour, their cars, and their horſes, at certain times of the year, for nothing. Theſe oppreſſions not only exiſt, but have acquired a formed and diſtinct appellation—tributes: tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord. To oppreſſion we are to add intoxication; the drunkenneſs and idleneſs, which not ſeldom attend the method in which the tithe-farmer ſettles his accounts with the poor pariſhioners devoted to his care; the place in which he generally ſettles theſe accounts, makes his bargains, and tranſacts his buſineſs, is the alehouſe. He ſometimes, I am told, keeps one himſelf, or he has a relation who gets a licenſe to ſell ale and ſpirits, becauſe his friend is employed by the church, and will bring him cuſtom.

Do you, gentlemen, ſign your leaſes in the alehouſe? What ſhould you think

think of a ſteward who made your tenants drunk, when he ſhould collect your rents? And what ſhould a clergyman think of his tithe-farmer, who made his flock drunk, when he collected or ſettled his tithes, and bathed in whiſkey this precious offering, this primæval property, held by ſome to be the very eſſence of religion, and not only moſt ancient, but divine?

To this loſs of induſtry you are to add, the loſs of revenue—(where, as in ſome caſes I am told) the revenue officer is the tithe-farmer, and in that moſt ſuſpicious and deadly combination of fraudulent capacities, overcharges in tithe, and undercharges in tax: that is, compenſates to the countryman, by robbing the king, and adds to the crime of exaction the offence of ſpoliation, and profits by both. I appeal to the commiſſioners of the revenue, whether they have not good reaſon to ſuſpect ſuch practices? And I appeal to ſome of a right reverend bench, whether this be the only commutation, which in their opinion is practicable or proper? Under this head it is alleged, that in certain pariſhes in the ſouth, tithe-farmers have oppreſſed, and do oppreſs his majeſty's ſubjects, by various ways of extortion, by aſſuming to themſelves arbitrarily and cruelly, powers which the law does not give, and by making an oppreſſive uſe of thoſe powers which the law has put into their hands. And this the pariſhioners are ready to verify on oath.

To theſe evils are we to add another, which is the principal ſource of them all—the uncertainty of tithe—the full tenth ever muſt be oppreſſive.

A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to thoſe who contribute in no ſhape whatſoever to the produce, muſt be oppreſſion; they only think otherwiſe, who ſuppoſe, that every thing is little which is given to the parſon; that no burden can be heavy, if it be the weight of the parſon; that landlords ſhould give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour, and all too little: but uncertainty aggravates that oppreſſion, the full tenth ever muſt be uncertain as well as oppreſſive, for it is the fixed proportion of a fluctuating quantity, and unleſs the high prieſt can give law to the winds, and aſcertain the harveſt, the tithe, like that harveſt, muſt be uncertain; but this uncertainty is aggravated by the pernicious motives on which tithe frequently riſes and falls. It frequently riſes on the poor---it falls in compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverſe of the goſpel; it crouches to the ſtrong, and it encroaches on the feeble; and is guided by the two worſt principles in ſociety, ſervility and avarice united, againſt the cauſe of charity, and under the cloak of religion.

Here let me return to, and repeat the allegations, and call on you once more to make the enquiry. It is alleged, that in certain parifhes of the fouth, tithe has been demanded, and paid, for what, by law, was not liable to tithe: and that the eccleſiaſtical courts have countenanced the illegal exaction; and evidence is offered at your bar to prove the charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you juſtify the fact? Will you enquire into it.

It is alleged, that tithe-proctors in certain parifhes of the fouth do exact fees for agency oppreſſive and illegal; and evidence to prove the charge is offered on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you juſtify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parifhes of the fouth, tithes have been exceſſive, and have obſerved no equity for the poor, the huſbandman, or the manufacturer: and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you juſtify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parifhes of the fouth, ratages for tithes have greatly and unconſcionably increaſed; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you juſtify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parifhes of the fouth, the parifhioners have duly and legally ſet out their tithe, and given due notice; but that no perſons have attended on the part of proctor or parſon, under expectation, it is apprehended, of getting ſome new method of recovery, tending to deprive the pariſh of the benefit of its ancient right, that of ſetting out their tithe; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath.

It is alleged, in certain parifhes in the fouth, tithe-farmers have oppreſſed and do oppreſs his majeſty's ſubjects, by various extortions, abuſes of law, or breaches of the ſame; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Here, once more I aſk you, will you deny the fact? Will you juſtify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

This being the ſtate of the church in certain parifhes in the fouth, I wiſh to know, what in the mean time within thoſe diſtricts becomes of religion? Here are the parſon and pariſh at variance, about that which our religion teaches us to deſpiſe—riches. Here is the mammon of unrighteouſneſs ſet up to interrupt our devotion to the true God. The diſintereſted, the humble, the apoſtolical character during this unſeemly conteſt, what becomes of it? Here are two powers---the power in the tenant to ſet out his tithe, the power in the church

church to try the matter in diſpute by eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction---two powers veſted by the law in the reſpective hands of church and laity, without any effect but to torment one another: the power of ſetting of tithe does not affect to defend the tenant againſt unconſcionable demand; and if attended with combination ſecures him againſt any effectual demand whatſoever. The power of trying the matter in diſpute by eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, does not take place, except in caſe of ſubtraction, and when it does take place is a partial trial. Thus, as the law now ſtands, combination is the defence of laity, and partiality of the church.

The equity in favor of the tiller of the ſoil (a very neceſſary equity indeed) becomes a new ſource of diſturbance, becauſe the parties are not agreed what that equity ſhould be—the countryman, not conceiving that any one can, in equity, have a right to the tenth of his land, labour, and capital, who does not own the land, nor plow, nor ſow, nor reap, nor contribute in any degree whatſoever to the produce. The tithe-farmer having no idea, but that of iniquity, on the ſubject. The parſon perhaps conceiving, that a tenth on tillage is a bare compenſation in equity, for what he deems the greateſt of all iniquity, your vote of agiſtment. Thus, the two parties, the parſon and his pariſh, the ſhepherd and his flock, with oppoſite opinions, and mutual powers of annoyance in the parts I have alluded to, ſeem to go on in a rooted animoſity and ſilent war.

Conceive the paſtor looking over the hedge like a ſpy, to mulct the extraordinary labours of the huſbandman.

Conceive him coming into the field, and ſaying "you are a deſerving huſ-" bandman—you have encreaſed the value of your field by the ſweat of your " brow; Sir, I'll make you pay me for that,"—or conceive a dialogue between a ſhepherd and one of his flock; " I will take your tenth ſheaf; and " if you chuſe to vex me, your tenth hen, and your tenth egg, and your " tenth 'gooſe," (not ſo the apoſtles)—or conceive him ſpeaking to his flock by parable, and ſaying, " the aſs ſtopped with his burden; and his burden " was doubled, and ſtill he ſtopped, and his burden was ſtill encreaſed—and " then the perverſe animal finding his reſiſtance in vain, went on; ſo even " you ſhall find reſiſtance but encreaſe your load, until the number of acts " of parliament ſhall break your back."

Theſe paſtoral diſcourſes, if they have taken place, however well intended, will not, I fear, greatly advance the cauſe of the faithful, particularly in a

country, where the numbers remain to be converted to the Proteſtant religion, not only by the ſuperior purity of its doctrine, but by the mild diſintereſted peace-making ſpirit of its teachers.

Will not the dignitaries of the church interpoſe on ſuch an occaſion? how painful muſt it have been to them, the teachers of the goſpel, and therefore enemies to the ſhedding of blood, to have thought themſelves under the repeated neceſſity of applying to parliament for ſanguinary laws; the moſt ſanguinary laws on your ſtatute books are tithe-bills; the White-boy act is a tithe-bill; the Riot act is a tithe-bill.

How painful to thoſe dignitaries muſt it be to feel themſelves in the office of making perpetual complaints againſt their own flock, and to be conſcious, in ſome inſtances, of having jaded and diſguſted the ears of the court, by charges againſt the peaſantry? How painful to them to have repeated recourſe to the military in their own caſe, and to think that many of their ſinful flock, but their flock notwithſtanding, were ſaved from the indiſcriminating edge of the ſword by eccleſiaſtical zeal, tempered and withheld, and in ſome caſes diſappointed by the judicious mercy of military command?

We, the laity, were right in taking the ſtrongeſt meaſures the laſt ſeſſion: it was our duty to aſſert; but of theſe churchmen, it is the duty, and I ſuppoſe the nature, to deprecate, to incline to the mild, the meek, the diſpaſſionate, and the merciful ſide of the queſtion, and rather to prevent by moderation than puniſh by death.

Whether theſe exactions were in themſelves ſufficient to have produced all the confuſion of the laſt year, I know not, but this I do believe, that no other cauſe had been ſufficient without the aid of exaction; if exaction had not exiſted, the ſouth would not, I believe, have been convulſed. A controverted election alone could not well have been an adequate cauſe; the objects of attack muſt, in ſome caſes, have been ſomething more than partizans, and the flame ſpread by contagion; the firſt torch muſt have been an accident, but the people were rendered combuſtible by oppreſſion.

The Whiteboy ſhould be hanged; but I think the tithe-farmer ſhould be reſtrained; I would inflict death on the felon, and impoſe moderation on the extortioner; and thus relieve the community from the offences of both.

But do not let us ſo far miſtake the caſe, as to ſuppoſe it a queſtion between the parſon and the Whiteboy; or that the animoſity which has been excited is confined to felons; no, it is extended far more generally; it is extended

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to thoſe who have been active in bringing thoſe felons to juſtice; and men will appear at your bar who have ſuffered under exceſs of demand, and have acted to reſtore peace, the inſtrument of quiet, and the objects of exaction: let us therefore examine the ſubject, and having already with great propriety taken the moſt deciſive ſteps againſt the inſurgent, let us enquire now into the cauſe of the outrage, and ſee whether exaction might not have had ſome ſhare, at leaſt, in the origin of it; and if ſo, let us ſtrive to form ſome plan which may collect the riches of the church, without repetition of penal laws or of public diſturbance.

In forming a plan for the better proviſion of the church, the firſt thing to be conſidered is the quantum of proviſion; the ſecond conſideration is the fund from whence that proviſion is to ariſe; the quantum of proviſion ſhould be the uſual net income on an average of years, except in ſome pariſhes of great exaction; I ſay uſual, becauſe I would not materially alter their allowance; I ſay on an average of years, becauſe I would not make recent incroachment property; I ſay net, becauſe when the public ſhall become the tithe proprietor's agent, the public will have a right to the benefit of the agency.

That their income is diſcoverable I affirm, and I affirm it under the authority of their own act, and their own practice; without going farther back than the laſt ſeſſion, you will find the compenſation act requires the perſon ſuing on the act to make a diſcovery of his cuſtomary income, and in ſome caſes diſcovery of his ratages for three years back on oath; it requires that he ſhould, in his affidavit, ſet forth that the valuation of 1786, is made as near as poſſible the ratage of the three former years; it requires that where a valuation of the tithe of 1786 could not be made, a valuation of the cuſtomary tithe for three years back ſhould; it enables the court to appoint perſons to enquire into the fact, and call for parties and papers, and thus eſtabliſhes two principles, which were denied; that the annual income of benefices is diſcoverable, and that the particular ratage is diſcoverable alſo: I might go back to the act of Henry VIII. which requires that a commiſſion ſhould be directed to enquire into eccleſiaſtical benefices, and report the value of the ſame; and I might further adduce the act of William III. which gives to the eccleſiaſtical perſon who builds, two-thirds of the ſum expended, which ſum is to be aſcertained by a certificate; which certificate, by the 12th of George II. ſhall contain an account of the clear yearly income of the be-

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neſice. After theſe inſtances, I hope no man will deny that the income of the clergyman is diſcoverable; partieularly, when the compenſation act of the laſt winter requires ſuch a diſcovery to be made on the oath of the parſon. That act was ſupported by the whole bench of biſhops; it was probably framed with their advice and ſuggeſtions. They would not require their clergy to report on oath what they themſelves conceived, or had maintained to be impoſſible; as if it was impoſſible to make a diſcovery for the purpoſe of commutation, but for the purpoſe of compenſation, eaſy and obvious. Thus, when I affirm the diſcoverability of the clergyman's income, I have not only the authority of the church, but its oath. The net return ſhould be the parſon's perpetual income, ſubject to the exception ſtated above; but in order to guard him againſt the fluctuation of currency, I would fix the value of that income in grain; it ſhould be the value of ſo many barrels of wheat, to be eſtimated every ſeven years by the corn-office, or the clerk of the market, who now quarterly ſtrikes the average value of corn throughout the kingdom. Thus, his income ſhould not be abſolutely either corn or money; but the value of ſo much corn to be paid in money.

As to the fund from whence theſe receipts ſhould ariſe, that fund ſhould be a charge on the barony, to be levied like other county charges; this method is eaſy, for it is already in uſe; the head conſtable ſhould be the parſon's collector, and the county ſhould be his ſecurity.

To this I know the objection, and it is an objection which can be beſt anſwered by thoſe who make it. It will be ſaid, that this ſcheme prevents the diviſion of unions, and the encreaſe of poor livings. Apply the firſt fruits as they ought for the encreaſe of poor livings, and the repairs of the church, and then you will anſwer your own argument; but a fictitious and remote valuation for the benefit of the rich clergy has been made of theſe charitable funds, fruſtrating the purpoſe of the charity equally to the neglect of the church and poor. The luxury of the prieſt has uſurped the funds of the poor and of the church, then ſets up againſt both a miſerable modus, and preſcribes in this inſtance againſt charity and religion.

However, if the dignitaries of the church will not, parliament may anſwer this argument, and provide for more clergy as occaſion ſhall permit. You impariſh by act of parliament; with proper proviſion, when you ſee the neceſſity, you may divide. The care of religion is placed no where better than

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in the legiſlature. Popery will tell you, that when it was entirely left to the care of the prieſthood, it was perverted and deſtroyed.

But if difficulties ſhould be made to this plan—and in order to give the church the growth of the country—there is another plan, a modus; let every article which ſhall be ſubject to tithe be ſet forth in a tithing table, with certain ratages annexed—let thoſe ratages be taken, and ſet forth in the tithing table as now equivalent to ſo many ſtone of bread corn.

Let the act provide, that there ſhall be a ſeptennial valuation of bread corn, by the clerk of the market, or the proper officer.

Let there be exemption for the rudiments of manufacture, and a ſaving for all local cuſtom and exemptions—ſuch as potatoes in moſt places, hay in ſeveral, and ſuch like.

In order to form this modus, which ſhould be provincial, not univerſal, let four provincial committees be appointed. You will ſee a precedent in your journals; on the report of theſe provincial committees, form your bill. In your bill you will probably think proper to give agiſtment, or a certain ſum for head-money, not in addition to, but in eaſe of ratages on tillage.

In forming your ratages, you will probably enquire into the acreable rateages now eſtabliſhed, and adopt them where they are reaſonable, and reject them where they are exorbitant—where there are no acreable ratages eſtabliſhed, the contiguous pariſh or county, where they are eſtabliſhed, will furniſh you with a rule.

If once you appoint committees, the parſon and pariſh will both come forth with information—and from both you will collect the preſent ratages, and be enabled to make a rule. In forming this rule, you will probably think proper to exempt the poor man's garden in the ſouth from the tithe of potatoes.

The true principle with reſpect to your peaſantry, is exoneration; and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make that burden as light as poſſible; I would exempt the peaſant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in my power; I would conſider his poverty as ſacred, and vindicate againſt an extortioner the hallowed circle of his little boundary. The loſs to the church might be eaſily compenſated, particularly if you give agiſtment or head-money in eaſe of tillage.

I would alſo relieve the north from ſmall dues, as I would relieve the poor of the ſouth from the tithe of potatoes; and where theſe ſmall dues had long obtained,

obtained, I would make the parſon compenſation, either by giving him head-money, or by making an eſtimate of theſe dues, and raiſing them in the way of other county charges. Should it be ſaid that we ſhould as well exempt the peaſant from rent as from tithe; to that uncharitable and unchriſtian obſervation, I anſwer, no. The land is not his own, but his labour is his own. The peaſant is born without an eſtate; he is born with hands, and no man has a natural right to the labour of thoſe hands, unleſs he pays him: thus, when you demand the peaſant's rent, you aſk for your own eſtate; when you demand tithe, you aſk for a portion of the peaſant's eſtate, the poor man's only eſtate, the inheritance which he has in the labour of his hand, and the ſweat of his brow.

Human laws may make alterations, and when made, muſt be obſerved; but it ſhould be the policy of human laws to follow the wiſdom of the law of nature.

The reſult of theſe principles, and of theſe committees proceeding on the rules I have ſubmitted, would be the benefit of the church, as well as the relief of the farmer, for eſtabliſhing a modus on the average ratages of a certain number of years, except in caſes of exaction, you would give the church as much as they have at preſent, except in thoſe inſtances of unconſcionable demand; and as the ratages would come net to the owner of the tithe, you would in fact, on this principle, give the church more; the ſpoil of the tithe-farmer would, therefore, enable you even to lower the ratage, and yet, give more to the church; ſo that the reſult would probably be, that the moderate clergyman would get more, and the uncharitable clergyman would get leſs, which would be a diſtribution of juſtice, as well as of property. Having once agreed on the modus, I would wiſh to give the clergy or lay-impropriator, for the recovery of their income, any mode they chooſe to appoint, civil bill, or any other method, and then you will ſave them the charge and diſgrace of an expenſive agency, which expence ariſes from the difficulty of the recovery and the uncertainty of the demand; and if you add the facility and cheapneſs of collection with the certainty of income to the quantum under the modus on the principles I have ſtated, you will find the value of the church property would, even in the opinion of a notary public, be encreaſed, though the imaginary claim would be circumſcribed and diminiſhed. This is no commutation, no innovation; here is only a regulation of tithe, and an abolition of tithe-farmers, and of

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thoſe abuſes which have grown out of the uncertainty of tithe; it takes from tithe its deadly ſting, uncertainty, and makes it ceaſe to be a growing penalty on extraordinary labour; and it puts the queſtion directly to the moderation of the church, will you inſiſt on indefinite demand, and unconſcionable ratage, as an eſſential part of the Chriſtian religion, or the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment? The Bill is the anſwer to this queſtion, even though the clergyman ſhould be ſilent; and it is therefore I preſs this method the more, becauſe it does not involve the ſubject in ſpeculation, nor reſt the redreſs of the peaſantry on the ingenuity of ſyſtem, but makes that relief a matter of moderation, and of Chriſtian charity: were you diſpoſed to go farther you might form, on this regulation, a commutation which ſhould more effectually relieve the plow, and ſhould, at the ſame time, give the benefit of the growth of the country to the church: let a perſon in each pariſh be appointed in veſtry by the parſon and the pariſhioners, and if they do not agree, let each appoint their own, who ſhall every year make a return of acres under tillage to applotters, who ſhall make a valuation of the ſame according to a tithing table, ſuch as I have ſtated to be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, and that valuation to be raiſed in the manner of other baronial charges; thus the parſon's income would encreaſe with the extent of tillage, without falling principally on the plow. The principle of this plan, if you chooſe to go beyond a modus, is obvious; the mechanical part of this, and of the other regulation which I have ſubmitted, will be beſt detailed in the provincial committees, if you ſhall chooſe to appoint them, for, in fact, your plan muſt ariſe out of the enquiry, and the reſolutions of theſe committees, and the great difficulty on the ſubject is your averſion to the enquiry. There are other difficulties, I allow, the difficulties of pride, the difficulties of paſſion, the difficulties of bigotry, contraction of the head, and hardneſs of the heart. Tithes are made more reſpectable than and ſuperior to any other kind of property. The high prieſt will not take a parliamentary title; that is, in other words, he thinks they have a divine right to tithe.

Whence? None from the Jews; the prieſthood of the Jews had not the tenth; the Levites had the tenth, becauſe they had no other inheritance; but Aaron and his ſons had but the tenth of that tenth; that is, the prieſthood of the Jews had but the hundredth part, the reſt was for other uſes; for the reſt of the Levites, and for the poor, the ſtranger, the widow, the orphan, and the temple. But ſuppoſing the Jewiſh prieſthood had the tenth, which

they certainly had not; the Chriſtian prieſthood does not claim under them. Chriſt was not a Levite, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor of the Jewiſh prieſthood, but came to proteſt againſt that prieſthood, their worſhip, their ordinances, their paſſover, and their circumciſion. Will a Chriſtian prieſthood ſay it was meet to put down the Jewiſh, but meet likewiſe to ſeize on the ſpoil; as if their riches were of divine right, though their religion was not; as if Chriſtian diſintereſtedneſs might take the land, and the tithe given in lieu of land, and poſſeſſed of both, and diveſted of the charity, exclaim againſt the avarice of the Jews?

The Apoſtles had no tithe, they did not demand it; they and he whoſe miſſion they preached, proteſted againſt the principle on which tithe is founded. "Carry neither ſcrip, nor purſe, nor ſhoes; into whatever houſe ye go "ſay, peace." Here is concord and contempt of riches, not tithe. "Take "no thought what ye ſhall eat, or what ye ſhall drink, nor for your bodies "what ye ſhall put on;" ſo ſaid Chriſt to his Apoſtles. Does this look like a right in his prieſthood to a tenth of the goods of the community?

"Beware of covetouſneſs—ſeek not what ye ſhall eat, but ſeek the king-"dom of God."

"Give alms—provide yourſelves with bags that wax not old, a treaſure "in Heaven which faileth not." This does not look like a right in the Chriſtian prieſthood to the tenth of the goods of the community exempted from the poor's dividend.

"Diſtribute unto the poor, and ſeek treaſure in Heaven."

"Take care that your hearts be not charged with ſurfeiting, and drunken-"neſs, and the cares of this life."

One ſhould not think that our Saviour was laying the foundation of tithe, but cutting up the roots of the claim, and prophetically admoniſhing ſome of the modern prieſthood. If theſe precepts are of divine right, tithes cannot be ſo; the precept which orders a contempt of riches, the claim which demands a tenth of the fruits of the earth for the miniſters of the goſpel.

The peaſantry in apoſtolic times had been the object of charity, not of exaction. Thoſe to whoſe cabin the tithe-farmer has gone for tithe of turf, and to whoſe garden he has gone for the tithe potatoes, the Apoſtles would have viſited likewiſe; but they would have viſited with contribution, not for exaction: the poor had ſhared with the Apoſtles, though they contribute to the churchman.

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The goſpel is not an argument for, but againſt the right divine of tithe; ſo are the firſt fathers of the church.

It is the boaſt of Tertullian, " *Nemo compellitur ſed ſponte confert hæc quaſi* " *depoſita ſunt pietatis.*"

" With us men are not under the neceſſity of redeeming their religion, " what we have is not raiſed by compulſion, each contributes what he pleaſes; " *modicam unuſquiſque ſtipendium vel cum velit, et ſi modo velit, et ſi modo* " *poſſet*; what we receive we beſtow on the poor, the old, the orphan, and " the infirm."

Cyprian, the biſhop of Carthage, tells you, the expences of the church are frugal and ſparing, but her charity great; he calls the clergy his *fratres ſportulantes*; a fraternity living by contribution.

Forſake, ſays Origen, the prieſts of Pharaoh, who have earthly poſſeſſions, and come to us who have none: we muſt not conſume what belongs to the poor; we muſt be content with ſimple fare, and poor apparel.

Chryſoſtome, in the cloſe of the fourth century, declares, that there was no practice of tithes in the former ages; and Eraſmus ſays, that the attempt to demand them was no better than tyranny.

But there is an authority ſtill higher than the opinions of the fathers; there is the authority of a council; the council of Antioch, in the fourth century, which declares, that biſhops may diſtribute the goods of the church, but muſt take no part to themſelves, nor to the prieſts that lived with them, unleſs neceſſity required them juſtly; " have food and raiment, be therewith " content."

This was the ſtate of the church in its purity; in the fifth century decimation began, and Chriſtianity declined; then indeed the right of tithe was advanced, and advanced into a ſtile that damned it. The preachers who advanced the doctrine placed all Chriſtian virtue in the payment of tithe. They ſaid that the Chriſtian religion, as we ſay the Proteſtant religion, depended on it. They ſaid, that thoſe who paid not their tithes, would be found guilty before God; and if they did not give the tenth, that God would reduce the country to a tenth. Blaſphemous preachers—groſs ignorance of the nature of things—impudent familiarity with the ways of God—audacious, aſſumed knowledge of his judgments, and a falſe denunciation of his vengeance. And yet even theſe rapacious, blaſphemous men did not acknowledge to demand tithe for themſelves, but the poor—alms! the debt of charity—the

poor's patrimony. "We do not limit you to a preciſe ſum; but you will "not give leſs than the Jews"—*decimæ ſunt tributa egentium animarum redde tributa pauperibus.* Auguſtine goes on and tells you, that as many poor as die in your neighbourhood for want, you not paying tithe, of ſo many murders will you be found guilty, at the tribunal of God—*tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni judicis apparebit.* Let us, ſays St. Jerome, at leaſt follow the example of the Jews, and part of the whole give to the prieſt and the poor. To theſe authorities we are to add, the decree of two councils—the provincial council of Maſcon, in the cloſe of the ſixth century, and the decree of the council of Nantz, in the cloſe of the ninth. The firſt orders that tithes may be brought in by the people, that the prieſt may expend them for the uſe of the poor, and the redemption of captives. The latter decrees, that the clergy are to uſe the tithes, not as a property, but a truſt—*non quaſi ſuis ſed commendatis.*

It was not the table of the prieſt, nor his domeſtics, nor his apparel, nor his influence, nor his ambition; but a Chriſtian equipage of tender virtues—the widow, the orphan, and the poor; they did not demand the tithe as a corporation of proprietors, like an Eaſt India Company, or a South Sea Company, with great rights of property annexed, diſtinct from the community, and from religion; but as truſtees, humble truſtees to God, and the poor, pointed out they preſumed by exceſs of holineſs and contempt of riches. Nor did they reſort to decimation, even under theſe plauſible pretenſions, until forced by depredation committed by themſelves on one another. The goods of the church of whatever kind, were at firſt in common, diſtributed to the ſupport of the church, and the proviſion of the poor; but at length the more powerful part, thoſe who attended the courts of princes; they who intermeddled in ſtate affairs, the buſy high prieſt, and the ſervile, ſeditious, clerical politician; and particularly the abbots who had engaged in war, and had that pretence for extortion, uſurped the fund, left the buſineſs of prayer to the inferior clergy, and the inferior clergy to tithe and the people.

Thus the claim of tithe originated in real extortion, and was propagated by affected charity; at firſt, for the poor and the church, afterwards ſubject to the fourfold diviſion, the biſhop, the fabric, the miniſter, and the poor; this in Europe.

In England tithe is not founded on divine right, but was ſaid to be introduced by murder. A King of Mercia in the ſeventh century aſſaſſinates another

ther Prince in a moſt barbarous manner, and grants, with what power I know not, the tenth of his ſubjects' goods, for abſolution; but in England, as elſewhere, the fourfold diviſion took place; ſo ſays Blackſtone.

Nay the preamble of the grant of Stephen recognizes tithe to be alms.

Since it is divulged far and near by the church, that ſouls may receive abſolution by the grant of alms, "I, Stephen, to ſave my own ſoul, that of my "father's, and that of my mother's, and my relations."

Then he goes on and grants or confirms tithes and other things.

Nay, there are two acts of parliament expreſs, one the 13th, Richard II. providing that for the appropriation of benefices, there ſhall be proviſion made for the vicar and the poor.*

The cauſe of this act of parliament were benefices given to perſons who did not, or could not preach, lay perſons, ſometimes nuns, (as we give them to non-reſidents) to the neglect of the poor's portion.

Theſe principles were departed from, and the truſt moſt undoubtedly buried in oblivion; but let me add, the Chriſtian religion was forgotten likewiſe.

Hence the reformation bringing back chriſtianity to its old purity; and hence a ſuperior and milder order of prieſts, who purged the ſpiritual and ſome of the temporal abominations, but did not entirely relinquiſh the claim to the tithe; though I muſt own great numbers have too much purity to inſiſt on it; a claim which I have ſhewn to have been in its creation an encroachment on the laity, and in its application an encroachment on the poor. No divine right, no, nor natural right: the law of nature and the law of God are the ſame; the law of nature doth not give property, but the law of nature abhors that diſproportion of property which is to be found in the claim of 900 or 1000 men to the 10th of the goods of 3,000,000; a claim in the 3000th part of the community to the 10th of its property; ſurfeit on the part of the few; famine on the part of the many; a diſtribution of the fruits of the earth; impoſſible, beaſtly, ſhocking in itſelf, and when accompanied with a claim to extravagant moderation and purity, ridiculous and

* Becauſe divers damages and hindrances have oftentimes happened by the appropriation of benefices in ſome places; it is agreed, that in every licenſe it ſhall be expreſsly compriſed, that the dioceſan of the place ſhall ordain, according to the value of ſuch churches, a convenient ſum of money ſhall be paid and diſtributed yearly out of the fruits and profits of ſome churches to the poor pariſhioners of ſome churches in aid of their ſuſtenance for ever; likewiſe that the vicar be well and ſufficiently endowed. Statute Henry IV. confirms this act.

diſguſting;

diſguſting; a claim againſt the proportions of Nature and the precepts of the goſpel.

I know there are acts of parliament on this ſubject. The act of Henry VIII. which requires the ſetting out of the tithe; an act of collection, not creation; an act which had the lay impropriator in view, and which ſeems to take for granted a claim of ſuperſtition founded on the pretence of charity. I know there are many ſubſequent acts (which are called tithe bills) intended to aſſiſt the collection of cuſtomary, not full tithe, and in that confidence granted by parliament. I am not now enquiring whether the claim to the full tithe is legal, but whether the application of that tithe for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting the prieſt is an uſurpation. And, I have ſhewn you that tithe was a charity, ſubject to the ſupport of the poor in the firſt place, and the prieſt in the laſt. I have ſhewn you that tithe does not ſtand on the delicate ground of private property. I have ſhewn you, that it was a truſt converted into a property, by abuſe; which abuſe the legiſlature may controul, without ſacrilege or robbery. If a right to the full tenth is yet inſiſted on, give them the full tenth, on the principles on which alone they at firſt ventured to demand it, ſubject to a poor rate; let the truſt be executed; let widows and orphans ſhare it; let the houſe of induſtry and the various hoſpitals and infirmaries ſhare it; let the houſe of God (now a hovel repaired at the expence of parliament, though, by the canon law, it ſhould be repaired by the prieſthood) ſhare it; let the poorer order of peaſantry ſhare it. If the clergy will inſiſt on taking the full tithes of his potatoes, if they take the ſtaff out of his hands, they muſt carry the peaſant on their ſhoulders. Thus, the clergy inſiſting on the *ſummum jus*, and the laity on the *ſumma juſtitia*, the former would not be richer by the change. I ſhould on ſuch a change, condole with the church, and congratulate the poor; and I ſhould applaud the diſcretion, as well as the moderation, of thoſe excellent paſtors, who did not rake up from the aſhes of ſuperſtition, this claim to the tenth, but were ſatisfied with competence and character, and brotherly love, and a right to live by their miniſtry, a right ſet forth in the goſpel, and which nature had ſet forth, even though the goſpel had been ſilent.

"Impracticable,—impracticable,—impracticable," a zealous divine will ſay, any alteration is beyond the power and wiſdom of parliament; above the faculties of man to make adequate proviſion for 900 clergymen who deſpiſe riches! were it to raiſe a new tax for their proviſion, or for that of a body leſs holy,

holy, how eaſy the taſk! how various the means! but, when the propoſal is to diminiſh a tax already eſtabliſhed, an impoſſibility glares us in the face, of a meaſure ſo contrary to our practices both in church and ſtate.

If you think the property of the church divine, and that when you affect it at all, you touch on holy things, then call the propoſal and call the reformation prophane, ſacrilegious, blaſphemous, but never call the propoſal impracticable. How are the clergy paid in Holland? by fixed ſalary. How in Scotland? by fixed ſalary, never leſs than 1000 marks, nor more than 3000; Are the clergy in Scotland deficient? Has hiſtory no obligation to the clergy of that ſagacious people? How are the civil, military, and revenue eſtabliſhments paid in Ireland? by fixed ſalary. You have not found it difficult, but fatally facile to create ſuch ſalaries. In theſe laſt twenty years, you have created not a few, and you have done this for laymen, to whom ſalary was the principal object; but for the church, where the proviſion, the temporal conſideration is but ſecondary, a moderate means for the ſupport of the great duty of prayer; to ſuppoſe the regulation, or even moderation of that proviſion impracticable, annexes a moſt tranſcendent importance to what is groſs and temporal, and a comparative inſignificance to what is pure and ſpiritual, and throws a certain complexion of groſſneſs, and inabſtinence on certain devout and moſt learned controverſialiſts.

If indeed you conceive what is given in commutation ſhould be equal to the tenth of your produce, the impracticability is admitted. While I admire the enormity of the ſuggeſtion, I acknowledge the impracticability of the execution of it. I believe the legiſlature will never agree to give them the tenth either in commutation or tithe, both are impracticable, ſuch a claim, and ſuch a commutation, that 900 men ſhould have the tenth of the property of 3,000,000; and you will find we are much more; the cuſtom of the country, the modus of ſeveral places, your own vote of agiſtment, and above all the intereſt of religion, and of frugal piety forbid it; give them the tenth and you give away your religion; but if you mean a commutation for cuſtomary profits, not extravagant claims, I think I have ſhewn you that commutation is not impracticable; I have ſhewn you how their preſent livings can be diſcovered, and can be commuted: the value is not an impenetrable myſtery; there is hardly a pariſh in which you could avoid to find twelve reſpectable pariſhioners who would aſcertain their ratages, and their income; nor is there a clergyman who could not tell you, nor a tithe farmer, nor a tithe-

proctor,

proctor, nor a biſhop, for he in his traffic with the miniſter about tranſlation generally gives in a ſchedule of the value of the livings in his dioceſe. I think it unneceſſary to add, that there are ſeveral acts, and one of the laſt ſeſſion, requiring ſuch a diſcovery, and the ratages in certain caſes to be made on oath.

Men are apt to argue as if an error in that diſcovery might be fatal, as if the eſſence of religion was in the quantum of ſolid food, and as if 30*l.* a year more, or 30*l.* leſs, would be a difference deciſive as to the propagation of the goſpel. The inaccuracy that may attend the various ways of information on this ſubject cannot be much, and if it ſhall in a ſmall degree lower the great livings and raiſe the ſmall, cannot be fatal.

I ſhould not wiſh to give the miniſters of the goſpel leſs than they have at preſent, except in ſome caſes of hardſhip and extortion; but ſuppoſe ſome of them did receive leſs, would the church fall? The importance and the difficulty of accuracy on this queſtion are both over-rated.

This objection of impracticability therefore againſt a commutation is but a pretence, and againſt a modus is not even a pretence; or is it impracticable to enquire into the preſent ratages, and on that information to proceed? If ſo, if this ſtep is impracticable, the abuſes that grow out of tithes are incurable, and then you ought to reject the ſyſtem of tithe as an incorrigible evil, and recur to another mode of paying your clergy. If a modus be impoſſible, a commutation is neceſſary.

We are too apt to conceive public cares impracticable; every thing bold and radical in the ſhape of public redreſs is termed impracticable.

I remember when a declaration of right was thought impracticable; when the independency of the Iriſh parliament was thought impracticable; when the eſtabliſhment of a free trade was thought impracticable; when the reſtoration of the judicature of our peers was thought impracticable; when an excluſion of the legiſlative power of the council was thought impracticable; when a limited mutiny-bill with Iriſh articles of war in the body of it, and the declaration of right in its front, was thought impracticable; when the formation of a tenantry-bill, for ſecuring to the tenantry of Ireland their leaſehold intereſt was thought impracticable; and yet thoſe things have not only come to paſs, but form the baſe on which we ſtand. Never was there a country, to which the argument of impracticability was leſs applicable than Ireland.

Ireland

Ireland is a great capacity not yet brought into action; much has been civilized, much has been reclaimed, but ſomething is to be redreſſed; the lower orders of the people claim your attention; the beſt huſbandry is the huſbandry of the human creature. What! can you reclaim the tops of your mountains, and cannot you improve your people? Every animal, except the tiger, (as I have heard) is capable of being reclaimed; the method is to feed, to feed after a long hunger; you have with your own peaſantry began the proceſs, and you had better complete the experiment.

Inadequate, inadequate! interpoſes the advocate for exaction; the rich will intercept the relief intended by parliament.

This objection ſuppoſes the condition of the peaſantry to be poor in the laſt degree; it ſuppoſes that condition to ariſe from various complicated cauſes; low price of labour, high price of land, number of abſentees, and other cauſes, and it refers the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to Providence for relief; and it juſtifies this abandonment of one part of the community, by a crimination of the other: on a ſurmiſe that the upper orders of men in this country are complete extortioners, and would convert abatement of tithe into increaſe of rent, and thus intercept the juſtice of parliament. Here I muſt abſolutely and inſtantly deny the fact; the landlords are not as deſcribed; expenſive frequently I allow; but an hoſpitable, a humane and affectionate people; the genius of the Iriſh nation is affection; the gentlemen are not extortioners by nature, nor (as the tithe farmer is) by profeſſion. In ſome caſes they do ſet their land too high, in many not, and on that head they are daily becoming more reaſonable.

Your magiſtracy-bill, your riot-act, your compenſation-bill, what becomes of the authority of theſe laws with the lower orders, if you argue them into a conviction, that the landlords of Ireland, that is the landed intereſt who paſſed theſe acts in their collective capacity, are in their individual capacity but ſo many extortioners? Look to the fact, to their leaſes for thirty-one years, or three lives; not like biſhop's leaſes: look to their lands, not like church lands. See the difference between the lands of laymen, who have an intereſt in the inheritance, and of church men, who have only the *eſprit de corps*, that is, a falſe and barren pride in the ſucceſſion; look to the landlords' conduct; they paſſed a tenantry-bill, the biſhops' rejected a leaſe-bill, and have almoſt uniformly reſiſted every bill that tended to the improvement of the country. If by the remoteſt poſſibility, their body could be in the ſmalleſt

degree prejudiced in the moſt inſignificant of its leaſt warrantable pretenſions; but if ſtill you doubt, call forth the tenantry, and put the queſtion to them; do not take your opinion from the oppreſſor; aſk the oppreſſed, and they will tell you what we know already, that the great oppreſſion is tithe; the middle-man's over-reaching, as in many inſtances, I acknowledge he is, (compared to the tithe-farmer's) is mercy. Suppoſe him as deſtitute of compunction, he is not armed with the ſame powers of torture, though he had the ſame genius for oppreſſion; he has not his own tribunals, nor can he put the countryman to expence of attending on Vicar's Courts, nor of watching his crop, nor of delaying his harveſt home, nor of notices, nor ſummonſes, nor of drinking at his ale-houſe, while the value of the tithe is computed, nor of all that train of circumſtances and charge with which the uncertain dues of the church are now collected, at the expence of the morals of the people.

But if the charge was founded in fact, it is not an argument, and has nothing to ſay to the queſtion, where ſimilar exertions of oppreſſion, if morally probable, are rendered legally impoſſible. The landlord cannot in conſequence of exemption from tithe, raiſe his rent on his leſſees, during the continuance of the term. Now, do you imagine that it is the cottier only, and not the leſſee alſo, that complains of tithe? they are both aggrieved; the tenantry of Ireland are aggrieved, the leſſee therefore, muſt be relieved by the plan, and the cottier cannot be equally oppreſſed, becauſe he agrees for his rent before he ſows his crop, but pays his tithe afterwards; the latter of courſe muſt be, and the former cannot be, a charge for his extraordinary labour. Rent is a charge on land, tithe on labour, the one definite, the other indefinite; they are not convertible; encreaſe your rent under any pretence, ſtill it muſt avoid the eſſential evil of tithe; the evil of being arbitrary; a tax riſing with induſtry. Suppoſe the ſevereſt caſe, one pound an acre advanced rent for potatoe ground, the cottier by extraordinary labour, works himſelf comparatively out of his rent, and into a greater tithe; thus extortion by rent, is but a cruel compulſion on extraordinary labour, but tithe a penalty.

There are certain arguments, which leading to ſomething abſurd and nonſenſical, are ſtricken out of the tribe of logic; thoſe arguments ſhould meet the ſame fate which lead to ſomething that is worſe than either nonſenſe or abſurdity, to cruelty and to oppreſſion. Of this tribe is the reaſoning I now combat, an argument which would leave the landlords without character, to leave the common people without redreſs; I condemn the premiſes, but I abhor

hor the concluſion. What! ſhould the clergy oppreſs the poor, becauſe the landlords (as is alleged) do ſo already? becauſe the latter (as is alleged) over value land, ſhall the church overcharge labour? becauſe the peaſant pays (as is alleged) ſometimes five or ſix pounds per acre for his land, ſhall he pay twelve or twenty ſhillings to the parſon for his potatoes? The premiſes of this argument impeach the character of the higher order, and the concluſion would ſteel one order againſt the other, and the reſult of ſuch reaſoning would leave you (what it affects to find you) wicked and miſerable; and common ſenſe and Chriſtian charity lift up their hands againſt ſuch an opprobrious premiſe, and ſuch a pernicious concluſion.

If ſuch were the ſtate of our country, the church ſhould interpoſe and give a good example, and not follow a bad one; they ſhould ſay, we will take the lead; we will ourſelves moderate the exactions which oppreſs the poor; if the rich take the advantage, and fruſtrate our pious intentions, we are not in fault; the character of religion is free, her miniſters do not participate the plunder of the people. The vote of agiſtment left the meaſure I propoſe practicable, and made it neceſſary; by that vote you ſent the parſon from the demeſne of the gentleman into the garden of the cottager; by that vote you ſaid you ſhall not tax us; it remains for you to ſay, you ſhall not tithe the poor unconſcionably; but, going as far as that vote and no farther, you declare to the proprietors of tithe, "Tithe the poor as you pleaſe, provided we do not pay you," and this is what ſome mean by their zeal in the ſupport of the church; this is the more exceptionable, when you recollect that of the poor who pay your clergy, there are numbers, of a different religion, who of courſe receive no conſideration from your clergy, and muſt pay another clergy. The proteſtant intereſt may require that theſe ſhould contribute to the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment; but the proportion and the manner in which you now make them contribute, redounds but little to Proteſtant honour, either in church or ſtate.

Aye! but will you encourage tumult? Will you reward the White-boy? Will you give a premium to diſturbance?—Sir, do not advert ſo lightly to the ſtate of this country, nor paſs ſo ſuperciliouſly over general diſtreſs, as to think that the Right-boy or White-boy, (or by whatever other vagrant denomination tumult delights to deſcribe itſelf) are the only perſons who ſuffer by the preſent ſtate of tithes; there are two other deſcriptions who are oppreſſed by them, thoſe who did nothing in the late diſturbance, and thoſe who took part to quell them. Can you ſuppoſe ſo many would have been neutral in the ſup-

preſſion, if they had not been a party to the oppreſſion? and have you complained of the languor of your magiſtracy, and the ſupineneſs of the Proteſtant country gentlemen, without adverting to the reaſon? The tumult was confined, but the ſuffering was extenſive. But there is another body of men who ſuffer, they who took part to ſuppreſs. Have they any pretenſions? Do you deny that they are ſufferers? they will come to the bar and prove it; they will prove two things very material, very worthy your attention, their merit and their ſuffering.

Yes, but will you innovate? Admit this argument, and we ſit here to conſecrate abuſes. The ſtatutes of Mortmain were innovations; the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries innovation; the reformation innovation; for, what is the Proteſtant religion, but the interpoſition of parliament, reſcuing Chriſtianity from abuſes introduced by its own prieſthood?

Inſtitutions divine and human corrupt by their nature or by ours; the beſt human inſtitution, the Britiſh conſtitution, did ſo corrupt, that, at different periods, it was anarchy, oligarchy, deſpotiſm, and was reſtored by parliament.

The only divine inſtitution we know of, the Chriſtian religion, did ſo corrupt, as to have become an abomination, and was reſcued by act of parliament.

Life, like eſtabliſhments, declines, diſeaſe is the lot of nature, we oppoſe its progreſs by ſtrong remedies, we drink a freſh life at ſome medicinal fountain, or we find a ſpecific in ſome ſalubrious herb: Will you call theſe reſtoratives, innovation on the phyſical œconomy? Why then, in the political œconomy, thoſe ſtatutes which purge the public weal, and from time to time guard that firm animal man againſt the evils to which civil ſociety is expoſed, the encroachments of the prieſt and the politician.

It is then on a falſe ſurmiſe of our nature, this objection; we live by a ſucceſſion of amendment; ſuch is the hiſtory of man, ſuch above all, is the hiſtory of religion, where amendment was ever oppoſed; and thoſe cant expreſſions, the ſupporting church and ſtate, were ever advanced to continue the abuſes of both. On thoſe occaſions prejudices from the ragged battlement of ſuperſtition ever ſcreened innovation. When our Elizabeth eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion, ſhe was called an innovatreſs; when Luther began the reformation, he was called an innovator; nay, when Herod and the high prieſt Caiphas (and high prieſts of all religions are the ſame) heard that one had gone forth into the multitude preaching, gathering the poor like the hen

under

under her wing, ſaying to the rich, give unto the poor, and look for treaſures in heaven, and take heed that your hearts be not overcharged with luxury, ſurfeit, and the cares of this life; I ſay, when Herod and the High Prieſt ſaw the author of the Chriſtian religion, thus giving comfort and countenance, and hope to the poor, they were aſtoniſhed, they felt in his rebuke of their own pomp and pride, and gluttony and beaſtlineſs, great innovation; they felt in the ſublimity of his moral, great innovation; they ſaw, in the extent of his public care, great innovation, and accordingly they conſpired againſt their Saviour, as an innovator; and, under the pretence of ſupporting what they called the Church and State, they ſtigmatized the redemption of man, and they crucified the Son of God.

If we were deſirous to retort on the church the argument of innovation—its own hiſtory is fertile; what is the idea of property in the church, but an innovation? their converſion of property from the great body of the Chriſtians, to their own uſe? innovation—their temporal power? innovation—their application for donations, equal to tenth? innovation—the converſion of theſe donations to their own uſe? innovation—their excluding the fabric of the church as well as the poor, from the benefit of thoſe donations? innovations—their various tithe bills? innovation—their Riot-act? innovation—their Compenſation-act? innovation.

To judge of the objection of innovation againſt my plan, ſee what that plan does not do!

It does not affect the doctrine of our religion—it does not alter the church eſtabliſhment—it does not effect the conſtitution of epiſcopacy. The modus does not even alter the mode of their proviſion, it only limits the quantum; and limits it on principles much leſs ſevere than that charity which they preach, or that abſtinence which they inculcate. Is this innovation? Moderation, innovation! as if the Proteſtant religion were to be propagated in Ireland, like the influence of a miniſter, by bribery; or like the influence of a county candidate, by money; or like the cauſe of a potwalloping canvaſſer, by the weight of the purſe; as if Chriſt could not prevail over the earth, unleſs Mammon took him by the hand. Am I to underſtand, that if you give the parſon 12*s.* in the acre for potatoes, and 10*s.* for wheat, the Proteſtant religion is ſafe on its rock; but if you reduce him to 6*s.* the acre for potatoes and wheat, then Jupiter ſhakes the Heaven with his thunder—Neptune rakes up the deep with his trident, and Pluto leaps from his throne?—arguments and appetites which depart from Chriſtian purity, are beſt illuſtrated by Heathen

Heathen mythology. See the curate—he riſes at ſix to morning prayers; he leaves company at ſix for evening prayer; he baptizes, he marries, he churches, he buries, he follows with pious offices his fellow-creature from the cradle to the grave---for what immenſe income!—what riches to reward theſe ineſtimable ſervices? Do not depend on the penury of the laity. Let his own order value his deſerts; 50*l.* a year; 50*l.* for praying, for chriſtening, for marrying, for churching, for burying, for following with Chriſtian offices his fellow creature from cradle to grave—ſo frugal a thing is devotion, ſo cheap religion, ſo eaſy the terms on which man may worſhip his Maker, and ſo ſmall the income in the opinion of eccleſiaſtics, ſufficient for the duties of a clergyman, as far as he is connected at all with the Chriſtian religion.

I think the curate has by far too little—bloated with the full tenth, I think the church would have abundantly too much.

The proviſion of the church is not abſolute property, like an eſtate, but payment for a duty: it is a ſalary for prayer, not the gift of God independent of the duty. He did not ſend his Son to ſuffer on earth, to eſtabliſh a rich prieſthood, but to ſave mankind—it is the donation of the laity, for the duty of prayer. The labourer deſerves higher for doing his duty---he is paid not as a high prieſt, but a paſtor in his evangelic, not his corporate capacity---when he deſires to live by his miniſtry, he demands his right; when he deſires the tenth of your wealth, he demands your right; and he preſumes riches to be the right of the church, inſtead of ſuppoſing what he ought, the Goſpel to be the right of the people, and competency for preaching the Goſpel, not luxury, to be the right, as it is the profeſſion of the church. A proviſion for the Miniſter of the Goſpel on its own principles, keeping clear of the two extremes, poverty on one ſide, and riches on the other; both are avocations from prayer; poverty, which is a ſtruggle how to live, and riches, which are an occupation how to ſpend. But of the two extremes, I ſhould dread riches---and above all, ſuch indefinite riches as the tenth of the induſtry, capital, and land of 3,000,000, would heap in the kitchens of 900 clergymen---an impoſſible proportion; but if poſſible, an avocation of a very worldly kind, introducing gratifications of a very temporal nature---paſſions different from the precepts of the Goſpel—ambition, pride, and vain glory. Add to this acquiſition of the tenth---the litigation which muſt attend it; and the double avocation of luxury and law: conceive a war of citations, contempts, ſummonſes, civil bills, proctors, attornies, and all the voluminous train of diſcord,

carried

carried on at the ſuit of the man of peace---by the plaintiff in the pulpit, againſt the defendants, his congregation. It is a ſtrong argument againſt the tenth, that ſuch claim is not only inconſiſtent with the nature of things, but abſolutely incompatible with the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. Had the Apoſtles advanced, among the Jews, pretenſions to the tenth of the produce of Judea, they would not have converted a leſs perverſe generation; but they were humble and inſpired men---they went forth in humble guiſe, with naked foot, and brought to every man's door in his own tongue, the true belief; their word prevailed againſt the potentates of the earth, and on the ruin of the barbaric pride, and pontific luxury---they placed the naked majeſty of the Chriſtian religion.

This light was ſoon put down by its own miniſters, and on its extinction a beaſtly and pompous prieſthood aſcended. Political potentates, not Chriſtian paſtors---full of falſe zeal, full of worldly pride, and full of gluttony---empty of the true religion. To their flock oppreſſive, to their inferior clergy brutal, to their king abject, and to their God impudent and familiar; they ſtood on the altar, as a ſtepping ſtool to the throne, glozing in the ear of princes, whom they poiſoned with crooked principles and heated advice, and were a faction againſt their king, when they were not his ſlaves; ever the dirt under his feet, or a poignard in his heart.

Their power went down; it burſt of its own plethory, when a poor reformer, with the Goſpel in his hand, and in the inſpired ſpirit of poverty, reſtored the Chriſtian religion---the ſame principle which introduced Chriſtianity guided reformation. What Luther did for us, philoſophy has done in ſome degree for the Roman Catholics, and that religion has undergone a ſilent reformation, and both diviſions of Chriſtianity, unleſs they have loſt their underſtanding, muſt have loſt their animoſity, though they have retained their diſtinctions. The prieſthood of Europe is not now what it was once; their religion has encreaſed as their power has diminiſhed. In theſe countries particularly, for the moſt part, they are a mild order of men, with leſs dominion and more piety therefore, their character for the moſt part may be deſcribed in few words—morality, enlightened by letters, and exalted by religion—ſuch many of our parochial clergy, with ſome exceptions however, particularly in ſome of the diſturbed parts of the kingdom—ſuch ſome of the heads of the church—ſuch the very head of the church in Ireland. That comely perſonage, who preſides over a vaſt income, and thinks he has great revenues,

nues, but is miſtaken, being in fact nothing more than the ſteward of the poor, and a mere inſtrument in the hand of Providence, making the beſt poſſible diſtribution of the fruits of the earth; nay, there are of the church ſome ſuperior to the prejudice which on the ſubject of tithes may be expected. Of all inſtitutions, ſays Paley, adverſe to cultivation, none ſo noxious as tithe—not only a tax on induſtry, but the induſtry that feeds mankind; it is true! the mode of providing for the church is exceptionable, and in ſome parts of Ireland has been, I apprehend, attended with very conſiderable abuſes: theſe are what I wiſh to ſubmit to you; you will enquire whether in ſome caſes the demands for tithes have not been illegal, the collection of them oppreſſive, the exceſs of demand uncharitable, and the growth of it conſiderable and oppreſſive.

Whether in all caſes the tithe-farmer has been a merciful paſtor, the tithe proctor an upright agent, and even the vicar himſelf a moſt unbiaſſed judge.

In this enquiry, or in forming ſome regulations from this enquiry, you will not be withheld by the arguments of pride, bigotry, and prejudice; that argument, which reflecting on God maintains the ſacred right of exactions; that other argument, which reflecting on parliament denies your capacity to give redreſs; that other argument, which reflecting on human nature ſuppoſes that you inflame mankind by redreſſing their grievances; that other argument, which traduces the landed intereſt of Ireland as an extortioner, and belies one part of the community to continue the miſeries of the other---an argument, of calumny, an argument of cruelty. Leaſt of all ſhould you be withheld by that idle intimation ſtuffed into the ſpeech from the throne, ſuggeſting that the church is in danger, and holding out from that awful ſeat of authority, falſe lights to the nation, as if we had doated back to the nonſenſe of Sacheverel's days, and were to be ridden once more by the fools and bigots. Parliament is not a bigot---you are no ſectary, no polemic—it is your duty to unite all men, to manifeſt brotherly love, and confidence to all men---the parental ſentiment is the true principle of government. Men are ever finally diſpoſed to be governed by the inſtrument of their happineſs. The myſtery of government would you learn it?---look on the Goſpel, and make the ſource of your redemption the rule of authority, and like the hen in the ſcripture, expand your wings and take in all your people.

Let bigotry and ſchiſm, the zealot's fire, the high prieſt's intolerance, through all their diſcordancy, tremble, while an enlightened parliament, with arms

arms of general protection, over-arches the whole community, and roots the Proteſtant aſcendency in the ſovereign mercy of its nature; laws of coercion, perhaps neceſſary, certainly ſevere, you have put forth already, but your great engine of power, you have hitherto kept back; that engine, which the pride of the bigot, nor the ſpite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high, nor the arſenal of the conqueror, nor the inquiſition with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of: the engine which armed with phyſical and moral bleſſing comes forth, and overlays mankind by ſervices; the engine of redreſs---this is government, and this the only deſcription of government worth your ambition. Were I to raiſe you to a great act, I ſhould not recur to the hiſtory of other nations; I would recite your own acts, and ſet you in emulation with yourſelves. Do you remember that night, when you gave your country a Free Trade, and with your hands opened all her harbours. That night when you gave her a Free Conſtitution, and broke the chains of a century---while England, eclipſed at your glory and your iſland, roſe as it were from its bed, and got nearer to the ſun. In the arts that poliſh life, the inventions that accommodate, the manufactures that adorn it, you will be for many years inferior to ſome other parts of Europe; but, to nurſe a growing people, to mature a ſtruggling, though hardy community, to mould, to multiply, to conſolidate, to inſpire, and to exalt a young nation; be theſe your barbarous accompliſhments?

I ſpeak this to you, from a long knowledge of your character, and the various reſources of your ſoul, and I confide my motion to thoſe principles not only of juſtice, but of fire, which I have obſerved to exiſt in your compoſition, and occaſionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the miniſters of the crown in eclipſed degradation. It is therefore I have not come to you furniſhed merely with a cold mechanical plan; but have ſubmitted to your conſideration the living grievances, conceiving that any thing in the ſhape of oppreſſion made once apparent---oppreſſion too of a people you have ſet free---the evil will catch thoſe warm ſuſceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legiſlation.

No. LXXIX.

Correct Lists of the MAJORITY *and* MINORITY *on the Questions respecting the* REGENCY; *with a List of those Members who did not vote on those Questions.* (*P.* 220.)

Majority on the Question respecting the Regency.

ABERCROMBIE, B. Clackmananſhire
Addington, H. Devizes
Addington, Hiley, Truro
Aldridge, J. Queenborough
Amyatt, J. Southampton
Anneſley, F. Reading
Apſley, Lord, Cirenceſter
Arden, Sir R. P. Aldborough.
Arden, Lord, Launceſton
Banks, H. Corfe Caſtle
Barclay, R. Kincardineſhire
Baring, F. Grampound
Baring, J. Exeter
Barne, Barne, Dunwich
Barre, Iſaac, Calne
Barrington, J. Newton, Hants
Barwell, R. St. Ives.
Baſtard, Edmond, Dartmouth
Bathurſt, P. Eye
Bayham, Lord, Bath
Baley, N. Angleſea
Bearcroft, E. Hindon
Belgrave, Lord, Totneſs
Beaufoy, H. Yarmouth
Bellingham, W. Ryegate
Berkeley, Hon. G. Glouceſterſhire
Biſhop, Sir Cecil, Bramber
Blackburne, J. Lancaſhire
Bloxam, M. Maidſtone
Bond, J. Corfe Caſtle
Boone, C. Caſtle Riſing
Bootle, R. W. Cheſter
Boſcawen, W. A. S. Truro
Bowyer, G. Queenborough
Bramſton, T. B. Eſſex
Brandling, C. Newcaſtle
Brett, C. Sandwich
Brickdale, M. Briſtol
Brodie, Nairn County
Brook, T. Newton, Lancaſhire
Browne, J. Hawkins, Bridgenorth
Browne, F. J. Dorſetſhire
Brudenell, G. B. Rutlandſhire
Burges, J. B. Helſtone
Burton, F. Woodſtock
Call, J. Callington
Calvert, J. Hertford
Calvert, J. jun. Tamworth
Campbell, Lord F. Inverary
Campbell, Clay, Glaſgow, &c.
Carew, R. P. Ryegate, &c.
Caſwell, T. Brackley
Cawthorn, J. F. Lincoln
Cecil, Henry, Stamford
Chaytor, W. Heydon

Cocks,

Cocks, Hon. J. S. Grampound
Colt, R. Lymington
Cornwallis, Hon. W. Portſmouth
Cotton, Sir R. S. Cheſhire
Courtown, Earl of, Marlborough
Crickit, C. A. Ipſwich
Cruger, H. Briſtol
Crutchley, Jeremiah, Horſham
Curzon, P. A. Leominſter
Darell, L. Heydon
Daſhwood, Sir H. Woodſtock
Daws, J. Haſtings
Denham, Sir J. S. Lanarkſhire
Devaynes, W. Barnſtable
Dickins, F. Cambridge Town
Dimſdale, B. Hertford
Dolben, Sir W. Oxford Univerſity
Douglas, A. Forfarſhire
Douglas, Sir G. Roxburghſhire
Drake, W. ſen. Agmondeſham
Drake, W. jun. ditto
Drummond, H. Midhurſt
Drummond, J. Shafteſbury
Duncomb, H. Yorkſhire
Dundas, H. Mid-Lothian
Duntze, Sir J. Tiverton
Edgecumbe, Hon. R. Fowey
Edmonſton, Sir A. Irvine Borough, &c.
Edwin, C. Glamorganſhire
Egerton, J. W. Brackley
Egerton, W. Hindon
Eliot, Hon. E. J. Liſkeard
Eliot, Hon. J. Liſkeard
Ellis, J. F. Leſtwithiel
Eſtwick, S. Weſtbury
Euſton, Earl of, Cambridge Univerſ.
Fane, Hon. H. Lyme Regis
Fane, Hon. T. Plymouth
Fellows, W. Andover
Ferguſon, Sir A. Edinburgh
Fife, Earl of, Elginſhire
Fitzroy, Lord C. St. Edmondſbury
Fleming, J. Southampton
Flood, Right Hon. Henry, Seaford
Fludyer, G. Chippingham
Fraſer, J. Gatton
Gamon, R. Wincheſter
Gaſcoine, B. Liverpool
Gideon, Sir S. Coventry
Gilbert, T. Litchfield
Gipps, G. Canterbury
Goddard, Ambroſe, Wiltſhire
Gordon, Lord W. Inverneſsſhire
Gordon, I. Stockbridge
Gough, Sir H. Bramber
Gower, Earl, Staffordſhire
Gower, Hon. J. L. Appleby
Graham, Marquis, Great Bedwin
Grant, I. Sutherlandſhire
Gregory, M. Newton, Hants
Grenville, Right Hon. James, Buckingham
Grenville, Right Hon. W. W. Speaker, Bucks
Griby, J. Suffolk
Grimſtone, Viſc. Hertfordſhire
Grimſton, Hon. W. St. Albans
Groſvenor, Hon. T. Cheſter
Hales, Sir P. Marlborough
Halifax, Sir T. Ayleſbury
Hamilton, J. J. St. Germain
Hamilton, I. Haddingtonſhire

Hammet, Sir B. Taunton
Hardinge, G. Old Sarum
Harley, Right Hon. T. Herefordſhire
Hawkins, C. St. Michael's
Henniker, J. New Romney
Herbert, Lord, Wilton
Hill, Sir Richard, Shropſhire
Hill, J. Shrewſbury
Hinchinbroke, Viſc. Huntingdon
Hobart, Hon. H. Norwich
Houghton, Sir H. Preſton
Home, P. Berwickſhire
Horbart, R. Bramber
Honewood, Sir J. Steyning
Hood, Alex. Bridgewater
Hopkins, R. Dartmouth
Hopkins, B. B. Ilcheſter
Howard, Sir G. Stamford
Howard, Hon. R. Steyning
Hungerford, I. P. Leiceſterſhire
Hunter, J. Leominſter
Jekyll, J. Calne
Jennings, G. Thetford
Jervis, Sir J. Yarmouth
Johnes, T. Radnorſhire
Johnſton, Sir James, Dumfries
Irvine, A. Eaſt Looe
Kempe, T. Lewes
Kenſington, Lord, Haverfordweſt
Kent, Sir C. Thetford
Knight, J. G. Aldborough
Kynaſton, J. Shropſhire
Langhorn, Sir J. Northamptonſhire
Langſton, John, Sudbury
Laſcelles, E. Northallerton
Lawley, Sir G. Warwickſhire
Lenox, Lord G. Suſſex
Lethieullier, B. Andover
Littleton, Sir Edward, Staffordſhire
Lincoln, Earl of, Eaſt Retford
Lewis, Sir W. London
Lygon, W. Worceſterſhire
Long, Charles, Rye
Long, Sir J. T. Wiltſhire
Macdonald, Sir Arch. Newcaſtle under Lyne
Macnamara, J. Leiceſter
Macreth, R. Aſhburton
Maddocks, J. Weſtbury
M'Dowall, A. Wigtown
Mainwaring, W. Middleſex
Manners, R. Bedwin
Martin, J. Tewkeſbury
Maſters, T. Glouceſterſhire
Mawbey, Sir J. Surry
Medley, G. Eaſt Grinſtead
Meſurier, Paul Le, Southwark
Metcalf, P. Horſham
Middleton, Sir C. Rocheſter
Middleton, W. Ipſwich
Milnes, R. S. York
Minchin, H. Oakhampton
Mitford, John Bearalſton
Munro, Sir Hector, Inverneſs, &c.
Montague, M. Boſſiney, &c.
Moor, J. Selkirk
Mornington, Earl of, Windſor
Mortimer, H. W. Shaftſbury
Muſgrave, Lord, Newark upon Trent
Muncaſter, Lord, Milbourn Port
Murray, Hon. J. Perthſhire
Murry, Hon. D. Peebleſhire

Neville,

Neville, R. A. Reading
Nicholas, R. Cricklade
Nugent, E. Buckingham
Onſlow, Hon. T. Guildford
Orchard, Paul, Callington
Pardoe, J. Plympton
Parry, J. Carnarvonſhire
Peachey, J. Shoreham
Penn, Richard, Appleby
Pennyman, Sir James, Beverley
Philips, E. Somerſetſhire
Phillipſon, R. B. Eye
Phipps, W. M. Pool
Pitt, Right Hon. William, Cambridge
Pochin, W. Leiceſterſhire
Popham, Alex. Taunton
Powney, P. P. Windſor
Praed, W. St. Ives
Preſton, Sir C. Kinghorn, &c.
Preſton, R. Dover
Pringle, M. Selkirkſhire
Pye, H. J. Berkſhire
Pulteney, W. Shrewſbury
Raſhleigh, P. Fowey
Radcliffe, Sir C. F. Hythe
Rich, Sir T. Marlow
Robinſon, John, Harwich
Robinſon, C. Canterbury
Rolle, J. Devonſhire
Rooke, J. Monmouthſhire
Roſe, G. Lymington
Roſs, C. Kirkwall
Rouſe, Sir J. Suffolk
Rouſe, C. W. B. Eveſham
Roushart, Sir J. ditto
Ryder, Hon. D. Tiverton
Scott, Sir J. Weobly
Scott, J. Weſt Looe
Selwyn, G. A. Luggerſhall
Selwyn, W. Whitchurch
Shaft, R. Dowton
Shuckburgh, Sir G. A. W. Warwickſhire
Smith, Samuel, jun. Worceſter
Smith, Samuel, St. Germains
Smith, Robert, Nottingham
Smith, C. L. Leiceſter
Smith
Smith, W. Sudbury
Smith, Joſiah, Devizes
Smyth, J. Pontefract
Sneyd, W. Caſtle Riding
Sotheron, W. Pontefract
Stanhope, W. S. Kingſton
Stanley, T. Chicheſter
Stephens, P. Sandwich
Stephenſon, J. Plympton
Steward, Gab. Weymouth
Strutt, J. Malden
Stuart, Hon. C. Boſſiney
Sulivan, R. J. New Romney
Sumner, G. Ilcheſter
Sutton, J. Newark
Sutton, Sir R. Boroughbridge
Sutton, G. Grantham
Sykes, Sir F. Wallingford
Sykes, Sir C. Beverley
Thiſtlethwayte, R. Hants
Thomas, G. W. Chicheſter
Thornton, H. Southwark
Thornton, H. Kingſton upon Hull
Thornton, R. Bridgewater

Thynne,

Thynne, Hon. T. Weobly
Townſhend, Hon. J. T. Newport, Hants.
Tudway, C. Wells
Turner, Sir G. P. Thirk
Tyrconnel, Earl of, Scarborough
Vanſittart, G. Berkſhire
Vernon, R. Newcaſtle under Line
Villiers, Hon. J. C. Old Sarum
Waller, R. Chiping Wycombe
Watſon, B. London
Weyms, W. Fifeſhire
Wenman, Viſc. Oxfordſhire
Weſtcote, Lord, Bewdley
Whitbread, S. Bedford
Wilberforce, W. Yorkſhire
Williams, W. Flint
Williams, Sir H. Beaumaris
Wilmot, J. Coventry
Wodehouſe, Sir J. Norfolk
Wood, R. Minehead
Worceſter, Marquis of, Monmouth
Wraxall, N. W. Lluggerſhall
Yonge, Sir G. Honiton
York, Hon. P. Cambridgeſhire
Younge, Sir W. St. Mawes

Minority on the Queſtion reſpecting the Regency.

Acourt, W. P. A. Heyteſbury
Adam, W. Kintore, &c.
Amcotts, Wharton, Retford
Anſon, George, Litchfield
Anſtruther, J. Anſtruthercaſter, &c.
Aſtly, Sir Edward, Norfolk
Bamfield, Sir Charles W. Exeter
Baſtard, J. P. Devonſhire
Baſſet, Sir Francis, Penryn
Baham, Viſc. Orford
Beckford, Rich. Arundel
Bentinck, Ld. Edward, Nottingham
Benyon, Richard, Peterborough
Bertie, Hon. W. Saliſbury
Bridgeman, Sir H. Wenlock
Bridgeman, Orlando, Wigan
Bullock, John, Eſſex
Burgoine, Rt. Hon. J. Preſton
Burke, Rt. Hon. Edmund, Malton
Burrell, Sir Peter, Boſton
Burton, Robert, Wendover
Calcroft, John, Wareham
Campbell, John Pryſe, Cardigan
Carnegie, Sir Dav. Aberdeen, &c.
Cavendiſh, Lord George H. Derby
Cavendiſh, Lord George, Derbyſhire
Chriſtian, John, Carliſle
Clayton, Sir Robert, Blechingly
Clayton, Wm. Great Marlow
Cleveland, John, Barnſtaple
Clive, Lord, Ludlow
Clive, William, Biſhop's Caſtle
Codrington, Sir Wm. Tewkeſbury
Coke, Daniel Parker, Nottingham
Coke, Edward, Derby
Colhoun, Wm. Bedford
Collier, Sir George, Honiton
Conway, Hon. Robert, S. Wotton Baſſet
Conway, Hon. George S. Oxford
Conway, Hon. Wm. S. Downton
Conway, Hon. Hugh S. Tregony

Cooper,

Cooper, Sir Grey, Richmond
Cornewall, Sir George, Herefordſhire
Cotes, John, Wigan
Cotsford, Edward, Midhurſt
Courteney, John, Tamworth
Creſpigny, Philip Champ. Alborough
Crewe, John, Cheſhire
Cunynghame, Sir W. A. Linlithgowſh
Dalrymple, Wm. Wigtown, &c.
Damer, Hon. George, Dorcheſter
Damer, Hon. Lionel, Peterborough
Davers, Sir C. Bury St. Edmonds
Dawkins, James, Chippenham
Delme, Peter, Morpeth
Dempſter, George, Cupar, &c.
Dickinſon, Wm. Rye
Downe, Viſc. Petersfield
Duncannon, Viſc. Knareſborough
Dundas, Sir T. Sterlingſhire
Dundas, T. Orkney
Eden, Sir John, Durham
Edwards, G. Noel, Rutland
Elliot, Sir Gilbert, Berwick on Tweed
Ellis, Right Hon. Welbore, Weymouth, &c.
Elphinſtone, Hon. G. K. Dunbartonſhire
Erſkine, Sir James, Morpeth
Evelyn, Wm. Hythe
Ewer, W. Dorcheſter
Farrer, T. Wareham
Fetherſtonhaugh, Sir H. Portſmouth
Fielding, Viſcount, Berealſton
Fitzherbert, T. Arundel
Fitzpatrick, Right Hon. R. Taviſtock
Fletcher, Sir H. Cumberland
Flemyng, Sir Michael Le, Weſtmorland
Foley, Hon. Andrew, Droitwich
Foley, Hon. Edward, Worceſterſhire
Foreſter, George, Wenlock
Fox, Right Hon. C. J. Weſtminſter
Francis, Philip, Yarmouth, Iſle of Wight
Frederick, Sir John, Chriſtchurch
Fullerton, William, Lauder, &c.
Galway, Viſcount, York
Garforth, J. B. Haſlemere
Gould, Sir Charles, Breconſhire
Gould, Charles, Brecon
Greville, Right Hon. C. Warwick
Grey, Charles, Northumberland
Hamilton, Right Hon. W. Ger. Wilton
Hanay, Sir S. Camelford
Harriſon, John, Grimſby
Heneage, John Walker, Cricklade
Honeywood, Filmer, Kent
Howell, David, St. Michael's
Hunt, Thomas, Bodmyn
Huſſey, William, Saliſbury
Jervaiſe, J. Clarke, Hants.
Jervaiſe, T. Clarke, Yarmouth
Inchinquin, Earl of, Richmond
Jolliffe, William, Petersfield
Keene, Whitſhed, Montgomery
Kenrick, John, Blechingly
Kinſmill, Robert, Tregoney
Knight, Richard Payne, Ludlow
Ladbroke, Robert, Warwick
Lambton, W. H. Durham

Laurie, Sir Robert, Dumfriesſhire
Laurence, William, Ripon
Lee, John, Clitheroe
Legh, T. Peter, Newton, Lancaſhire
Lemon, Sir William, Cornwall
Lemon, John, Saltaſh
Liſburne, Earl of, Cardiganſhire
Liſter, Thomas, Clitheroe
Long, Dudley, Grimſby
Lowther, Sir William, Cumberland
Lowther, John, Haſlemere
Lowther, James, Weſtmorland
Loveden, Edward L. Abington
Ludlow, Earl, Huntingdonſhire
Mackbride, John, Plymouth
Mackenzie, Francis Hum. Roſsſhire
Mackworth, Sir Herbert, Cardiff
Macpherſon, James, Camelford
Maitland, Viſcount, Malmeſbury
Marſham, Hon. Charles, Kent
Malden, Viſcount, Oakhampton
Maſters, Richard, Cirenceſter
Melbourne, Viſcount, Malmeſbury
Middeton, Sir W. Northumberland
Miller, Sir John, Newport, Cornwall
Middleton, Lord, Whitchurch
Moleſworth, Sir William, Cornwall
Monckton, Hon. Edward, Stafford
Montagu, Right Hon. Frederick, Higham-Ferrers
Molineux, Criſp, King's Lynn
Morgan, John, Monmouthſhire
Morſhead, Sir John, Bodmyn
Moſtyn, Sir Roger, Flintſhire
Moyſey, Abel, Bath
Mundy, Edward, M. Derbyſhire
Myddleton, Richard, Denbigh
Nedham, William, Winchelſea
Neſbit, John, Winchelſea
Newhaven, Lord, Gatton
Newnham, Nathaniel, London
Forth, Lord, Banbury
North, Hon. G. A. Wotton Baſſet
Norton, Hon. Chapple, Guilford
Ord, John, Wendover
Oſbaldiſton, George, Scarborough
Owen, Hugh, Pembroke
Owen, William Moſtyn, Montgomeryſhire
Page, Francis, Oxford Univerſity
Palmerſtone, Viſcount, Boroughbridge
Parker, Sir Peter, Malden
Parkyns, Thomas, Boothby, Stockbridge
Payne, John Willet, Huntingdon
Pelham, Right Hon. Thomas, Suſſex
Pelham, Hon. Henry, Lewes
Pelham, Charles A. Lincolnſhire
Penrhyn, Lord, Liverpool
Penton, Henry, Wincheſter
Philips, J. G. Carmarthen
Pierrepont, Charles, Nottinghamſhire
Plumer, William, Herts.
Popham, William, Milbourn Port
Powys, Thomas, Northamptonſhire
Purling, John, Weymouth
Rawlinſon, Sir Walter, Huntingdon
Rawlinſon, Abram, Lancaſter
Ridley, Sir Mathew White, Newcaſt on Tyne
Ruſhworth, Edward, Newport, Hant
Ruſſel, Lord John, Taviſtock

St. Aubin, Sir John, Penryn
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew, Bedfordſhire
Salt, Samuel, Aldborough
Satterthwaithe, J. C. Cockermouth
Saville, Hon. R. Lumley, Lincoln
Sawbridge, John, London
Scott, Thomas, Bridport
Scudamore, John, Hereford
Senhouſe, H. Cockermouth
Sheridan, Richard B. Stafford
Sinclair, Sir John, Leſtwithiel
Skene, George, Aberdeenſhire
Sloane, Hans, Chriſtchurch
Sloper, William Charles, St. Alban's
Smyth, Sir Robert, Colcheſter
Spencer, Lord Charles, Oxfordſhire
Spencer, Lord Robert, Oxford City
Stanley, Thomas, Lancaſhire
Stephenſon, Roland, Carliſle
Stewart, Alexander, Kircudbright
Strachey, Henry, Biſhop's Caſtle
Stuart, Hon. James, Buteſhire
Stuart, John Shaw, Renfrewſhire
Sturt, Charles, Bridport
Swinburne, Sir J. E. Launceſton
Taylor, Clem. Maidſtone
Taylor, Michael Angelo, Poole
Tempeſt, John, Durham City
Thorold, Sir John, Lincolnſhire
Townſhend, Lord John, Weſtminſter
Vanneck, Sir Gerard William, Dunwich
Vaughan, Hon. John, Berwick on Tweed
Vyner, Robert, Thirſk
Upper Offory, Earl of, Bedfordſhire
Walpole, Hon. Horatio, Lynn-Regis
Walwyn, James, Hereford
Warren, Sir George, Lancaſter
Webb, John, Glouceſter
Weddell, William, Matton
Whitmore, Thomas, Bridgenorth
Wilbraham, Roger, Helſton
Windham, Right Hon. William, Norwich
Winnington, Edward, Draſtwich
Wrightſon, William, Ayleſbury
Wynn, Glynn, Carnarvon
Wynn, Sir W. Williams, Derbyſhire

Liſt of thoſe Members who have not voted on the Queſtion reſpecting the Regency.

Adeane, J. W. Cambridge
Ambler, Charles, Saltaſh
Aubrey, Thomas, Wallingford
Aubrey, Sir John, Bucks.
Barnard, Viſcount, Totneſs
Beckford, William, Wells
Campbell, Sir James, Culroſs, &c.
Clavering, Sir Thomas, Durham County
Compton, Lord, Northampton
Cunninghame, Right Hon. Robert, Eaſt Grinſtead
Cuſt, Francis, C. Grantham
Eden, Right Hon. W. Heyteſbury
Ferguſon,

Ferguſon, James, Bamffſhire
Goodricke, Sir John, Ripon
Hare, James, Knareſborough
Lewis, Edward, New Radnor
Luttrell, John Fownes, Minehead
Manſell, Sir William, Carmarthenſhire
Milford, Lord, Pembrokeſhire
Mitford, William, Newport, Cornwall
Montgomerie, Hugh, Airſhire
Orde, Right Hon. Thomas, Harwich
Palk, Lawrence, Aſhburton
Peyton, Sir Henry, Cambridgeſhire
Pitt, Hon. George, Dorſetſhire
Rumbold, Sir Thomas, Weymouth
Ruſſel, Lord William, Surrey
Smith, Nathaniel, Rocheſter
Trevanion, John, Dover
Trevelyan, Sir John, Somerſetſhire
Trottman, F. Northampton
Vaughan, E. Lloyd, Merionethſhire
Watherſtone, Dalhouſie, Boſton
Wilks, John, Middleſex
Wycombe, Lord, Chip. Wycombe

No. LXXX.

Proteſts upon the Regency. (*P.* 247.)

DISSENTIENT.

BECAUSE the undoubted right and indiſpenſible duty declared in the ſaid reſolution to have been exerciſed and diſcharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alleged they are alone competent, do not in any legal or ſound ſenſe appear to us to have any exiſtence. And becauſe the aſſuming a right in the lords and commons alone to confer upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the ſtile and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, to exerciſe and adminiſter according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addreſſing his royal highneſs to take upon himſelf ſuch government in manner aforeſaid, before he be enabled by law ſo to do, ſeems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to diſturb and break the conſtitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connection the happineſs of both kingdoms eſſentially depends; and we are the more apprehenſive of danger, leſt the ſo doing ſhould be conſidered

ſidered as tending to the prejudice, diſturbance or derogation of the king's majeſty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland.

Mountmorris, by proxy	Lifford, C.
Courtown, by proxy	R. Dublin
Enniſkillen, by proxy	Conyngham
Mornington, by proxy	Tyrone
Altamont, by proxy	Bective
John Clogher, by proxy	Chetwynd
George Lewis, Kilmore	Valentia
William Leighlin and Ferns	Longford
Powerſcourt	Glandore
Hillſborough	Ranelagh
Carhampton	Harberton
Laneſborough	Bellamont
William Oſſory	

Diſſentient.

BECAUSE when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his majeſty's repreſentative here, hath told us that under the impreſſions of his official duty and of the oath that he hath as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline tranſmitting to Great Britain the addreſs of both houſes of parliament to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, it doth not conſiſt with that decorum, with that juſtice, and that grave proceeding, in which this houſe, the great and dernier court of juſtice, will ever act, to proceed to a condemnation and cenſure of his excellency without being allowed to enquire and look into the conſtitution of his office or into his oath. And beſides, we cannot conſider it as a want of reſpect to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, the not tranſmitting the ſaid addreſs to him, as it would expoſe his royal highneſs to difficulty and embarraſſment, by laying him under the diſagreeable neceſſity of deciding upon great legal and conſtitutional principles, in which his royal highneſs's future intereſt, and the rights of that imperial crown, which he is born to inherit, may be very deeply concerned, and moreover, we conceive this houſe ought ever to be mindful of the ſtation, in which the conſtitution hath placed it, and ought to reſiſt every thing, which partakes of intemperance and exceſs.

Mountmorris, by proxy	Mornington, by proxy
Courtown, by proxy	Enniſkillen, by proxy

Altamont, by proxy
George Lewes Kilmore
John Clogher, by proxy
W. Leighlin and Ferms
Laneſborough
Powerſcourt
Hillſborough
Carhampton
Bellamont
Valentia
Lifford, C.
Tyrone
Langford
Glandore
Bective
Harbertown
R. Dublin
Ranelagh
W. Offory
Conyngham

Diſſentient.

BECAUSE although deſirous to expreſs our humble thanks to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, for his gracious anſwer to the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, and that to a degree, which might induce us to paſs over the departure, which there ſeems to be in the mode and form of this addreſs from the uſual courſe and proceedings of parliament, yet we cannot agree to this addreſs, which doth not conſiſt, as we conceive, with thoſe conſtitutional principles, which are maintained in our proteſts of February laſt, and to which we adhere.

Harberton
Tyrone
Laneſborough
William Offory
Glandore
Mountmorris
Lifford
R. Dublin
Ranelagh
Chetwynd
Langford
Altamont

No. LXXXI.

(*Page* 249.)

Houſe of Lords, on a Motion for adjourning the Conſideration of the Addreſs to the Prince of Wales to a diſtant Day, the Diviſion was as follows:

AGAINST.

Arch. Caſhel Tuam
Duke Leinſter
Earl Meath
Drogheda

Granard,

Earl Granard
Shannon
Clanbrayſil
Belvidere
Louth
Arran
Miltown
Charlemont
Grandiſon
Roſs
Clanwilliam
Aldborough
Mountcaſhel
Portarlington
Farnham
Viſc. Mountgarret
Strangford
Allen

Viſc. Deſer
Clifden
Gasford
Doneraile
Pery
Biſhop Waterford
Cloyne
Limerick
Killala
Baron Kinſale
Dunſany
Caſtleſtewar
Belmore
Welles
Leitrim
Landaff
Donoughmore
Loftus

(Teller, Lord Farnham)

FOR

Chancellor
Archb. Dublin
Earl Tyrone
Hilſborough
Bective
Lanesborough
Bellamont
Glandore
Carhampton
Viſc. Valentia
Ranelagh

Viſc. Chetwynd
Enniſkillen
Erne
Biſhop Kilmore
Offery
Ferns
Baron Longford
Conyngham
Harberton
Earlsford

(Teller, Lord Bellamont.

Proxies.

AGAINST.

Earl Roden
Baron Muſkery

Liſmore

Earl

	For
Earl Altamont	Viſc. Mountmorris
Courtown	Baron Carysford
Mornington	Arder

Againſt the Adjournment in the Commons.

Hon. Arth. Acheſon	Sir E. Crofton
Thomas Adderley	Ath. Dawſon
George Ager	Thomas Dawſon
Hen. Alcock	Simon Digby
James Alexander	Robert Dillon
Hon. Alexander	John Dunn
Mer. Archdall	George Dunbar
Sir Fitz Aylmer	Sir Thomas Fetherſton
Thomas Burton	Lord Hen. Fitzgerald
John Blakeney	Warden Flood
Sir John Blaquiere	Hon. William Forward
Henry V. Brook	Sir John Freke
Athur Brown	Daniel Gahan
Right Hon. W. Brownlow	Right Hon. Henry Grattan
Hon. Bruen	Godfrey Greene
George Bunbury	Richard Griffith
George Burdett	William Handcock
Thomas Burgh, (Old Town)	Francis Hardy
George P. Buſhe	Travers Hartley
William Burton	Sir Henry Hartſtone
And. Caldwell	Henry Hatton
Hugh Cane	Samuel Hayes, (Dunbo
Eph. Carroll	Joſeph Hare
Sir H. Cavendiſh	Sir Francis Hutchinſon
Sir H. Colthurſt	Denham Jephſon
Right Hon. T. Conolly	John Hely Hutchinſon
Henry Cope	Lord Jocelyne
Iſaac Corry	Ger. Jocelyne
J. L. Cotter	William Todd Jones
Roger Cotter	Sir Allen Johnſon

Hon.

Hon. Thomas Knox
Sir Hercules Langriſhe
Robert Langriſhe
Charles Leſlie
Thomas Loftus
John Metge
Alexander Montgomery
John Montgomery
Nathaniel Mantz Moor
Hon. John Moor
John Moor
Lodge Morres
Sir William Morris
Sir Richard Muſgrave
Thomas Neſbitt
Richard Neville
Sir Edward Newenham
T. B. O'Flarerty
Right Hon. George Ogele
Charles O'Hara
Right Hon. John O'Neill
Edm. Pery
Thomas Pegatt
George Ponſonby
John Preſton
Joſeph Preſton
Henry Pritty
Thomas Richardſon
William Richardſon
Hon. Her. Rowly
Right Hon. H. L. Rowley
George Sandford
Charles Francis Sheridan
Mich. Smith
Sir Skeffington Smith
John Staples
Sir Anneſley Stewart
James Stewart (Tyrone)
Hon. John Stratford
Daniel Toler
Charles Tottenham
R. Tottenhan
N. Loftus Tottenham
John Townſhend
James Uniacke
Robert Uniacke
John Uſher
John Warburton
Hon. Edward Ward
Auguſtus Warren
Robert Welſh
Nic. Weſtley
John Wolf
Hon. Major Cuffe
Hugh Howard
J. Leigh
Sir James May
Thomas Hobſon

(Tellers Mr. Grattan and Mr. Conolly.)

For the Adjournment.

Richard Anneſley
Right Hon. J. Beresford
Sir J. Browne
Robert Boyd
Thomas Bugh
John Chatterton
Theo. Clements
Charles H. Coote
Henry Coddington
Maurice Copinger

John Craddock
William Cunningham
Denis Daly
Sir Charles Deſvoux
Lord Delvin
James Fitzgerald (Prime Serjeant)
John Fitzgibbon
Sir Fred. Flood
Alleyne Fitzherbert
T. J. Foſter
Luke Gardener
John G. Leitrim
Sackville Hamilton
Sir J. S. Hamilton
J. Harriſon
L. H. Harmon
Samuel Hayes, (Avondale)
Sir Hugh Hill
Lord Headford
R. Herbert
Hon. Mr. Hewitt
R. Hobert
Peter Holmes
Sir Richard Johnſon
R. Johnſon (Counſellor)
Theo. Jones
Lord Kilwarden
Edward King
Lord Kingſborough
David Latouche
John Latouche
Sir N. Lawleſs
Peter Latouche
Richard Longfield
Mont. Longfield
Georges Lowther
R. Magennis
M. Maſon
John M'Clontack
Sir R. G. Merodyt
George Molyneux
Sir L. O'Brien
L. Parſons
C. Price
Hon. Thomas Packinham
Sir John Parnell
George Rawſon
Richard Penefather
Sir B. Roche
R. Roſs
John Reilly
Prendergaſt Smyth
William Smyth (Weſtmeath)
Henry Stewart
Edward Tighe
Fred. Trench
John Toler
John Tydd
R. Vowel
Nat. Warren
A. Wolfe

(Tellers, Lord Kilwarden and Mr. Fitzgibbon.)

No. LXXXII.

Report of the Commiſſioners on the Police Bill. (*P.* 269.)

MR. SPEAKER,

YOUR committee appointed to examine the accounts of the commiſſioners of police, having met according to order, and called for ſuch papers as appeared to them to be neceſſary, and alſo examined ſeveral witneſſes relative to the ſtate of the ſaid accounts, in the moſt ſolemn manner, directed me to report as follows:

Your committee having examined the accounts laid before them by the commiſſioners of police, do find, that in the two years and a half, which their inſtitution has ſubſiſted, ending the 25th of March laſt, they have ſpent more than 51,000*l.* of the money of the public.

They find further, that the total expence of the firſt year, including the ſalaries paid to the commiſſioners and diviſional juſtices, amounted to 20,197*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* and of the ſecond year to 19,981*l.* 0*s.* 2¾*d.* of which ſums your committee find that the ſum of 9,682*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* was the charge for the watch in the firſt year, and 9,500*l.* in the ſecond year, and that the remainder (being a ſum of 10,514*l.* 16*s.* in the firſt year, and 10,481*l.* 0*s.* 2¾*d.* in the ſecond) has been expended in ſalaries and other charges, which have attended this eſtabliſhment.

Your committee then proceeded to examine into the particulars of theſe laſt ſums, and find, that a ſum of 4,000*l.* and upwards has been expended for the police houſe, and the houſes and offices of the diviſional magiſtrates, and of the high and chief conſtables, and for furniture.

Your committee further find among many other unſuitable and objectionable articles compoſing the laſt mentioned ſum of 4,000*l.* there is a charge of 138*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* for looking glaſſes, and 99*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.* for Wilton and other carpets.

Your committee proceeded further to examine the expence of the police cavalry, and find that above 4,600*l.* have been expended for the forty horſe of the police eſtabliſhment in the two firſt years, although it appears to the committee, that the keeping any horſe policemen was, and is unneceſſary, and conſequently that the laſt mentioned ſum was an expence uſeleſs to the public.

It alſo appears to your committee, that the additional watch at 9*d.* per day has not anſwered the deſired effect.

Your committee having obſerved an exceſſive charge for the article of coals, and enquired into the application thereof, do find, that about 406 tons have been, on an average, the annual conſumption, of which 48 tons have been the allowance to the four diviſional magiſtrates; about 209 to high and chief conſtables, the houſe of correction, and watch houſes; and for the remaining quantity of above 180 tons, there appears no account except for ſuch part thereof, as may have been conſumed at the police houſe.

Your committee have further to obſerve, that the commiſſioners appear to have made an improvident contract, in paying 20*s.* a ton in the ſecond and third years, the coal factor who furniſhed the firſt year having declared his readineſs to continue his contract at 19*s.*

Your committee then proceeded to conſider the charge under the head of ſtationary, and find it to be for the two years and a half 3,316*l.* 6*s.* 6½*d.* On this extraordinary charge your committee have to obſerve, that upwards of 150*l.* were paid for gilt paper, and 49*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* for ſealing wax, in the firſt year and a half, ending the 25th of March, 1788; charges unwarrantable and unneceſſary, which are confirmed by the charge of 13*l.* being found ſufficient for both thoſe articles in the following year.

Your committee find a conſiderable and very extraordinary charge for books, ſome of which appear to be unneceſſary, and by no means appertaining to the buſineſs of the police, the catalogue of which was preſented to the houſe laſt ſeſſion.

Your committee alſo find, that the commiſſioners of police have, for the laſt year and three quarters, paid by agreement to their ſtationer 104*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per quarter (which is about 8*l.* a week), for compiling and printing the Hue and Cry, and for occaſional hand bills, of which ſum he allows one guinea per week to a clerk for compiling the Hue and Cry, and he calculates the occaſional hand bill at ſeven ſhillings per week, which leaves about 6*l.* 10*s.* to ſaid ſtationer, for printing the ſaid Hue and Cry.

Your committee then examined John Chambers and Thomas M'Donnel, maſter printers, and found they would undertake to print the Hue and Cry, on a paper, and with a type of the ſame kind, as thoſe made uſe of for it, for about 3*l.* 13*s.* per week leſs than is now paid by the commiſſioners.

Your committee think it neceſſary alſo to take notice, that a ſum of 246*l.* 18*s.*

18*s.* 8*d.* was paid in the firſt year, and 153*l.* 14*s.* 7½*d.* in the ſecond, for advertiſements in newſpapers.

Your committee think it their duty to obſerve, that there is a charge of 176*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* for a ſurvey and maps of the metropolis diſtrict.

Your committee further find, that about 900*l.* have been expended in law ſuits, in the greater part of which the commiſſioners of police have been unſucceſsful.

Your committee proceeded to examine into the ſtoppages made from the police watchmen, and find, that 1¼*d.* per day, amounting to 2*l.* 13*s.* 2¼*d.* a year, is ſtopped for clothing from the daily pay of each police night watchman, which (for the 400 men) amounts to 1064*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* a year; and that 2¼*d.* per day, amounting to 3*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.* a year, is ſtopped for clothing from each watch conſtable, which, for 40 men comes to 136*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* a year, which ſtoppages amount in the whole to 1,201*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* per annum.

Your committee further find, that the clothing, to which ſuch ſtoppages is applied, conſiſts, for the night watchmen, of coat, waiſtcoat, breeches, flannel under waiſtcoat, one pair of long gaiters, and hat and cockade, for all which the price paid by contract amounts to 2*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* per man yearly, and for the 400 men to 888*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and that the clothing of 40 watch conſtables conſiſts of the aforeſaid articles, and alſo of ſilver lace, loop and button for the hat, and of a ſilver epaulet, all which clothing coſts 2*l.* 19*s.* 1¼*d.* per man, and for 40 men coſts 118*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* which ſum added to the aforeſaid ſum of 888*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* makes 1,006*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* per annum.

And your committee find, that the difference between the actual clothing expences of the police night infantry, and the aforeſaid ſtoppages amounts to 194*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum, for which ſaving it does not appear, that the commiſſioners of police have given credit in their accounts to the commiſſioners of account or elſewhere.

It further appears to your committee, that during the firſt year of the police inſtitution, neither flannel waiſtcoats nor long gaiters were given to the watchmen, and that conſequently (though the contract price was then ſeventeen pence a ſuit higher than at preſent), yet the clothing of each of the 400 private men did not exceed 2*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* per annum, and therefore gave opportunity for a ſaving of 70*l.* more than their clothing admits in the current year.

Your committee alſo find, that excluſive of the aforeſaid ſtoppage, and of

a ſtoppage for the ſurgeon, there has been ſtopped one penny per night from each of the 400 police night watchmen, ſeven eighths of a penny per night from each of the 40 watch conſtables, and one penny five eighths per night from each of the 40 horſemen, which different ſtoppages amount to 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and this ſum is alleged to have been paid in ſome ſubſequent period to ſuch police men as have not been diſmiſſed for miſbehaviour.

Your committee alſo find, that in the accounts laid before them by the commiſſioners of police, credit is not given to the public for more than the ſum of 124*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* under the head of arrears, which article is in the ſecond year's charge, and that conſequently 646*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* (which is more than five ſixths of the whole of the above ſtoppages of the firſt year) is by the account implied to have been paid in or before the ſecond year to the police men as arrears; but no account has been produced to this committee of the payments to the police men of that large proportion of thoſe arrears ſo ſtopped from them during the firſt year, and not credited to the public, but it is alleged ſaid arrears have been paid.

It appears that no credit whatſoever has yet been given to the public for the aforeſaid ſtoppages for the ſecond year, ending at Michaelmas laſt, and amounting to a like ſum of 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* although police accounts for the half year, ending the 25th of March, 1789, have been laid before the committee; (the reaſon alleged for which, by one of the commiſſioners is, that there are ſome of thoſe arrears, which have not yet been paid to the men.)

Your committee think it right to obſerve that a greater ſum has been received by the commiſſioners of police, for non-effective men, in the accounts of the two firſt years, than the ſums therein credited to the public.

Your committee further find, that a ſecretary, with a ſalary of 200*l.* a year, and three clerks under him, whoſe ſalaries amount to 240*l.* per annum, attended the police houſe, excluſive of the accountant and his clerk, and of the ſtationer's clerk, who compiles the Hue and Cry.

And that George Parker, one of thoſe three clerks, enjoying a ſalary of 70*l.* per annum, has not been in Ireland during the laſt half year.

They alſo find, that each of the four diviſional juſtices has two clerks, for whom the public is charged 125*l.* making for the eight clerks a ſum of 500*l.* a year.

Your committee obſerve further, that the general accounts of the police, laid before the commiſſioners of account, and afterwards before this committee

mittee, are ill arranged, and many of the articles not diſtributed under their proper heads; and that having examined the accountant as to that point, he alleged, that the arrangement of all accounts of expenditure originated from the commiſſioners.

And your committee came to the following reſolutions:

I. Reſolved, That it appears to this committee, that the police eſtabliſhment has been attended with unnecessary patronage, waſte, and diſſipation.

II. Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the peace and protection of the city of Dublin might be more effectually maintained at a leſſer expence, and that the preſent ſyſtem of police eſtabliſhment ought to be changed.

No. LXXXIII.

Mr. GRATTAN'S *Second Speech on Tithes.* (*P.* 270).

MR. GRATTAN preſented to the houſe according to order, a bill to appoint commiſſioners for the purpoſe of enquiring into the ſtate of tithes in the different provinces of this kingdom, and to report a plan for the aſcertaining the ſame.

He ſaid, the advocates for tithes and their abuſe, having declined a public enquiry, thought they beſt conſulted the dignity of the church by reſorting to a paper war: this paper war has been conducted under the mitred auſpices of certain biſhops: theſe biſhops have in the courſe of it accuſed me of making an attack on the Proteſtant clergy of the South. You know, they know, how totally unfounded ſuch a charge is; I did prefer then, and I prefer now, certain allegations, that in ſome parts of the South there exiſted illegal demand, increaſing demand, exceſſive demand, an abuſe of the compenſation act; tithe-proctors who extort fees, tithe-farmers who lay the poor under contribution; theſe charges I did not affirm to affect the major part of the Southern clergy, but I did, and I do now affirm, that they do affect in degree and extent ſuch a proportion of diſtrict as to call for the interference of parliament. Two pamphlets on this ſubject, entitled my Speech, were publiſhed, different from each other, or reſembling each other in nothing except in not being my ſpeech, and in not being publiſhed by my authority; to theſe pamphlets the dignitaries above alluded to have replied: convinced that I neither ſpoke nor wrote the contents of either, they have charged me with both.

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This unfounded charge on me they have thought proper to maſk by calling it a Defence of the Proteſtant Clergy of the South, and have thus endeavoured to diſperſe through the community a falſe alarm, and a groundleſs accuſation. This alarm and accuſation, called a Defence, ſets forth, that the biſhops of the South, in the year 1786, wrote circ[illegible]ers to their clergy, deſiring returns of their reſpective ratages; with a [illegible]tion that theſe returns, if poſſible, ſhould be made on oath. The [illegible]e ſets forth, that returns were made. I own I ſhould be very glad to ſee them; not one ſyllable—the Defence ſuppreſſed the returns of the clergy, and gives the public in their place its own calculation, which it profeſſes to be an average formed on theſe returns—Even ſo, let us admit ſuch evidence; where the biſhops contend, let the party be the evidence, and the advocate be the judge. The authors of the Defence having ſtated, that a moſt minute and general enquiry has been made, allege,* that, in the whole extent of that enquiry, they no where find the rate for potatoes higher than 12*s.* the plantation acre; theſe are their words, and on the veracity of this allegation, depends whatever attention ſhould be paid to their defence. I have from private hands aſſurances innumerable, in the moſt poſitive and direct manner, contradicting that allegation. I have from private hands affidavits without number diſproving that allegation. I will reject them all. I will, for argument, give the paſtors a victory over their flock, and the fruits of their care, and ſuppoſe, for a moment, their pariſhioners to be perjured, yet what ſhall we ſay of the clergy, who have, by themſelves, or their witneſſes, ſworn the ſame thing? I will read you a report from the judge who went the Munſter circuit of the ſpring of 1788. It is as follows: "At the laſt aſſizes held for the county of Kerry, at Tralee, a civil bill was brought before me, upon the compenſation-act, for the value of certain tithes. From the evidence of the plaintiff's own witneſſes, and the ſchedule, the demand appeared as follows: tithe of potatoes, one acre and a half, 2*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*" (Gentlemen will recollect, that, by the compenſation-act,

* Defence of the Proteſtant Clergy, p. 93.—"But it muſt be remembered, that from the vici-
"nity of theſe pariſhes to Limerick, and the great fertility of the ground, the average value of the
"crops of potatoes is twenty pounds, the tithes two pounds, and other crops in proportion.
"Now, is twelve ſhillings an unreaſonable demand for what is worth two pounds? I further
"remark, that *I no where find the rate higher than twelve ſhillings the plantation acre*; and the
"crop, wherever it is charged, not worth leſs than eleven or twelve pounds, more generally ſixteen
"or twenty.

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the bill or petition is not to be brought for the value, but the cuſtomary charge). I will read another document, equally authoritative from Cork.

Rates of Tithes, on Petitions, for the year 1786, *in the County of Cork.*

IRISH ACRE.

Potatoes		Wheat		Barley		Oats		Meadow	
from	to	from	to	from	to	from	to	from	to
s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
12 9½	16 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	9 7	3 2	4 9½	3 2	0 0
16 0	0 0	12 9½	16 0	12 9½	0 0	4 9½	6 4½	6 4½	0 0
12 9½	0 0	9 7	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 9½	0 0	4 9½	0 0
8 0	12 9½	6 4½	9 7	6 4½	0 0	1 8½	4 0	3 2	4 0
12 9½	16 0	12 9½	0 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	0 0	4 9½	6 4½
11 2	14 4½	11 2	14 9½	8 0	11 2	4 0	6 4½	3 2	0 3
9 7	14 4½	6 4½	9 7	8 0	0 0	3 2	6 4	3 2	5 2
11 2	12 9½	8 0	9 7	0 0	0 0	1 7	4 9½	1 7	4 0
8 0	16 0	11 2	0 0	9 7	0 0	5 2	0 0	4 9½	0 0
12 9½	16 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	9 7	4 0	4 9½	3 2	0 0
12 9	0 0	9 7	0 0	11 2	0 0	4 9	0 0	3 2	0 0

I muſt here again obſerve, that the petition is by the act to be brought for the cuſtomary charge.

I muſt obſerve alſo, that only nineteen petitions were tried for 1786, wherein rates were ſpecified, and of the nineteen, eleven exceeded the rate of 12*s.* the plantation acre; a rate, the Defence affirms, has never been exceeded; I muſt alſo obſerve, that theſe petitions muſt have been ſupported by the oath of the clergy or their witneſſes, and do directly falſify the allegation of the Defence---What becomes of the Defence now? not refuted, but convicted, convicted on oath, the oath of the clergy themſelves or their witneſſes, taken at a public trial. Thus the defence of the biſhops is put down by the oaths of the clergy.

Here I might leave the Defence, if it did not advance another propoſition too glaring to paſs without obſervation: * It ſtates (in a very confuſed man-

* Defence of the Proteſtant Clergy, p. 47.—"It is incontrovertibly true, that in moſt places the "rates of tithe have not varied for the laſt thirty years."

And in p. 41.—"But ſure I am, from the preſent ſtate of ratages, collected from exact informa-"tion, the average increaſe, through any entire county, dioceſe, or pariſh, if any there has been, "can be but very ſmall indeed, and that in very few pariſhes only, but certainly not throughout "any dioceſe or county."

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ner I own, but it does ſtate), that the average ratages have not in any ſouthern county or dioceſe increaſed theſe thirty years. The groſs improbability of this aſſertion muſt appear to every man, who reflects on the progreſs of things ſince the year 1756, (the period to which the Defence refers); who reflects how the mode of living has changed, and become more expenſive ſince that time, and how much the ſtyle and tone of modern clergymen excels in expence and diſplay, the old miniſters of the goſpel. The improbability of this aſſertion would appear more fully, if I were permitted to bring to the bar of this houſe the pariſhioners, who could moſt feelingly atteſt the direct contrary; or were I permitted to produce affidavits which ſwear the direct contrary. But I will for a moment reject all this, and I will refute their caſe by nothing leſs than the authority of their own oaths, and the acknowledgment of their own vindication. The Defence ſtates, that the average-ratages of the poor dioceſes of Cloyne and of Cork, are above 10*s.* an acre, potatoes, and of Cork above 7*s.* 9*d.* wheat, and Cloyne above 9*s.* wheat. While in the rich dioceſe, potatoes are, as the Defence ſtates, 7*s.* the acre, and wheat 6*s.* 6*d.*

The Defence endeavours to account for the diſparity, and aſcribes it to a number of corn mills eſtabliſhed in the county of Cork, and to the export trade of corn from the ports Youghal, Cork, Kinſale, and Dungarvan. Now theſe mills, and this export trade, are almoſt entirely the effect of the corn bounty, the inland bounty, which did not take place till the year 1758, and ſtill more, the export bounty, which did not take place till the year 1773, and which, with the inland bounty, has been gradually, and more abundantly, operating ever ſince.

The Defence has then aſſigned a cauſe, which cauſe began to exiſt within thirty years of the date of the enquiry; it follows, that the effect muſt have taken place within that period; it follows, that an encreaſe of average ratage has taken place in ſome dioceſes within thoſe thirty years; it follows, that the other great poſition of the Defence is unfounded.

Thus the two great poſitions of the caſe fail: the firſt is refuted by the oath of the party, and the ſecond by the admiſſion of the Defence: the Defence acknowledges what it denies, that the clergy have increaſed the average prices of ſome dioceſes within theſe thirty years; it acknowledges, what it alſo denies, that they have tithed the bounty; but I will wave all this, and yet will ſhew their caſe to be inadmiſſible: it ſtates that they have procured returns from the clergy, what kind of returns you have heard; but it does not pretend to have gotten any from the lay impropriators; and it affirms, that

that this ſhare amounts to one-third of the tithes of this kingdom: it acknowledges then, that the enquiry has omitted one-third of the queſtion, and on ſuch an enquiry they propoſe to decide the ſtate of Munſter and all its peaſantry. Allow their Defence—biaſſed, as it muſt be thought; fallacious, as it has been ſworn; ſelf-convicted as it has been proved; however, in compliment to its authors, let us for a moment allow it. Yet ſtill it is not the ſtate of the tithes of Munſter, it is not commenſurate with the queſtion it preſumes to cover; it does not affect to touch at all one of the three parts of the caſe; and when it affects to touch the other two, I have ſhewn it to be but affectation. With every reſpect to the clergy of Munſter, the queſtion is not, whether they are the oppreſſors? it is higher, it is, whether the people are oppreſſed. To acquit the clergy, ſuppoſing ſuch a defence, which proves nothing but its own contradiction, could do ſo, decides only an inferior queſtion; to obtrude that deciſion as diſpoſing of the whole of the caſe, is to make a criminal uſe of their ſuppoſed innocence; and as the defence would acquit the parſons on their own evidence, ſo would it diſmiſs the peaſant unredreſſed, without any evidence at all. In anſwer to ſuch a propoſal, we aſk of right reverend authority, where is your flock? what, is there no wolf but the ſhepherd? Bring us a better account of your charge; go back to your fold. But I might wave all this, yet the Defence is ſtill inadmiſſible, becauſe falſe in its conception. The exhibiting the average rates of the different dioceſes of the ſouth, does not enable the public to judge of the [illegible]tion. In order to expoſe the art of deciding any thing by thoſe clerical [illegible]ges, it is ſufficient to recollect the famous average of a dignified writer, who, eſtimating the average income of the Iriſh clergy, excluded the biſhoprics, and included the curates, to give the reader a juſt and fair ſenſe of the property of the church. And ſtill further to expoſe a defence founded on average ratages, it is ſufficient to examine the decrees of the court of Caſhel, whoſe average decrees are ſtated for the five years previous to 1786, to be 8*s.* an acre potatoes, but whoſe particular decrees appear from the books in ſome caſes to have exceeded 20*s.* The average ratages of the different dioceſes give the public no knowledge of the caſe. It may happen, that the average ratage of a dioceſe ſhall be moderate, and yet the ratages univerſally exceptionable. Suppoſe one half of the dioceſe under the ratage of Dr. Atterbury, and the other under the ratage of Captain Right, the average might perhaps be moderate, but that apparent moderation of ratage would ariſe from the very

circumſtance which made it peculiarly culpable, from the double grievance, from the two extremes, from the oppoſite offences; it may happen that the proprietors of tithe in ſome caſes crouch to the rich, and encroach on the poor; the average, under ſuch circumſtances, might appear moderate, but the moderation would ariſe from the compound of crimes, from crouching and encroaching, from meanneſs and extortion. The moderation of average price therefore proves nothing; it is a method which not only conceals, but inverts the caſe. It makes the pariſh of A. appear better from the circumſtance that makes her worſe, from comparative miſery; it makes the pariſh of A. when rated too high, appear to be actually relieved when the pariſh of B. is rated too low; as if the former derived a paradoxical relief from the ſenſe of its own peculiar hardſhip, and obtained a preternatural reſpiration from burthens, becauſe they were heaped with uncommon meaſure on herſelf; it is a clerical chemiſtry, which extracts a complexion from the conſumption of the caſe; oppreſſion alone would not do; but add partiality, and the compound is vended by the right reverend authors, as an image of their charity, and a caſe for their clergy. And as a defence founded on an exhibition of average prices only, is unjuſt to the pariſh, ſo it is injurious to the parſon; it makes the moderation of parſon A. ſtate in favor of parſon B. who is an extortioner, and the exaction of B. ſtate againſt A. who is moderate; as if A. derived riches from the extortion of B. and conſolation from the reflection that if he himſelf got too little, his neighbour B. whoſe example he [illegible], got too much; and it ſuppoſes that A. had a further conſolation from the experience, that if he did not ſhare the profit, he divided the infamy. This proceſs by average is a confuſion and incorporation of vice and virtue, fame and infamy; it is reſorted to from an indifference about the real ſtate of the peaſantry, ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of corps, at the expence of the beſt members of the church, and by a falſe tenderneſs of ſome peccant individuals, who may atone for the crimes of an exactioner, by the virtues of a ſycophant, and by adulation to their biſhop, may ſecure abſolution for every other abomination. The exhibiting average prices therefore gives no information. From thoſe ſubmitted in the Defence, nothing can be collected, except that they are not founded in fact. They are ſtated to be formed on returns, which do not exceed 12*s.* the plantation acre; though from the oaths of the clergy, or their witneſſes, the prices are proved to go to 27*s.* Waving therefore other objections, this defence muſt be rejected on two grounds:

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firſt, becauſe the average price is not the true defence. Second, becauſe this Defence is not the true average. But though right reverend authority has not made out a caſe for the clergy, it has made out a caſe for the people. So it frequently happens; men are but inſtruments of Providence, and without knowing it, fulfil her ways. The zealot is but an inflamed organ, burſting forth with unpremeditated truths; reverend writers endeavouring to eſtabliſh a right in the Proteſtant clergy to a tenth of the peaſant's labour, as prior to the Proteſtant religion, paramount to all other rights of property, and therefore prior not only to the Proteſtant, but to the Chriſtian religion, have only ſerved to bring forth proofs, that ſuch a right, if any, reſides in the poor, and that the parſon was only his truſtee: ſo now the biſhops in their defence, ſtate the average ratages of three out of the five dioceſes to which their acreable ratages refer, to amount to above 10*s.* the plantation acre for potatoes; and in forming this average they acknowledge they exclude all particular ratages above 12*s.* and therefore their average is leſs than the fact; and they do not pretend to include one or two ſhillings in the pound, notoriouſly paid to the tithe proctor by the peaſant, though reluctantly acknowledged by the Defence, and omitted in the average, which, on that account, is a ſtill further departure from the fact. This 10*s.* the acre, demanded and received without any conſideration of charity, which was the object of tithe; of building and repairing churches, as is required by the canon law; without parochial ſchools, as are required of the clergymen by the ſtatute law, and in ſome places without reſidence, which is required by canon, common, and ſtatute laws, ariſes not only from the produce that feeds mankind, but from the only produce which in Ireland ſuſtains the poor and moſt numerous deſcription of mankind, who have not poor rates as in England, and who have another order of clergy to pay, which is not the caſe in England: this heavy burden is more ſenſibly felt, by being peculiar to the ſouth, which by the Defence of the Clergy is admitted and repreſented to be in a ſtate of not only actual but comparative miſery. For the continuation of this partial wretchedneſs, they ſtate that one-half of the tithe of the ſouth ariſes from that very wretchedneſs, viz. from tithe of potatoes; the other half ariſes from wheat, which they ſtate in theſe dioceſes to be from above 7*s.* to above 9*s.* the Iriſh acre; from barley, which they ſtate to be from near 7*s.* to near 9*s.*; from oats, which they ſtate to be from near 4*s.* to above 5*s.*; from hay, which does not pay tithe in Connaught; from flax, which does not pay

tithe in Ulſter; from cows and ſheep and lambs, which they omit in their ſtatement, but from which the clergy of the ſouth receive a conſiderable income. In ſhort, from what does, and what does not pay tithe elſewhere. I congratulate the ſouthern clergy on all theſe advantages; but the Defence interrupts me, and ſays, that all this is only one-half of their income, there is another gotten from potatoes. Hear the deſcription of the men from whom that half principally ariſes—beggars! men publicly pronounced, and by all admitted to be trodden down to the earth, men who get 5*d.* a day for their labour, and pay 6*l.* a year by the acre for their potatoe garden, which heavy rent is acknowledged to be aggravated by a tithe of 10*s.*; for the continuance of which heavy tithe, the heavy rent is by the advocates of exaction made the apology. Poor people! "If we relax, the landlord would encroach; he "is worſe than the parſon." Theſe charges are further aggravated in ſome places by the diſpoſition of the man who makes them, the tithe farmer. The Defence ſtates, that while the rich dioceſe of Caſhel and Emly pays 7*s.* the acre potatoes, the poor dioceſes of Cloyne and of Cork pay above 10*s.* It ſtates the cauſe of this inequality to be the tithe farmer. It ſtates two cauſes of high ratages in theſe dioceſes, a briſk corn trade, and the tithe farmer. The latter cauſe alone is referable to potatoes. It deſcribes theſe tithe farmers, vagabonds, fiſhermen; but fiſhermen, it ſays, who do not live by fiſhing; and who, it alſo ſays, till nothing; and who, it is concluded to ſay, live by no labour, except the labour of exaction. The leaſing the tithe to ſuch a crew is made a matter of mercy: "poor people, they," ſo runs the canting Defence, "have nothing elſe to live by." Thus the equity in favor of the tiller of the ſoil, is made an equity in favor of a crew who bid againſt him; this equity, however, they own to be nothing more than ſetting the tithe to the higheſt bidder; and when theſe bidders are the cauſe, as the Defence ſtates, of raiſing the tithe of potatoes in the dioceſes of Cork and of Cloyne, to above 10*s.* the acre, which tithe, in the dioceſe of Caſhel and Emly, they ſtate to be but 7*s.* that is, when theſe canters raiſe the tithe above 30 per cent. the defence does expreſsly applaud them for their moderation.

I have ſtated, that the Defence of the ſouthern clergy had made out a caſe for the poor. It has done ſo: it has proved the poor of thoſe diſtricts to be in worſe ſituation than in any other part of Ireland; but it has gone farther, it has proved the clergy to be in a better; it ſets forth, that from a number of corn mills, and from a briſk export of corn, the extent of tillage in thoſe parts

parts has greatly increaſed; it ſtates, that from thoſe cauſes, the ratage on tillage has increaſed likewiſe; and thus it allows, what however in another part it denies, that the clergy have the double advantage, an increaſe of tillage, the effect of bounty, an increaſe of ratage, the effect of tithing that bounty. The defence ſtates, that the clergy of the ſouth have alſo a tithe of potatoes, the effect of their peculiar good fortune, which tithe the Defence admits to be nearly equal to all the reſt. The Defence does not ſtate, but we do and can prove, that in ſome of theſe diſturbed parts, the livings of the clergy have of late years doubled. I might appeal to individuals, ſome of them will acknowledge it, none of them can deny that the increaſe has been abundant. Hence it follows, that the authors of the Defence cannot ſet up the plea of poverty againſt the relief of oppreſſion; and as they have made out a caſe for the poor, ſo have they ſuggeſted the facility of a remedy. They have in their Defence ſtated, that in the ſouth the ratages have not in any county or dioceſe, for theſe thirty years, varied; that is, they have in their defence ſet up a modus, a ratage of thirty years is a modus in fact, though it is not a modus in law, and does moſt deciſively aſcertain the poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a modus by law. What now becomes of the ſolemn aſſeveration of the impoſſibility of paying the clergy in any manner, other than that of tithe? Either they who ſuperintended the Defence, believe that the ratages have not varied, and their argument of impoſſibility is a pretence, or they do believe they have varied, and their Defence in this particular has exceeded the boundaries of reality, yet it does not ſo egregiouſly depart from them, as not to conclude the authors of the Defence, as to the practicability of fixing a ſtandard, and is an argument ſufficient for a modus, though not for a juſtification. The bill now ſubmitted to your conſideration, propoſes that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to enquire and to report: as to the commiſſioners, I do not mean that their number ſhould be confined to the members of parliament; I would admit men more familiar with the ſubject. As to the enquiry, it would be much facilitated by what has been done and written already; here it will appear, that the proprietors of tithe in the diſtricts lately diſturbed, have, for the moſt part, proceeded by an acreable ratage, that where they have not, they have proceeded by a mode peculiarly capricious and oppreſſive; and as in the former caſe, they have made a modus eaſy, ſo in the latter they have made it neceſſary. Your commiſſioners will diſcern where the ratage increaſed from the activity of the tithe-farmer, from

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the advantage of the bounty, or the exceptionable conduct of the clergyman. Poſſeſſed of a knowledge of the criminal cauſes of increaſe, your commiſſioners will diſavow all ſuch in the formation of a modus, or tithing table, for the different articles which are to be ſubject to tithe. They will, in the tithing table, eſtimate each rate as equivalent to ſo many ſtone of bread corn, to be valued at ſtated years, and at the deſire of the owner of tithe.

Your commiſſioners will naturally think it adviſeable in any plan they form, to exempt the cottager's potatoe garden from tithe; the proprietor of the tithe to be compenſated by a preſentment, or an agiſtment, equal to the ſum at which the garden is rated; they will alſo relieve the pariſhioner from ſmall dues, and where ſuch have been uſually paid, they will probably think to compenſate the clergyman in the manner above mentioned. They will then think it adviſeable to relieve the proprietors of tithe, as well as the farmer and the poor, by giving the ſaid proprietors for the recovery of their income a remedy effectual and ſummary.

Your commiſſioners may form a modus, as I have ſtated above, or they may go a ſtep further, and ſubmit a plan, by virtue of which, ſurveyors ſhall be appointed annually, by the parſon and pariſh, to ſurvey, and make a return of the number of acres under tillage. The acres to be rated according to the tithing-table, and the groſs ſum to be levied in the manner of other county charges. When I ſay the commiſſioners will adopt ſuch a plan, I only mean that if you appoint them, I will aſſiſt them by ſubmitting ſuch plan. I have ſtated it in general terms; but the mechanical part I have digeſted into two bills. The appointment of commiſſioners ſhould precede the introduction of ſuch bills, becauſe the enquiry neceſſary to lay the foundation of ſuch bills, ſhould not be left to an individual, but entruſted to a body empowered and appointed by parliament. To an individual, however active his enquiry, authentic his information, the anſwer will ever be, we do not know all this, and therefore it is, I ſubmit to you to enquire into all this yourſelves. And in order that this ſyſtem of reform ſhould be a means of coercion, as well as of relief, I would have a proviſion, by which any pariſh riſing up in tumult, ſuch as was committed in 1786, and as is deſcribed in our laws, ſhall for blank time forfeit the benefit of the act, by paying an extraordinary ratage, the increaſed ſum to go to ſome public uſe.

But whatever redreſs is intended, that redreſs muſt come from you, it will not come from the clergy: the parochial clergy may wiſh for a regulation, the

the biſhops do not. One dignitary has denied that tithe can by any poſſibility be an oppreſſion; other kinds of property may, but the full tenth of your capital, land and labour paid to the church, we are informed, carries along with it an inherent impoſſibility of being a burthen! A heavenly-gifted and myſterious property it ſeems, which cannot corrupt, but muſt for ever abide by original purity, and primæval perfection! Should an argument, which depends more on faith than on reaſon, find no reception in your mind, another dignitary has told you *that the poor are not to be relieved, if the clergy are to be at the expence.* When a bill for the improvement of barren lands, and the encouragement of induſtry among the lower orders of the people, was on the laſt ſeſſion reſiſted by the ſpiritual peers, a right reverend prelate was ſaid to have declared as a principle, that the poor ſhould not be relieved, if the clergy were to be at the expence. Such a ſentiment coming from a Chriſtian and a Proteſtant biſhop, muſt have ſmote every breaſt with deep and ſincere affliction: but, if we are caſt down by ſo great and grave an authority on the one ſide, we are conſoled again by a ſtill higher interpoſition, the expreſs commands and practice of the ſcriptures on the other. The Saviour of man ſuffered on a principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. The apoſtles, the martyrs, and that flaming conſtellation of men that in the early age of Chriſtianity ſhot to their ſtation in the heavens, and fell, and falling illumined the nations of the earth with the blaze of the goſpel, roſe and fell with inſpirations of a very different kind. Had Chriſt been of the prelate's opinion, he never had been born, and we had never been ſaved. Had he ſaid to his apoſtles, 'The poor are not to be fed, the valley is not to laugh and ſing at the expence of our church;' or, had the apoſtles ſaid to the nations of the earth, 'Ye are not to be benefited at the expence of Chriſtian paſtors;' or, had the martyrs expoſtulated with themſelves, 'We will not ſuffer for mankind,' what had become of the Chriſtian religion? Let the Pagan prieſt of Jove, or the ſenſual prieſt of Mahomed, deliver ſuch doctrine, but do not you part with the palm of Chriſtianity, nor relinquiſh the lofty ſelf-ſurrendering precepts of your goſpel, to poach in politics, for little and wicked tenets, in order to brand your Prayer Book with the image of a ſorry ſelfiſhneſs, which would diſgrace the frontiſpiece of Machiavel. With all his errors on his head, the Pope himſelf is too diſcreet to commit himſelf with the Bible, by inculcating ſelf-intereſt as a part of his creed. He has proclaimed, that the ſupport of the poor is neceſſary, according to the true ancient diſci-

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pline of the church; and he has taxed church-benefices accordingly. There are ſome indiſcretions, compared with which, hypocriſy would be decorum; diſſimulation would be virtue. I am not reflecting on what fell from a biſhop, ſo much as I am defending Chriſtianity, by whoſe principles, on the laſt day, even the proudeſt of the prieſthood muſt be tried. Let me ſuppoſe that day to have arrived, and, at the dread tribunal, the mitred head to be confronted with the naked peaſant—"I was an hungred, and you fed me not: I was naked, and you clothed me not." Will you then anſwer your God as you have anſwered your country? "The poor were not to be relieved at the expence of the clergy." But this is putting human infirmity to too ſevere a trial, and ſuggeſting gloomy ſcenes of death and judgment, for which men occupied by the riches, engaged in the amuſements, and fretted ſomewhat in the politics of the world, are but little prepared. It was a declaration of indiſcretion, of paſſion; to ſpeak ſeverely of it, of a warm judgment: to ſay the worſt of it, of a fallible temper, and entirely to be forgiven, provided it ſhall be never repeated. I ſhall therefore hope, on recollection, it will not as a general principle be laid down, that the clergy ſhould not contribute a little to the relief of the poor. Alas! that will not do; we are told the poor in Ireland do not deſerve relief.—'Suſpicious ſubjects, Preſbyterians inimical to the conſtitution, or Papiſts incredible on their oaths;' that is, below the condition not only of other Chriſtians, but of other men, Jews, Pagans, Mahomedans: now, as the Roman Catholics happen to be the moſt numerous part of the Chriſtian church, it follows, if the charge be true, that the majority of the followers of Chriſt are the worſt of the human ſpecies; that the greater part of Chriſtendom is the moſt reprobate part of the earth, and that the Redeemer of mankind has come in vain; and the reſult of the two opinions, that by one right reverend dignitary entertained of the Catholic church, coupled with the other tenet ſuggeſted by another dignitary of the Proteſtant church, is, that the former church has done much miſchief to man; and that the latter is not to be at any expence to do him ſervice. However, I will ſuppoſe theſe opinions to relax; the Preſbyterian to be reſtored to his credit, the Catholic to be admitted to grace, yet there is another difficulty in the way of redreſs, the alleged poverty of the Iriſh church. The biſhops allege in the Defence, that the people of Ireland pay incomparably leſs to their church. They acknowledge, that, on a dividend of the whole income, including biſhopricks and colleges, each Iriſh clergyman would receive 230*l.* per annum, and each Engliſh clergy-

clergyman 150*l.* But then they compare the two aggregate funds, and becauſe 1000 *Iriſh* clergymen do not divide as great an aggregate as 10,000 *Engliſh*, they affirm that Ireland pays incomparably leſs to her church. They do not deny that the Engliſh clergy are as ten to one, their fund as ſix to one; they cannot deny that the church of England men in England are more than ten times as many, and the people of England much more than ten times as rich; and then their pampered expoſtulation amounts to this, that the clergy of England, being ten times as many, having above ten times as much to do, get only ſix times as much, from a country which is perhaps twenty times as rich. In all this pathetic lamentation, how have they forgotten the preſbyter! how have they forgotten the prieſt! and their humble pittance! and yet a poor prieſt ſhall defend the privileges of a man againſt proud oppreſſion, and a preſbyter ſhall be able to puzzle a mitre. With regard to the preſbyter, I am clear his income ſhould be increaſed; the *regium donum* is contemptibly ſmall, one of the acts of a new adminiſtration ſhould be to increaſe it.

When certain right reverend dignitaries inſiſt on the poverty of the Iriſh church, compared with that of England, they ſuggeſt to the people of Ireland the following queſtion: What induced thoſe dignitaries to come to Ireland? Am I to underſtand that they left their great pretenſions in the Engliſh church from a contempt of its riches? and ſought preferment in the Iriſh church from a love of its poverty? Am I to underſtand that a contempt for dignity, added to a contempt of riches, has induced them to obſtruct the progreſs of our native clergy? and happily fixes their humble eye upon the Iriſh mitre?—Exalted they are then at leiſure to make paſtoral obſervations on our people.—"The Squirearchy are tyrants—the common people thieves—the Preſbyterians enemies to the conſtitution, and the Catholics incredible on their oaths." Having made an eſtimate of the value of the income of the clergy; then they calculate, and, like the induſtrious ant, or the buſy bee, *thymo crura plena*, depoſiting, in the epiſcopal cells, the bulky ſtore of eccleſiaſtical revenue, they return to the crowd, and expoſtulate with their brethren on the poverty of the church.

I ſpeak of ſome, not all. There are among them, men whom I revere. Such is one whom I do not name, becauſe he is preſent; mild, learned, pious and benevolent; a friend to the meekneſs of the goſpel, and a friend to man. Such is another whom I may name, becauſe he is not preſent. He has the firſt epiſcopal dignity in this realm—it is his right—he takes it by virtue of

the commanding benevolence of his mind, in right of a ſuperior and exalted nature. There are men poſſeſſed of certain creative powers, and who diſtinguiſh the place of their nativity, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by it—they do not receive, they give birth to the place of their reſidence, and vivify the region which is about them. The man I allude to, I know not, or know him as we know ſuperior beings, by his works.

I have, in the foregoing part, endeavoured to defend myſelf againſt an attack, publiſhed without the names of certain dignitaries of the church, but not without their authority: I ſhall now ſtrive to anſwer another attack, publiſhed by their authority, and with their names annexed—the parochial clergy of Munſter, at their annual viſitations aſſembled.

A very reſpectable aſſembly; how employed? To aſſiſt the committee appointed by act of parliament to enquire into the ſcandalous abuſes which have ſunk the charitable funds of royal and private donation?—No, from the Southern archbiſhop that committee has received no aſſiſtance.—To eſtabliſh parochial ſchools, according to act of parliament, at their own expence?—No, that work has been neglected.---To eſtabliſh dioceſan ſchools, at their own expence, as by law they are obliged?---No, that too has been neglected or perverted.—To enquire into the ſtate of charter ſchools, and to follow Howard in his pious and ſingular activity?---No, the parochial clergy of the province of Munſter, at their viſitation, have been otherwiſe employed. They have read a ſpeech concerning tithes, their property, and yet there were ſubjects more worthy of their interference! Their God has been denied by the arguments of the Atheiſt; his Son has been denied by the arguments of the Deiſts. Engliſh biſhops, Preſbyterian miniſters have come forth.—The parochial clergy of Munſter, and their ſix biſhops—have they ſignalized themſelves in this holy war?---Their learning---their induſtry---their zeal on their natural ſubject—I look for—I cannot find them.---Their country, as well as their God, had been outraged---her trade crippled, her conſtitution deſtroyed, and her final judicature, of which the right reverend the lords ſpiritual compoſe an implicit part, uſurped. What an opportunity here for their interpoſition during a long period! Where are their ſpirited votes? Where are their deep reſearches?---A layman indeed, on that occaſion, came forth, Molyneux came forth; and, though he could not retake the citadel, he reſcued the holy veſtiges, the veſtal fires of the conſtitution, and reſcued them without aid from the dignified prieſts of the temple. A moſt ſucceſsful ſtruggle to recover trade

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and freedom was afterward made—what an opportunity here! The Preſbyterian miniſters came forward in every ſhape; the Roman Catholic prieſt afforded us his literary aſſiſtance; the parochial clergy of Munſter, and their ſix biſhops—not one ſyllable—on their part a ſad blank—profound, uninterrupted taciturnity. When their God, their Redeemer, and their country are in queſtion, they are ſilent; but, when a twelve-penny point on their tithe is brought forward, then they are vivacious; then the preſs groans with clerical Billingſgate; then a ſynod is held in the capital, in the ſeat of learning, under mitred auſpices, training up the reverend youth of the country in the holy office of anonymous publication, and inoculating their tender minds with the ſcribbling itch of meagre production; and then the parochial clergy of Munſter, deans, deacons, archdeacons, prebendaries and precentors, with ſix biſhops, in holy order, and ſolemn march, advance—on what? On the principles of decorum and reſpect due to a member of the legiſlature: "The provincial clergy having read a ſpeech, entitled by the publiſhers the Speech of Mr. "Grattan, and by him not diſavowed." Their biſhops ſhould have informed their clergy, that, to juſtify the application, it is not ſufficient the publication ſhould not be diſavowed, but neceſſary that it ſhould be authoriſed. Giving a reaſon for the application, and giving a bad one, they convict themſelves of making the charge, and of making it without foundation. Here I muſt ſuggeſt an eſtabliſhed rule, which I ſcorn to inſiſt on, but am forced to acknowledge. No man, no body of men, have a right to charge on a member of the legiſlature, as his ſpeech made therein, an unauthoriſed publication. Againſt this rule have tranſgreſſed thoſe anonymous and wrathful clergymen, who, in a flock of noiſy publications, have attacked what I never publiſhed, and replied to what I never ſaid. They are welcome; they have ſhewn that all of them can write, it remains for them to ſhew that ſome of them can excel—their patrons I hope will reward them! The flies of the vintage they gather about the preſs, and already taſte, in devout expectation, the inſpiring fruit. A light ſwarm! that they ſhould travel over boundaries I am not aſtoniſhed; but that the grave body, the parochial clergy of Munſter, with their ſix biſhops—they too are welcome. I ſhould be the laſt man to avail myſelf of an intemperance, and they are the laſt body againſt whom I ſhould inſiſt upon it. Requeſting therefore, that when the exalted of their body complain of encroachment, they may extend to others that indulgence, which they themſelves (it appears) ſometimes ſtand in need of, I ſhall wave the irregularity of

the attack, and ſuppoſe the parochial clergy of Munſter to have come forward in a ſhape, in which they are not expoſed to a cenſure, but entitled to an anſwer. 'Tis a matter of anxiety to know what is the evil they advance to combat—they ſtate it, "Leſt an anonymous pamphlet ſhould, in their own province, prejudice them in the opinion of men unacquainted with their perſons or moderation." If by ſuch they mean people of the other provinces, I do not ſee how the parochial clergy of Munſter can be ſpecially affected in their own province, by the opinion of men who live out of it; but, if they wiſh to recommend themſelves to ſuch, if the opinion of ſuch men is worth their attention, the parochial clergy of Munſter muſt take meaſures very different from the manifeſto; they muſt agree to an exemption for the potatoes of the peaſant; they muſt agree to an exemption for the flax of the manufacturer; they muſt accede to a modus, not a manifeſto. But, if the parochial clergy of Munſter are indifferent about the opinion of the other provinces, and by men unacquainted with their perſons and moderation, mean their own pariſhioners, I marvel much that theſe grave and enlightened men ſhould allege ſo ſlight and farcaſtic a cauſe for their momentous interpoſition, aſſigning, on the firſt ſuppoſition, a very inadequate, on the ſecond ſuppoſition, a very extraordinary, and on neither the real cauſe for their manifeſto. When a great body condeſcends to give a reaſon for its proceedings, that reaſon ſhould be excellent; and rather than have offered ſuch a one as they have ſubmitted, I think the parochial clergy of Munſter had more conſulted their dignity, by aſſigning no reaſon at all, by reſting every thing on their authority, and by ſtanding forth in the public prints, a great name without an argument.

Having profeſſed ſuch an object for interpoſing, the parochial clergy of Munſter endeavour to accompliſh that object by a manifeſto, declaring that the prices ſet forth in the ſpeech alluded to do greatly exceed the prices demanded by the clergy of Munſter, and are groſs miſrepreſentations. Here it becomes of moment, to know what are theſe prices ſet forth in the ſpeech. I do not find, the ſpeech relies on prices for wheat, which exceed 16*s.* the acre, or on prices for potatoes, which exceed 27*s.* the plantation acre. But ſuch prices, or any thing near ſuch prices, are bad enough in all conſcience. Whether the prices are 10*s.* for wheat, or 13, 14, 16, 20, or 27*s.* the acre, for potatoes, they are unconſcionable. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munſter, in their honeſt indignation at the peruſal of ſuch charges; they are enormous, uncharitable, and unchriſtian: the next queſtion is, where theſe charges have been

been found?—In the returns of the judge, or of the proper officer, appointed by the proper court to try bills or petitions under the compenſation act; charges, which by the act muſt be the uſual charges of three years back, and which muſt be verified by affidavit; ſo that this manifeſto is nothing more than a declaration, that the prices reported by the judges or triers, and verified by the oath of the parſons, or their witneſſes, do greatly exceed the real prices, and are groſs falſehoods; that is, that the witneſſes in theſe caſes concerned for the clergy, have been guilty of perjury. But as this is impoſſible, we muſt ſuppoſe, that theſe prices are not chargeable with falſehood, but ſo chargeable with exceſs, that they become incredible from their enormity; and thus this declaration of the parochial clergy of Munſter is nothing more than a manifeſto againſt the exactions of their own body. Theſe clergymen---theſe tithe-farmers---or theſe tithe-proctors, who have recovered under this act, and who by themſelves or their witneſſes, have ſworn to ſuch ſcandalous charges, ſhould take notice, that they are proclaimed by the parochial clergy of Munſter, at the annual viſitation aſſembled; that the prices demanded by ſaid perſons, are proclaimed and ſtigmatiſed, and publicly diſavowed and reprobated by the biſhops and the clergy of the province of Munſter, at their annual viſitation aſſembled; that theſe prices are pronounced not only to exceed what they themſelves demand, but to exceed their demand in a very high degree, to be not only exorbitant charges, but incredible calumnies---Miraculous! that the clergy of Munſter, with their ſix biſhops, unconſciouſly led, but happily influenced, meaning only to attack a member of parliament, ſhould, by a blind, but heaven-directed zeal, pronounce eccleſiaſtical and epiſcopal judgment againſt unconſcionable tithe. See the firſt fruits of the zeal of a layman, and the temerity of a biſhop.

The parochial clergy of Munſter, having in the firſt paragraph of their manifeſto, affirmed a univerſal propoſition, are adviſed in the ſecond, to give that paragraph a contradiction. They are of opinion, that the prices ſet forth in the ſpeech, and denied in the manifeſto, may exiſt notwithſtanding; but if they do, they are only apparently high, and are really juſtifiable. In the firſt paragraph, they are adviſed to decide againſt their exiſtence and moderation. "They greatly exceed the prices demanded, they are falſe, they are calumnious." In the ſecond, they are adviſed to change their opinions with reſpect to both; they may not be falſe, they may be juſtifiable---the contradiction is of little moment; the juſtification muſt be obſerved upon: is 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 27*s*.

20, 27*s.* an acre for potatoes, juſtifiable? Have the provincial clergy of Munſter, with ſix biſhops at their head, come forth to tell us this? Have the parochial clergy of Munſter come forth to excuſe extortion? Do the parochial clergy of Munſter deſign by ſuch a juſtification, to recommend themſelves either in or out of their province, to thoſe who are, or to thoſe who are not, acquainted with their perſons, and who are yet to be acquainted with their moderation? I did hope, that the parochial clergy of Munſter, at their annual viſitation aſſembled, would have held a different language, and inſtead of reading newſpapers, or anſwering pamphlets, would have employed thoſe ſage and ſacred moments to reſtrain exaction, and to animadvert on improper miniſters. Here I ſee and lament that fatal ſpirit of corps, which arms the enemies, and diſcomfits the real friends of the church. The reverend and learned body read in the pamphlet, certain figures of unjuſt prices, with natural indignation. But they were brought to recollect, that theſe prices might be the charges of a brother churchman. In their capacity, as men and gentlemen, they abhor; in their corporate capacity as prieſts, they are adviſed to apologize; hence a confuſion of ſtyle from a diſtraction of ſentiment; hence the printer, who puts down the figures of certain prices is guilty; the miniſter who exacts them---innocent. A piece of money, which in numbers tells as exaction, being depoſited in the pious hand of a ſpiritual paſtor, undergoes a ſort of tranſubſtantiation, and is only apparently high, while the clerical offender is acquitted by a miracle, and this miraculous benefit of clergy is extended to the lay, as well as the eccleſiaſtical owners of tithe; and to all the low and wretched train of perſons of various profeſſions and religions, connected with its collection. I excuſe the zeal of the parochial clergy of Munſter, I ſay nothing of their diſcretion. I applaud the firſt motions of their heart; I am ſure the majority of them ſcorn to practiſe what they are influenced to extenuate: but do not theſe worthy men perceive, that while they inſiſt on the moderation of ſuch practices, they may bring into queſtion the moderation of their own principles, and teach the public to fear, leſt theſe prices, which are now the ſubject of their Defence, may become hereafter the object of their imitation? The progreſs of exaction is well known: from general indignation to ſpecial toleration; from ſpecial toleration to general adoption. I own I ſee the neceſſity of my bill *now*, emphatically *now*; juſt at the critical period before thoſe high charges have become a general practice; and when they begin to receive a degree of countenance; when the balance

balance of charity trepidates in epiſcopal hands; when Exaction has not loſt all her native horrors, and yet is growing ſomewhat familiar to their eyes; is only apparently high---probably juſtifiable.

The parochial clergy of Munſter proceed: they ſay, they do not believe, that in the whole province of Munſter, there exiſt, of prices unuſually high, three or even two inſtances. The parochial clergy of Munſter do not believe that throughout the whole province of Munſter, in the counties of Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, Kerry, or Clare, in all the livings, lay, as well as eccleſiaſtic, among all the owners of tithe, clergymen, lay-impropriators, tithe-proctors, tithe farmers, or ſub-tithe farmers, there exiſt of prices unuſually high, three or even two inſtances. I reſpect the parochial clergy, and marvel, that ſo grave a body ſhould have been induced to commit itſelf on ſo extraordinary an aſſertion.

The declaimers for tithe have repreſented the landlords of Ireland as extortioners, theſe are the lay-impropriators; the ſame declaimers have repreſented the middle-men as extortioners, theſe are the tithe-farmers: do theſe deſcriptions of men, the landlords, who are extortioners, the middle-men, who are extortioners, put on a new nature when they come in contact with tithe, and derive the virtue of moderation from the contagion of a property the beſt formed to prompt, reward, and conceal exaction? This is infallibility! denied indeed to the doctrine of the prieſthood, but now transferred to the property of the church. Here again breaks out that ſpirit of corps, which always expoſes the church; there is no extravagant concluſion to which it will not lead men in certain ſituations, though of excellent underſtandings. But, to wave the raſhneſs of ſuch an aſſertion, had not the parochial clergy of Munſter their own experience to direct them? Had they never made the ratage or value of church benefices any part of their private meditation? Had they not the returns admitted to be made in 1786, to direct them? There, every where, they could have diſcovered their error. What! in the whole province of Munſter they do not believe that of prices unuſually high there exiſt three or even two inſtances? Admit their poſition, and they are ruined; all are alike, 12*s.* 14*s.* 16*s.* 20*s.* or 27*s.* the acre, for potatoes, are, according to this, not the unuſual charges of a few, but the extortions of all. Never was ſuch an attack publiſhed againſt the ſouthern clergy, as this manifeſto propagated by themſelves; and, leſt ſuch a paper ſhould extend or deſcend to prejudice the clergy with the preſent and with future times, let me interpoſe a moment,

moment, and reſcue their character from their vindication; unable as I find myſelf in this ſtep to ſupport their diſcretion, let me ſay ſomething in favor of their truth and moderation; and, in contradiction to the firſt paragraph of their manifeſto, let me aſſure you, that the prices ſworn to by ſome of the clergy, or their witneſſes, however high, were truly ſet forth by the ſame; but, let me add, in contradiction to the third paragraph, that thoſe prices were unuſually high; the extortions of the particular men, not of the body in general; and, for the ſake of the body in general, and the individuals in particular, let me hope their manifeſto may meet with but little regard.

Having ceaſed to aſſert, the manifeſto proceeds to interrogate. When a grave and reſpectable body of men propound queſtions, they deſerve anſwers, even though the queſtions themſelves are of little moment. The parochial clergy of Munſter interrogate, whether a want of moderation in ſome (ſuppoſing, what they do not allow, ſuch want to exiſt) beſpeaks a want of moderation in all; without adverting to the rules of logic, and conſulting merely the character of the clergy of the ſouth, particularly ſome of the ſubſcribers, I ſhould immediately anſwer in the negative; but, if I paid any attention to the manifeſto, I ſhould anſwer in the affirmative; becauſe, in part of that unlucky production, I find that the exactions of the few, though not according to the practice, do not appear ſufficiently offenſive to the principles of the many, but are ſtated as probably juſtifiable; it is therefore only by rejecting their Defence that we can anſwer their queſtion to their ſatisfaction or their credit. The parochial clergy of Munſter aſk, whether the want of moderation in ſome (if any) will account for the indiſcriminate attack made on the body? To this queſtion I lament that no anſwer can be given, becauſe all enquiry was, and is now reſiſted by ſome of that very quarter, from whence the queſtion has proceeded. We cannot determine, however we may ſurmiſe, that high charges in ſome inſtances on the peaſants ſubſiſtence, tithed in no other part of Ireland, might have excited diſcontents which go generally beyond the region of their cauſes, and ſpread by contagion. The parochial clergy of Munſter aſk, whether the want of moderation, if any, in ſome, will juſtify every ſpecies of violence, combination, and exaction? To whom do they apply this queſtion? To government, who gave them troops; to the legiſlature, that gave them a riot-act; and a whiteboy-act, and a magiſtracy and two compenſation-acts? Are the parochial clergy of Munſter aware of the

the force, the influence, the expence, and the high penal nature of theſe meaſures? And how the conſtitution bled, and the ſprings of juſtice well nigh cracked, while we liſtened to ſuch ſuggeſtions? Do I condemn them? No. After ſome neceſſary qualifications and amendment, I voted for moſt of them. Whatever right the reſt of the community may have to expoſtulate with me on this ſubject, they have none. I voted, under the preſſure of the times, for temporary coercion, before enquiry; and I did hope the clergy would not have oppoſed me in moving for ſubſequent enquiry, to prevent the continuation and repetition of coercion. The parochial clergy of Munſter aſk, whether exaction will juſtify outrage? I own I am at a loſs to diſcover their provocation for ſuch an interrogatory. Verſed, as they certainly are, in the ſcience of ethics, they undoubtedly muſt know, that crimes juſtify their puniſhment, not one another. Exaction will not juſtify robbery, nor robbery exaction. When the ſouthern clergy applied to government for troops, to the legiſlature for capital puniſhments, they ſaid, "Suppreſs the inſurgent "by arms, puniſh the robber by death," and we liſtened to them. When they come forth a ſecond time, with a tarniſhed diſplay of paſt ſufferings, and with a peeviſh interrogatory, "Whether exaction will juſtify every ſpecies of "cruelty," they mean nothing; or, they do mean "Be tender of the exac-"ter—do not enquire into his tranſgreſſions—let his ſufferings be a ſet-off "againſt his offences:" and here we cannot liſten to them; otherwiſe, civil ſociety, contrary I am ſure to their intentions, would ceaſe to be a ſyſtem of reward and puniſhment, and would become nothing more than a ſcale of iniquity; from exaction to tumult, and from tumult ſuppreſſed, to exaction triumphant! diſguſting extremes! A biſhop bawling for tithe, or a whiteboy for rebellion.

The parochial clergy of Munſter aſk, whether a want of moderation in ſome, will juſtify a crimination of the whole body? which crimination they affirm to be the great object and end of the ſpeech alluded to. To this moſt ſerious and unmerited reflection, I anſwer, that I did arraign many of the tithe-farmers, many of the tithe-proctors, and ſome of the clergy of the ſouth; but that I did not arraign the majority of the latter deſcription, on the contrary, declared I preſumed the majority to be innocent. I may add, that ſome of their ſubſcribing dignitaries were preſent; the manifeſto then is liable to this obſervation, that it has brought forward the miſrepreſentation of my ſpeech, and that it has omitted to bring forward the fact. I am glad, however,

that the parochial clergy of Munſter, by their queſtion, declare they diſapprove of general charges, founded on ſome particular inſtances; but this conceſſion will ſubject them to a keen retort from various deſcriptions of his majeſty's ſubjects: and firſt, from all the peaſantry of Munſter, who will aſk, whether the turbulence of ſome peaſants juſtified a certain quarter in reſiſting an enquiry into the diſtreſſes of the body at large? and whether thoſe exceſſes juſtified the declaimers for tithe in repreſenting the peaſantry of Munſter as one vaſt confederated popiſh banditti? It will expoſe them to another queſtion from the landlords of Ireland, who may aſk, whether the rack-rent of ſome juſtified thoſe declaimers for tithe in repreſenting the landlords of Ireland in general as extortioners? It will expoſe them to another queſtion from all the Preſbyterians, who may aſk, whether the riſing of ſome Popiſh peaſants in the ſouth, juſtified the advocates for tithes in proclaiming the Preſbyterians of the north, and indeed the whole Preſbyterian community, as laboring under an incapacity of being ſincere friends to the conſtitution? It will expoſe them to another queſtion from the Roman Catholics, who will aſk, whether ſuch riſings as above, juſtified the advocates for tithes in repreſenting the whole Catholic community as inimical to the conſtitution, and incredible on their oaths? What deſcription of ſubjects that has not been traduced? What character that has not been outraged? Offend their God, and ſome men will abſolve; offend their property, and they perſecute. I am glad that the parochial clergy of Munſter have felt the impropriety, though I ſhould be ſorry they ever ſhould feel the laſh of general reflections, founded on particular inſtances: and I ſincerely hope it will be a leſſon to ſome of their biſhops in future not to make, and a leſſon to ſome of the clergy not to countenance ſuch general reflection. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munſter ſuch reflections are matter of cenſure in a printer; but I go a ſtep further—I do not think them matter of thankſgiving in a biſhop.

The parochial clergy of Munſter complain, that all means have been uſed to give currency to unmerited cenſure, and to impoſe a ſtigma on the clergy of Munſter. They are right, but let them direct their complaints to the proper objects; let them turn to thoſe who helped certain ponderous publications on their ſide, through a ſeries of heavy editions: let them turn to their own hot and hazardous pilots: let them expoſtulate with their own ſtars, thoſe cloudy luminaries, under whoſe angry influence worthy men have fought thoſe rocks on which they fear, vainly I hope, the wreck of their reputation.

Let

Let them turn to thoſe who adviſed ſome amongſt them to reſiſt the intereſt of the manufacturer, by petitioning againſt a modus for flax; to reſiſt the intereſt of the huſbandman, by petitioning againſt a bill for the improvement of barren land; to thoſe who attempted to commit the eſtabliſhed church, with the whole Catholic community, by declaring the individuals who compoſe it to be incredible on oath, and with the whole Preſbyterian community, by declaring both to be inimical to the conſtitution of the realm. Turn to thoſe who ſpirited up worthy men to expreſs their approbation of ſuch illaudable productions. Turn to thoſe who have now ſpirited up grave and worthy men to come forward with this empty manifeſto. The clergy, no doubt, have reaſon to complain of the paper war; they have found, in a country where reaſon may write, the palm is not to the powerful; their antagoniſts have reached them, but the worſt wound came from their own quarter; the pompous folly, the dogmatical and intolerant ſpirit, the falſe alarm ſpread, the unfounded charge made, the want of diſcretion, the want of decorum, and the want of temper. There is ſomething which diſtinguiſhes an eccleſiaſtical war on the ſubject of property; a miraculous degree of perſeverance, a marvellous portion of fire, a certain turbulence of zeal, and an appetite for the thing in controverſy, which is not only keen but ferocious. However, if their own publications have hurt them, the injury is not great; none of them have been read, that are not now forgotten; the brief children of temporal deſires, they have taſted of death, even in the life time of their ghoſtly fathers.

To the nobility and gentry of Munſter, the parochial clergy appeal. Why not the poor? do they not pay tithe? do not their potatoe gardens pay tithe? The Saviour of man would not have paſſed them by. Had he only appealed to the nobility and gentry of Judæa, he muſt have overlooked his own apoſtles. Had the parochial clergy of Munſter been left to themſelves, their appeal would have taken a more evangelic direction; but when potentates preſcribe, when certain dignitaries, long in the habits of courtly application ſuggeſt, the parochial clergy are controlled, and thoſe right reverend ſpiritual politicians preſent, as uſual, their faces to the great, and habitually turn from the poor and the Lord: they overlook Lazarus expiring at their feet, and call on Dives to give his ſenſe on the ſubject of charity. Have the parochial clergy forgotten, that, by ſome of their own writers, theſe noblemen and gentlemen have been repreſented as the patrons of exaction, though now

the poor are referred to them, as the arbiters of moderation. I am ſure the landed intereſt was groſsly miſrepreſented, I am glad the parochial clergy of Munſter are ſenſible of it. But it is not ſuch men that can eſtabliſh the clergy's character for moderation, becauſe ſuch men are ſeldom the object of their exaction; it is the poor, to whom they do not appeal, it is the cottager's voice, the peaſant's teſtimony; or, (ſince he is not allowed to be credible on oath) his ſimple affirmative; or, (ſince he muſt not ſpeak his native language) his hands uplifted in their favor: theſe are the beſt witneſſes to prove the moderation of the clergy of Munſter.

The parochial clergy of Munſter inform you, that the church is attacked; they tell you more, that religion is attacked; and they tell you how, becauſe an attack, as they conceive, has been made on themſelves. They annex the exiſtence of the church, and the divinity of religion, to the importance of their own perſons. With every reſpect for the parochial clergy of Munſter, I cannot accede to the irreverent and vulgar familiarity with which controverſialiſts on their ſide are prone to introduce and make common cauſe with the Almighty. Let bigots rail, let polemics revile, let headlong zealots vociferate, but the parochial clergy of Munſter will agree with me, that licentiouſneſs ſhould be confined to the human ſpecies, and that the majeſty of the Godhead ſhould remain inviolate. What, is there nothing in our religion, nothing in its external, nothing in its internal evidence, nothing in its miracles, prophecies, propagation, doctrine, and diction, to raiſe its author above the poſſibility of being affected by the paper war, and wretched controverſy, in which ſome idle eccleſiaſtics may have involved themſelves; He has prevailed againſt greater enemies, the pride of the high prieſt, the ſervility of the biſhop. But it ſhould ſeem that it was not religion which ſupported the parſon, but the parſon that ſupported religion. The error, however, is natural and common; the politician thinks the ſtate reſts on his ſhoulders; and the dignified divine imagines the church and the Chriſtian religion, the firmanent and ſtarry ſphere to dance round his perſon and property. It is a matter of curioſity to know what, on the preſent occaſion, has endangered the Chriſtian religion; an anonymous pamphlet againſt tithe, and a motion to enquire into the ſufferings of the poor: for this is the Godhead brought out from his ſhrine, and expoſed as an outwork in defence of church property. However, if their religion is ſo connected with every ſtep they take, they have the remedy within themſelves; let them agree to ſuch

acts

acts as will benefit the community; or let them ceaſe to oppoſe every act that has a tendency to relieve or to enquire. Once more I offer a public enquiry; I ſolicit once more redreſs for the peaſantry of this country. I offer a bill appointing commiſſioners for that ſalutary purpoſe—Do the clergy of Munſter decline the offer? What, are they afraid of an enquiry? Will they ſhelter themſelves under a court? Have they come forth with a manifeſto, and do they now deprecate an examination? Once more I offer it, and I add, that if this bill ſhould paſs, and commiſſioners ſhould be appointed, the clergy will be made ſenſible that we are friends to the proviſion of the church, as well as to the relief of the people.

No. LXXXIV.

Declaration of the Catholic Society of Dublin. (*P.* 330.)

Dublin, October 21ſt, 1791.

IN the preſent enlightened and improved period of ſociety, it is not for the Iriſh Roman Catholics alone to continue ſilent. Not accuſed of any crime; not conſcious of any delinquency, they ſuffer a privation of rights and conveniencies, the penalty reſerved in wiſe ſtates for offences of atrocious magnitude. It does not become them, whilſt with liberality ever to be gratefully remembered, many deſcriptions of their fellow-citizens compaſſionate their ſituation, to ſeem indifferent to the deſirable, and they hope, not diſtant event of their emancipation. They wiſh to aſcertain upon what terms they may venture to ſettle in a country, which they love with the rational preference of men, not the ſimplicity of puerile acquieſcence. It is not for the Iriſh Catholics, armed as their cauſe is with reaſon and juſtice, like public foes to ſeek advantage from public calamity. They ought to advance their claim at a time moſt favorable to diſcuſſion, when the condition of the empire is flouriſhing and tranquil. They might ſeem culpable to their country, if affecting to diſſemble what it were unmanly not to feel, they reſerved their pretenſions in ambuſcade to augment the perplexities of ſome critical emergency. They would be culpable to poſterity, if they omitted to profit of the general inclination of public ſentiment. They would be culpable to themſelves, if they ſuffered an imputation to ſubſiſt, that in the extent of the Britiſh territory,

tory, they alone ſubmit without repining, to a mortifying and oppreſſive bondage, degrading to themſelves, and pernicious to their country. They conceive, that in the preſent ſtate of things, their ſilence might be received as evidence of ſuch diſpoſitions.

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and inſtructed by a recent tranſaction, that although laws may be ſhameful and prepoſterous; for even in a philoſophic age there will be bigots and tyrants, where the votaries of freedom are moſt ſanguine. A number of Roman Catholics, reſident in Dublin, have formed themſelves into a ſociety, which they invite their fellow ſufferers throughout the nation to unite with, which ſhall have for its object to conſider, and individually to ſupport with all their zeal and perſonal influence, ſuch meaſures, not inconſiſtent with their duty to the civil magiſtrate, as ſhall appear likely to relieve them from the oppreſſions and diſqualifications impoſed in this country on perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion. We therefore do unanimouſly reſolve,

That we will, to the utmoſt of our power, endeavour, by all legal and conſtitutional means, to procure the repeal of the laws by which we are aggrieved, as Roman Catholics. That we will promote repeated application to every branch of the legiſlature for that purpoſe; and aſſiſt ſuch application by all means of legal influence, which it ſhall at any time be poſſible for us to exert.

It would be tedious, it might be diſguſting, to recount each individual grievance under which we ſuffer. The Roman Catholics ſeem preſerved in this land but as a ſource of revenue. The whole legiſlative, the whole executive, the whole judicial powers of the ſtate, are in the hands of men, over whom they have no control; and with whom they can have little intercourſe. They are prohibited to engage in any mode of induſtry from which it is poſſible to debar them, or which is worth the monopoly. They are reſtricted in the education of their children. As conſcientious we cannot lightly abandon our religion, as prudent men we heſitate to engage in controverſial ſtudy; the wiſeſt have been bewildered in ſuch purſuits, and they are for the moſt part incompatible with our neceſſary occupations. Nor is there any moral advantage held out as an inducement to change our creed: it is not pretended that we ſhould become better men, or more dutiful ſubjects, but merely experimentaliſts in religion ſeek to gratify their caprice by forcing us from our habits of education into the perplexing labyrinth of theology.

The liberty of Ireland to thoſe of our communion is calamity, and their misfortunes

misfortunes ſeem likely to encreaſe, as the country ſhall improve in proſperity and freedom. They may look with envy to the ſubjects of an arbitrary monarch, and contraſt that government, in which one great tyrant ravages the land, with the thouſand inferior deſpots whom at every inſtant they muſt encounter. They have the buſtle and cumberſome forms without the advantages of liberty. The octennial period, at which the delegated truſt of legiſlation is revoked, and his importance reſtored to the conſtituent, returns but to diſturb their tranquillity, and revive the recollection of their debaſement. All the activity, all the popular acts of electioneering canvas, enforce the idea of their inſignificance; they exemplify it too: witneſs the various preferences given by perſons of rank to not always the moſt deſerving among our Proteſtant countrymen, a preference nearly as detrimental to the independent Proteſtants as to us.

There exiſts not in their behalf any control over power. They have felt the truth of this aſſertion, when in this age of toleration, even within the laſt eight years; ſeveral new penal ſtatutes have been enacted againſt them.

They experience it daily, not alone in the great deliberations of the nation, and in the little concerns of public money for the ſervice of the ſtate, but in the local impoſition of county and parochial taxes. We appeal to our rulers, we appeal to Ireland, we appeal to Europe, if we deſerve a place in ſociety, ſhould we ſeem willing to inſinuate that ſuch a ſituation is not ſeverely unacceptable.

We are ſatisfied that the mere repeal of the laws againſt us will prove but feebly beneficial, unleſs the act be ſanctioned by the concurrence of our Proteſtant brethren, and thoſe jealouſies removed by which the ſocial intercourſe of private life is interrupted. It is time we ſhould ceaſe to be diſtinct nations, forcibly encloſed within the limits of one iſland. It ſhall be a capital object of our inſtitution to encourage the ſpirit of harmony, and ſentiments of affection, which the ties of common intereſt, and common country, ought, ere now, to have inſpired. Countrymen! too long have we ſuffered ourſelves to be oppoſed in rival factions to each other, the ſport of thoſe who felt no tenderneſs for either. Why ſhould diverſity of ſentiment, ſo uſual where the matter in debate is abſtruſe or important, ſeparate thoſe whom heaven placed together for mutual benefit and conſolation? Objects, material in their day, produced hoſtility between our anceſtors. The cauſes of that diſcord have ceaſed to exiſt; let the enmity too periſh. Let it be the duty of preſent and

future

future ages to prevent the recurrence of ſuch unnatural and calamitous diſſention; except in the actual diſcharge of the religious duties, which conſcience renders inevitable, we wiſh there never ſhall be found a trace of that, which may poſſibly divide us into diſtinct communities.

The ill effects of theſe reſtrictions are not confined to thoſe of our religion; they extend to every individual, and every public body in the nation; under the weight of them, induſtry, under their influence, public ſpirit is enervated. It is the intereſt of every man in Ireland that the entire code ſhould be aboliſhed. It is the intereſt of the crown, as it muſt promote the general happineſs of the ſubjects. It is the intereſt of the great, as it will ſerve to tranquillize the country, and to encourage induſtry; it is the additional intereſt of the middle and inferior ranks, as it muſt impart new importance to their ſentiments, and to the expreſſion of their ſentiments; we call upon every order of the ſtate, not alone by their benevolence and juſtice, but by their patriotiſm and ſelf intereſt, to co-operate with our exertions.

It adds the inſult of mockery to the misfortune of the Iriſh Catholics, that the number of perſons aggrieved, in every other inſtance an inducement to redreſs, is a reaſon alleged to procraſtinate their relief, and an argument uſed to impoſe ſilence on their murmurs: is it their act, that a multitude of Iriſhmen are aggregated by common grievance, and claſſed in one great community of fellow-ſufferers? Why accuſe them of hoſtility to the conſtitution? They earneſtly ſolicit to participate in its advantages. Why ſuſpect them of enmity to their country? They deſire entirely to incorporate themſelves with it, to contract cloſer ties, which ſhall decide them to conſign their poſterity irrevocably to its boſom. We envy not its endowments to the eſtabliſhed church; adverſity has inſtructed us, that all the conſolations which are promiſed, are moſt faithfully and tenderly adminiſtered by the paſtors with moderate appointments, a free gift of gratitude to the kindeſt benefactors. Faſtidiouſly excluded from the conſtitution, we can pronounce on it but as aliens, by ſpeculation. We diſcern in it the means of much happineſs; we regret that its ſymmetry is not complete; a chaſm remains which might be filled with advantage by the Roman Catholics; we have neither paſſion nor intereſt at variance with the order of things it profeſſes to eſtabliſh. We deſire only that property in our hands may have its natural weight, and merit in our children its rational encouragement. We have ſworn allegiance to our ſovereign, and the very evils we complain of prove how inviolable is our

attachment

attachment to ſuch obligation. We reſpect the peerage, the ornament of the ſtate, and the bulwark of the people, interpoſing, as we hope the Iriſh Catholics will experience, mediatory good offices between authority and the objects of it. We ſolicit a ſhare of intereſt in the exiſtence of the commons. Do you require an additional teſt? We offer one more unequivocal than a volume of abjurations—we hope to be free, and will endeavour to be united. Do you require new proofs of our ſincerity? We ſtood by you in the exigencies of our country. We extend our hands, the pledge of cordiality. Who is he that calls himſelf a friend to Ireland, and will refuſe us?

We feel ourſelves juſtified in this aſſociation: the period draws near when it will be fit the Iriſh Catholics approach the legiſlature with reſpectful ſolicitations. It is meet that thoſe who ſuffer ſhould confer, in order to aſcertain the means and matter of redreſs likely to prove at once ſatisfactory and ſucceſsful. It is inſinuated, that ſome of our Proteſtant brethren are adverſe to our emancipation; it is meet we ſhould inveſtigate the grounds of this ſtrange aſſertion. The laws that have ſeparated us from our countrymen, deſtroying our intercourſe with bodies conſtituted by authority, leave us no other manner to collect, or to convey the general ſenſe of our grievances, than this of a ſelf-created ſociety. We mean not to interfere with the harmony now happily ſubſiſting through the nation: if the applications on our behalf are complied with, we can never have occaſion; if rejected, we cannot have an intereſt to interrupt it. Engaged for the moſt part in the various departments of commerce, we are concerned not leſs than any other claſs of citizens, to cultivate the bleſſings of tranquillity; individually, we have more at ſtake than ſome, who preſume to falſify our motives, and calumniate our actions. The Roman Catholic body meaſured ſtrength with the power of the ſtate, and was vanquiſhed, when it poſſeſſed a force that never can be exerted, and was oppoſed to enemies far leſs numerous than it now ſhould encounter. The confiſcations of that period are confirmed to the preſent occupiers by immemorial poſſeſſions, by the utter impoſſibility of aſcertaining the original proprietors, by the perſonal and pecuniary intereſt of almoſt every Roman Catholic in the land to maintain the ſettlement. Many of our communion already have, and ſtill more are likely to expend their property on titles derived under theſe forfeitures. It is not from the wealthy, attached to their preſent enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended. It is not from the induſtrious; a ſingle year of anarchy muſt prove fatal to their competence. It is not from

the poor, a wretched band of ſlaves, mouldering under theſe bad laws, and only made uſe of to degrade the Iriſh Catholics to a rabble, when it is convenient to deſpiſe them. We are willing to forget that any beſide the preſent race ever exiſted in this iſland. We long have been willing to forget it, if our recollection were not kept alive by what we ſuffer, and by the celebration of feſtivals, memorable only as they denote the æra and the events, from whence we date our bondage.

We will endeavour by temperate, by unremitting aſſiduity, to procure the benefit of that conſtitution, which, of our fellow-ſubjects, is denied alone to thoſe of our perſuaſion. We are amenable to all the decrees of the ſtate; we contribute to all its exigencies; we are ſtill to be informed upon what grounds its advantages are made a monopoly to our excluſion. We challenge an inveſtigation of our principles and conduct; we feel not ourſelves; we know not that there is in our brethren a deficiency of manly ſpirit, of capacity or virtue; which ought to aſſign to the Iriſh Roman Catholics an inferior rank among the creatures of our common Father. If we have a crime, it is to have ſlept over our chains; our cauſe is the cauſe of juſtice, and our country. We ſolicit counſel and aſſiſtance from all to whom theſe ſacred names do not preſent themſelves unheeded.

To the patronage of the lettered we peculiarly recommend ourſelves; where talents have ariſen among us, they have been compelled to ſeek refuge in a foreign country, or they have periſhed in their infancy, robbed of the hope that animates; curtailed of the education that invigorates them. We claim as of right, the benefit of open trial and candid diſcuſſion; even amidſt the cares of legiſlating for an extenſive empire, the Britiſh ſenate did not refuſe its attention to the unfortunate exiles of Africa. If in this enlightened age it is ſtill our doom to ſuffer, we ſubmit; but at leaſt let us learn what imputation of crimes can inſtigate, or what motives of expedience can account for the denunciation of that heavy judgement. That if loyalty, which ſtrong temptations could never alienate; if exemplary good conduct under the moſt trying circumſtances; if reverence to a conſtitution which in our native land we are forbidden to approach, be inſufficient to remove unjuſt aſperſions, and entitle us to the kindneſs and confidence of our brethren, we may be at leaſt inſtructed how we ſhould atone for what we cannot deem inexpiable, the political errors or misfortunes of our anceſtors.

By order of the Society,

THEOBALD M'KENNA.

No.

No. LXXXV.

The Conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen in 1791. (*P.* 330.)

1ſt. THIS Society is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this ſociety ſhall either be ordinary or honorary, and ſhall not be limited to any deſcription of men, but to extend to all perſons who may be deemed eligible.

3dly. Every candidate for admiſſion into this ſociety ſhall be propoſed by one member, and ſeconded by another, both of whom ſhall vouch for his character and principles, and whoſe name ſhall be entered on the books of the ſociety; the candidate to be ballotted for on the ſociety's ſubſequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black, he ſhall ſtand rejected.

4th. As a fund is neceſſary the better to carry into effect the purpoſe of this aſſociation, each member, on his admiſſion, ſhall pay to the ſociety the ſum of, and per month while he ſhall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a ſecretary and treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every firſt meeting in November, February, May, and Auguſt.

6th. This ſociety, in manner aforeſaid, ſhall appoint two members, who with the ſecretary ſhall act for the ſociety in a baronial committee, which members ſhall receive on each night of their attendance on ſaid committee.

7. This ſociety ſhall in manner aforeſaid appoint members, who, with the treaſurer, ſhall form a committee of finance, &c.

8th. At the requeſt of either committee, or any members ſigning a requiſition, the ſecretary, or if he ſhould be abſent, the treaſurer ſhall call an extra meeting of the ſociety.

9th. This ſociety ſhall meet in ordinary every evening at o'clock; the preſident to be choſen by the majority of the members preſent, of whom ſhall be a quorum.

10. Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the chairman. On his riſing from his ſeat and taking off his hat, there ſhall be ſilence, and the members ſeated. He ſhall be judge of order and propriety; ſhall grant leave of

abſence at pleaſure; ſhall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly, he is impowered to direct an apology; or if refractory, fine him in any ſum not exceeding , and on refuſal to do as directed, he ſhall therefore be expelled the ſociety for

11th. No member ſhall ſpeak more than twice to a queſtion, without leave from the chairman.

12. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety, whether ordinary or honorary, ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take the following teſt in a ſeparate apartment, in the preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman; or in caſe of abſence of one of the two perſons, the chairman ſhall appoint another member to act for the abſentee; after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there take the teſt in the uſual form.

TEST.

In the awful preſence of God.

" I, A, B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to " form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of every religious perſua- " ſion; and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, " full, and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland.

" I do further declare that neither hope, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, " ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence " againſt any member of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of " theirs done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this ſociety, " in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation."

13th. A member of any other acknowledged ſociety, being introduced to this ſociety by a member, ſhall, upon producing a certificate ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing teſt be admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

14th. No member ſhall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who ſhall grant it, unleſs the member is leaving his place of reſidence, which certificate ſhall be lodged with the ſecretary on his return.

15th. When this ſociety ſhall amount to the number of thirty-ſix members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot, that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box, the ſecretary or treaſurer ſhall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen ſhall be conſidered the ſenior ſociety, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who ſhall apply to the Baronial Committee through the delegates of the ſenior ſociety, for a number; and that this diviſion

ſion ſhall only take place in the months of October, January, April, and July. The fund ſhall alſo be equally divided.

16th. That no ſociety ſhall be recognized by any committee, unleſs approved of and taking the teſt, and amounting in number to ſeven members.

No. LXXXVI.

(*P.* 334.) *December* 27, 1791.

The following Addreſs was preſented to the Lord Lieutenant.

To his Excellency JOHN *Earl of* WESTMORELAND, *Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.*

WE, the undernamed, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, deſirous at all times to declare unequivocally our ſentiments of loyalty to our moſt gracious ſovereign, and our attachment to the conſtitution, diſclaiming every word or act which can directly or indirectly tend to alarm the minds of our brethren, or diſturb the tranquillity of this country, have, in order to prevent miſrepreſentation, or miſconception of our ſentiments, thought it neceſſary now to lay before your excellency the reſolutions hereunto annexed.

We confide in your excellency's goodneſs, that you will be pleaſed to repreſent us to our moſt gracious ſovereign ſuch as we really are, grateful for the mild and benevolent diſpoſition he has been always graciouſly pleaſed to ſhew towards us.

We rely with confidence on our paſt, as a pledge for our future conduct; and as we feel moſt ſtrongly the benefits, that have ariſen not only to us in particular, but to this kingdom in general, from the indulgence, which through the wiſdom of the legiſlature, we have already received; ſo we look with reſpectful confidence to its wiſdom, liberality, and benevolence for a further extenſion of its favors.

Reſolved, That application be made to the legiſlature during the next ſeſſion of parliament, for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Reſolved, That grateful for former conceſſions, we do not preſume to point out the meaſure or extent, to which ſuch repeal ſhould be carried, but leave the ſame to the wiſdom and diſcretion of the legiſlature, fully confiding in their

their liberality and benevolence, that it will be as extenſive as the circumſtances of the times, and the general welfare of the empire, ſhall, in their conſideration, render prudent and expedient.

Reſolved, That firmly attached to our moſt gracious ſovereign and the conſtitution of the kingdom, and anxiouſly deſirous to promote tranquillity and ſubjection to the laws, we will ſtudiouſly avoid all meaſures which can either directly, or indirectly, tend to diſturb or impede the ſame, and will rely on the wiſdom and benevolence of the legiſlature as the ſource, from which we deſire to obtain a further relaxation of the above-mentioned laws.

Fingal
Gormanſtown
Kenmare
John Thomas Troy, D. D. R. Cath. A. D.
Hon. John Preſton, Gormanſtown, co. Meath
Valentine Browne, Killarny co. Kerry
Sir Pat. Bellew, Bart. Barmeath, co. Louth
Sir T. Eſmond. Bart. co. Wexford
Edward Bellew, Barmeath co. Louth
Hugh O'Reily, Ballintough, co. Weſtmeath
Malachy Donnellan, Ballydonnellan, co. Galway
Rich. Farrell Caddell, Harbourſtown, co. Meath
R. Caddell, Harbourſtown, aforeſaid
Joſeph Blake, Ardfry, co. Galway
William Bellew, Barmeath co. Louth
J. Deaſe, Turberſtown, co. Weſtmeath
Oliv. Count D'Alton, co. Weſtmeath
J. White, Loughbrickland, co. Down
R. Strange, Spencer Hill, co. Louth
W. Netterville, Cruiſerathco, Meath
Mathew Donellan, Ballydonnellan co. Galway
Rob. French, Rahiſane, co. Galway
Dom. W. O'Reily, Kildangan Caſtle, c. Kildare
John Burke, Marble Hill, co. Galway
M. Burke, Spring Garden, co. Galway
Tho. Burke, Marble Hill, co. Galway
Major Anſelm Nugent, co. Meath
Tho. Daly, Cloonaha, co. Galway
Peter Daly, Cloonaha aforeſaid
John Blake, Ballimana, co. Galway
Francis Cruiſe, Belgard, co. Dublin
Francis Goold, city of Cork
Chriſt. Fitzſimmons, co. Wicklow
Harvey Hay, Ballintrul, co. Wexford
James Farrill, of the city of Dublin
Walter Blakeney, co. Carlow
James Blakeney, co. Carlow
Pat. Deaſe, of the city of Dublin
John Huſſey Rakenny, co. Meath
J. Dillon, late of Belgard, co. Dublin
E. Hearne, Hearnſbrook, co. Galway
George Butler, of Ballyragget
Dan. Cronin, of Rathmore, co. Kerry
Gregory Byrne, of the city of Dublin
S. Roche John, of the city of Limerick
P. Roche John, of the city of Limerick
G. Ryan, of Inch, co. Tipperary
John O'Brien, of the city of Limerick

Jam.

Jam. O'Brien, of the city of Limerick
S. Roche, jun. of the city of Limerick
Tho. Roche, of the city of Limerick
J. Bagot, of Caſtle Bagot, co. Dublin
John Roche, of the city of Dublin
Jam. Nugent, of Ballinacor, co. Weſtmeath
D. T. O'Brien, of the city of Dublin
J. Comerford, of the city of Dublin
Rich. Deaſe, Clougill, co. Meath
John Deaſe, of the city of Dublin
Henry Farrell, of the city of Dublin
John Harford, of the city of Dublin
Thomas Magan, of the city of Dublin
T. Bourke, of Mecleck, co. Galway
James Taylor, co. Meath
Lewis Ward, Liſcub, co. Galway
John Nugent, Kilcomb, Weſtmeath
Ant. Brown, Kilcongan, Weſtmeath
O. Brown, Kilcongan, Weſtmeath
Nicholas Brown, Parcelſtown, Meath

To which his excellency was pleaſed to give the following anſwer:

"I receive with great ſatisfaction this declaration of your loyalty to the "king, and attachment to the conſtitution; I will not fail to make a faithful "repreſentation thereof to his majeſty."

No. LXXXVII.

Declaration of the Society of the United Iriſhmen. (*P.* 330.)

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of UNITED IRISHMEN of Dublin.

The honorable SIMON BUTLER in the chair.

Reſolved unanimouſly, that the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correſpondence, be adopted and printed.

THIS letter is addreſſed to you from the correſponding committee of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles, which we have ſubſcribed, and the teſt which we have taken, as a ſocial and ſacred compact to bind us more cloſely together.

The object of this inſtitution is to make an united ſociety of the Iriſh nation; to make all Iriſhmen citizens; all citizens Iriſhmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this criſis of Europe more reaſonable, than that thoſe who have common intereſt, and common enemies, who ſuffer common

common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, ſhould know each other, and ſhould act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of diſcord, which has ſo long deprived Iriſhmen, not only of the bleſſings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil ſociety. Peace in this iſland has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the conſequences of civil war. For a century paſt there has indeed been tranquillity, but to moſt of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately proſpered, it has been owing to the goodneſs of Providence, and the ſtrong efforts of human nature reſiſting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miſerable adminiſtration.

To reſiſt this influence, which rules by diſcord and embroils by ſyſtem, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes neceſſary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourſelves; the weakneſs of one, and the ſtrength of many. Union therefore is power; it is wiſdom; it muſt prove liberty.

Our deſign therefore in forming this ſociety, is to give an example, which, when well followed, muſt collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one ſolid maſs, the effect of which, once put in motion, muſt be rapid, momentous, and conſequential.

In thus aſſociating, we have thought little about our anceſtors, much of our poſterity. Are we for ever to walk like beaſts of prey, over fields which theſe anceſtors ſtained with blood? In looking back, we ſee nothing on the one part but ſavage force ſucceeded by ſavage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "ſcattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We ſee a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the firſt moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to eſteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We ſee this, and are ſilent; but we gladly look forward to brighter proſpects, to a people united in the fellowſhip of freedom, to a parliament the expreſs image of the people, to a proſperity eſtabliſhed on civil political liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious ſtillneſs of men brooding over their wrongs, but that ſtable tranquillity, which reſts on the right of human nature, and leans on the arms by which theſe rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to thoſe, things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts thoſe in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to aſſert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this reſpect of one religion. Our creed of civil

civil faith is the ſame; we agree in thinking, that there is not an individual among our millions, whoſe happineſs can be eſtabliſhed on any foundation ſo rational and ſo ſolid, as on the happineſs of the whole community. We agree therefore in the neceſſity of giving political value and ſtation to the great majority of the people; and we think, that whoſoever deſires an amended conſtitution, without including the great body of the people, muſt on his own principles be convicted of political perſecutions, and political monopoly. If the preſent electors be themſelves a morbid part of our conſtitution, where are we to recur for redreſs but to the whole community? "A more unjuſt and "abſurd conſtitution cannot be deviſed than that, which condemns the na- "tives of a country to perpetual ſervitude, under the arbitrary dominion of "ſtrangers and ſlaves."

We agree in thinking, that the firſt and moſt indiſpenſable condition of the laws of a free ſtate, is the aſſent of thoſe, whoſe obedience they require, and for whoſe benefit only they are deſigned. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no conſtitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor ſeen. The act of Iriſh ſovereignty has been merely toſſed out of the Engliſh houſes into the cabinet of the miniſters; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a ſervile majeſty and a ragged independence.

We call moſt earneſtly on every great and good man, who at the late æra ſpoke or acted for his country, to conſider leſs of what was done, than of what there remains to do. We call upon their ſenatorial wiſdom to conſider the monſtrous and immeaſurable diſtance, which ſeparates in this iſland the ranks of ſocial life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty deſpotiſm and public miſery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is inſtituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unleſs the rights of the whole community be aſſerted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) muſt continue to prevail, when the ſtrong tyrannize, the rich oppreſs, and the maſs are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the

rights of conſcience merely by toleration. If you raiſe up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: let the nation ſtand. Then will it caſt away the bad habit of ſervitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchiſe exerciſed, prove a ſeed of ſobriety, induſtry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free conſtitution.

This rapid expoſition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, muſt naturally ſuggeſt the wiſh of multiplying ſimilar ſocieties, and the propriety of addreſſing ſuch a deſire to you. Is it neceſſary for us to requeſt, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townſman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, with-hold the rights of nature from your brother? We beſeech you rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round this ſociety as a centre. Draw together your beſt and braveſt thoughts, your beſt and braveſt men. You will experience, as we have done, that thoſe points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the aſſemblage of ſuch ſocieties, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulſe, and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itſelf; ſpeaking with its voice, expreſſing its will, reſiſtleſs in its power.

We again intreat you to look around for men fit to form thoſe ſtable ſupports, on which Ireland may reſt the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take thoſe ten. If there but two, take thoſe two, and truſt with confidence to the ſincerity of your intention, the juſtice of your cauſe, and the ſupport of your country.

Two objects intereſt the nation, a plan of repreſentation, and the means of accompliſhing it. Theſe ſocieties will be a moſt powerful means; but a popular plan would itſelf be a means for its own accompliſhment. We have therefore to requeſt, that you will favor us with your ideas reſpecting the plan, which appears to you moſt eligible, on the preſent more enlarged and liberal principles, which actuate the people; at the ſame time giving your ſentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political ſtate and diſpoſition of the country or town where you reſide. We know what reſiſtance will be made to your patriotic efforts by thoſe, who triumph in the diſunion and degradation of their country. The greater the neceſ-

neceſſity of reform, the greater probably will be the reſiſtance: we know, that there is much ſpirit that requires being brought into maſs, as well as much maſſy body that muſt be refined into ſpirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not deſpiſe the enemies of the Union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honeſt and honorable cauſe. In great undertakings like the preſent, we declare, that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accompliſh. The people of Ireland muſt perform all they wiſh, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Sec.

No. LXXXVIII.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Dublin, March 17, 1792.

Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland. (*Page* 373.)

WHEREAS certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the exiſtence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly neceſſary to remove ſuch imputations, and to give the moſt full and ample ſatisfaction to our Proteſtant brethren, that we hold no principle whatſoever incompatible with our duty as men or as ſubjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all ſuch imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many reſpectable bodies of men, and individuals among our Proteſtant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and ſolemn declaration:

1ſt. We abjure, diſavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, *or by any eccleſiaſtical authority whatſoever*, may therefore be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other perſons. We hold ſuch doctrine in deteſtation, as wicked and impious; and

we declare, that we do not believe, that either the pope, with or without a general council, or *any prelate or prieſt, or any eccleſiaſtical power whatſoever*, can abſolve the ſubjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majeſty King George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

2d. We abjure, condemn, and deteſt, as unchriſtian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, deſtroy, or any ways injure any perſon whatſoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare ſolemnly before God, that we believe that *no act, in itſelf unjuſt, immoral, or wicked, can ever be juſtified or excuſed by, or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any eccleſiaſtical power whatſoever.*

3d. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchriſtian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we deteſt and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as deſtructive of morality, of ſociety, and even of common honeſty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to *any* perſon, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding, as if it were made to any Catholic whatſoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain eccleſiaſtical powers can acquit and abſolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the juſt oaths and contracts entered into between man and man:

Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any ſuch belief, as being contrary to the peace and happineſs of ſociety, inconſiſtent with morality, and above all, *repugnant to the true ſpirit of the Catholic Religion.*

5th. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other prince, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points reſpecting the Pope: however, for greater ſatisfaction we declare, that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profeſs, "that the "Pope is infallible," or that we are bound to obey any order, in its own nature

ture immoral, though the Pope, or any eccleſiaſtical power, ſhould iſſue or direct ſuch order; but, *on the contrary*, we hold, that it would be *ſinful* in us to pay any reſpect or obedience thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any ſin whatſoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any prieſt, or of any perſon or perſons whatſoever; but, that *ſincere ſorrow for paſt ſins*, a firm and ſincere reſolution, as far as may be in our power, to reſtore our neighbour's property or character, if we have treſpaſſed on, or unjuſtly injured either; *a firm and ſincere reſolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God, are *previous and indiſpenſable* requiſites to eſtabliſh a well-founded expectation of forgiveneſs; and that any perſon who receives abſolution without theſe previous requiſites, ſo far from obtaining thereby any remiſſion of his ſins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a ſacrament.

8th. We do hereby ſolemnly diſclaim, and for ever renounce all intereſt in, and title to all forfeited lands reſulting from any rights, or ſuppoſed rights of our anceſtors, or any claim, title, or intereſt therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is *not eſtabliſhed and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now ſtand.* We deſire further, that whenever the patriotiſm, liberality, and juſtice of our countrymen, ſhall reſtore to us a participation in the elective franchiſe, no Catholic ſhall be permitted to vote at any election for members to ſerve in parliament, until he ſhall previouſly take an oath *to defend, to the utmoſt of his power*, the arrangement of property in this country, *as eſtabliſhed by the different acts of attainder and ſettlement.*

9th. It has been objected to us, that we wiſh to ſubvert the preſent church eſtabliſhment, for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting a Catholic eſtabliſhment in its ſtead: Now we do hereby diſclaim, diſavow, and ſolemnly abjure any ſuch intention; and further, if we ſhall be admitted into any ſhare of the conſtitution, by our being reſtored to the right of elective franchiſe, we are ready, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to declare, that we will not exerciſe that privilege to diſturb and weaken the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion, or Proteſtant government in this country.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, Chairman.
RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary.

No.

No. LXXXIX.

(*Page* 373.)

At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, Edward Byrne, Eſq. in the Chair,

Reſolved, that the following Letter be circulated.

SIR,

THIS letter, with the plan which accompanies it, is tranſmitted to you, by order of the ſub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to aſſiſt by their advice and influence, the meaſures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. You will pleaſe to loſe no time in ſubmitting this to the reſpectable Catholics of your county. You will pleaſe alſo to inform them, that ſeveral reſpectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent conſultations, for the laudable purpoſe of re-uniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themſelves from it. Theſe country gentlemen had the ſatisfaction to find, that the general committee on one ſide, and the gentlemen who had entered into ſeparate addreſſes on the other, mutually regretted their diviſion; which they ſaw was uſed by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all ſides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this juſt and reaſonable requeſt, eſſential to the very exiſtence of our people, there will be a certainty of ſucceſs. It depends then on ourſelves, whether we ſhall be freemen or ſlaves! We ſay, eſſential to the very exiſtence of our people; for, as the rage for electioneering intereſts increaſes, our wealthy farmers muſt either pay beyond the value for lands, or reſign them to Proteſtant freeholders when out of leaſe; our poor yeomanry will of courſe be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all, then, ſpeak with one voice, and ſupplicate the legiſlature for juſtice, and we ſhall receive it.

Theſe independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen, who have acted with him, the moſt poſitive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppoſe the general committee in their

their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined, that all former differences in opinion ſhall be buried in oblivion on both ſides.

The committee had decided to ſend ſome of their body, to propoſe to the counties, to appoint the delegates to the committee, of whoſe attendance there would be a certainty; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through great part of Ireland for this purpoſe; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the ſame idea themſelves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in preſſing ſuch a meaſure on the committee, as an additional means of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, ſeemed at firſt inclined, that the preſent committee ſhould be diſſolved; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties reſulting from ſuch a meaſure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to diſſolve itſelf, and the conſideration that a diſſolution muſt neceſſarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan incloſed, ſanctioned by the general committee, by theſe independent gentlemen, and by Lord Fingal and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your country.

Signed by order,

RICHARD M'CORMICK,
Secretary.

On the manner of conducting the Election of Delegates.

It will be of great importance, in the preſent ſtate of our affairs, that the delegates be choſen in ſuch a manner as to make it appear evident, that the nomination of ſuch delegates is authoriſed by all the people. But as it might be imprudent to call a meeting of all the Catholics of a country, for the purpoſe of proceeding to ſuch an election, it is therefore ſuggeſted, that one or two of the moſt reſpectable perſons in each pariſh be appointed electors, at a meeting to be held at ſuch private houſe in the pariſh, as may be moſt convenient to the inhabitants. Theſe ſeveral electors, ſo appointed, may meet at any central place, for the purpoſe of chooſing from one to four (as it may appear moſt expedient to them) of their own reſidents, as delegates to the general committee; no one to be eligible, who ſhall not ſolemnly promiſe to attend

tend his duty in Dublin, when required to do ſo by order of the committee, or at leaſt who ſhall not pledge himſelf to attend in his turn. It is alſo ſuggeſted that, in addition to the reſident delegates, each county do appoint at the ſame time, as aſſociate delegates for ſuch county, one or two (as it may appear beſt to the electors) reſident inhabitants of Dublin, whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be to keep up a regular correſpondence with colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all proceedings in the general committee, at ſuch times as the county delegates ſhall be abſent. It is to be underſtood, that attendance on the part of the county delegates will not be required, except on important occaſions. In this, however, they are to ſtudy their own convenience; if they all come often, we are perſuaded that the committee will derive ſatisfaction and profit from their preſence and advice.

As ſoon as the gentlemen of your county ſhall have appointed delegates, it will be neceſſary to call their attention to the firſt great buſineſs which ſhall probably engage the general committee, viz. An humble application to our gracious ſovereign, ſubmitting to him our loyalty and attachment, our obedience to the laws, a true ſtatement of our ſituation, and of the laws which operate againſt us; and humbly beſeeching, that we may be reſtored to the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. We have the firſt authority for aſſerting, that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious ſovereign and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare, that it is the univerſal wiſh of every Catholic in the nation. To enable therefore your delegates and the general committee to ſucceed in your behalf, it will be neceſſary that the meeting enter into reſolutions in any words they chooſe to the following effect:

At a meeting of the Catholics of the county of regularly convened, this day of 1792, in the chair, Reſolved that of this county, and of the City of Dublin, have been this day choſen by the Catholics of this county as their delegates to the general committee.

Reſolved.—That it is our inſtruction to our ſaid delegates, to ſupport in ſaid committee, as the voice of all the Catholics of this county, that an humble repreſentation be made to our gracious ſovereign and to parliament, of the many ſevere laws, which oppreſs his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no cauſe founded in wiſdom or policy, is aſſigned for their continuance; imploring it, as eſſential to our protection, and to ſecure

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an impartial diſtribution of juſtice in our favor, that we be reſtored to the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury.

According to its preſent form of conſtitution, the general committee is open not only to perſons delegated by others, but to every Roman Catholic of landed property in the kingdom. From this mixture of repreſentative and perſonal aſſociation, inconveniences which every one may remember, but which at preſent it is uſeleſs to dwell on, have ariſen. To guard againſt ſimilar inconveniences in future, we have recommended to your conſideration the above ſketch of a new ſyſtem; the object of which is to give to the committee ſomewhat more of a repreſentative, and ſomewhat leſs of an individual capacity; and we beg leave to offer to you the following obſervations in ſupport of our plan:

Men appointed by others muſt hold themſelves accountable to thoſe from whom they derive their truſt; and therefore muſt regulate their conduct by the ſtandard of general opinion; or, if they be unwilling to take ſuch a ſtandard for their rule, and to obey the inſtructions of their conſtituents, they may be removed from the places they hold, to make room for others more practicable, and leſs inclined to ſet the dictates of private ſentiment, or private intereſt, in oppoſition to the general will, and the public good. Under a ſyſtem which is thus repreſentative, and where the truſt is revocable at pleaſure, ſeduction cannot be practiſed, nor can diviſion again take place; or at leaſt the remedy is ſo near the evil, that little danger is to be apprehended from either.

Our plan, by making attendance a duty, will, we apprehend, ſerve to bring a greater number of country gentlemen into the committee than have formerly appeared among us. While admiſſion remains ſo eaſy as it does at preſent, and while ſo many perſons are exempted from reſponſibility and controul, we have little reaſon to expect, that country gentlemen will deſert their homes and their immediate concerns, to promote an intereſt, which is remotely or obſcurely felt; but we hope that the honorable diſtinction of repreſenting others, added, to the obligation of a ſolemn promiſe, will not fail to reconcile thoſe, who ſhall happen to be delegated, to admit of ſome temporary hardſhips, in order to promote the public good. By collecting occaſionally a number of country gentlemen in Dublin, we flatter ourſelves, that the committee will be enabled to ſpeak the ſentiments of its conſtituent members with diſtinctneſs and preciſion; and that the country parts of the kingdom will be provided

with the ſureſt means of acquiring whatever information may be neceſſary on the ſubject of Catholic affairs. From this prompt communication of opinion and intelligence, we foreſee great advantages; advantages, which under the preſent ſyſtem are wholly beyond our reach; as the landed gentlemen are reſponſible only to themſelves, and as the Dublin delegates have frequently little knowledge of their conſtituents. The attendance of a great number of country gentlemen will juſtify ſuch a reduction of the number of delegates for the metropolis in the general committee, as may be judged adviſable; a meaſure which was always deſirable, but which could not be heretofore accompliſhed, as the attendance of landed gentlemen was ſo uncertain and irregular.

Every endeavour ſhould be uſed to cultivate and improve the friendſhip of our clergy. The clergy and laity, having but one intereſt, ſhould have but one mind, and ſhould therefore mutually combine their talents, their opinions, and their exertions, in order to effectuate our common emancipation. This union of ſentiment and deſign, this interchange of counſel, and of aid, will ſerve to ſtrengthen the bonds of a common friendſhip, and will be the beſt ſecurity againſt innovation in matters which relate to religion.

The clergy being the natural guardians of morality, will undoubtedly conſent to co-operate with the laity, when they conſider that the reſtoration of the elective franchiſe to the Catholic community will tend to prevent thoſe prejudices, which are ſo common at, and which diſgrace the return of electioneering conteſts. By ſuch conduct will the clergy ſecure to themſelves that influence over the laity of their own perſuaſion, which it is uſeful that good clergy ſhould have; and that reſpectability among perſons of other perſuaſions, which muſt naturally reſult from the encreaſed importance of the people to whom they belong. It is unneceſſary to point out the advantages, which a reſtoration of the elective franchiſe would produce in our habits and modes of life in the ſtate of national as well as individual happineſs. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that not only laymen, but every Catholic biſhop and prieſt, would, by the acquiſition of ſo valuable a privilege to the Catholic body at large, find his condition meliorated in a variety of ſhapes and circumſtances, which cannot eaſily be reduced within the compaſs of exact calculation. The ſilent operation of this right would, in the lapſe of time, contribute to raiſe a reſpectable yeomanry in the kingdom; and this yeomanry, giving on the one hand a new infuſion of vigor to the commonwealth, would, on the other ſupply a fund, from which the clergy would derive the means of a more honorable ſupport,

port, and more proportionate to their uncommon labours and merits, than at preſent they enjoy.

When this plan ſhall have been adopted, and the returns in conſequence made, the committee will in the courſe of next winter, conſider, as a meaſure of the laſt importance, what further improvements may be neceſſary in the mode of electing delegates on future occaſions, in order to ſecure a permanent, extenſive, and effectual method of collecting the general ſenſe of the Catholics of Ireland.

We beg leave to recommend it to you moſt earneſtly, to carry the above plan into immediate execution. It is of the utmoſt conſequence, that we ſhould have this addition of country gentlemen as ſoon as poſſible, in order to give due weight and efficacy to our humble application to the throne, which we are adviſed to make this ſummer, before the parliamentary arrangements are formed for the enſuing winter.

As ſoon as your delegates ſhall have been choſen, we requeſt that you will make a return of their names and addreſs, to our ſecretary, Mr. Richard M'Cormic, Mark's-Alley, Dublin.

No. XC.

Reſolutions relative to the Catholic Admiſſion to the Elective Franchiſe.
(*Page* 376.)

COUNTY OF LOUTH.

WE, the high ſheriff and grand jury of ſaid county, aſſembled at Summer Aſſizes, 1792, cannot expreſs in terms too ſtrong our abhorrence of the wicked and daring attempt made by a printed letter from perſons calling themſelves the Sub-Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, ſigned Edward Byrne, and circulated through this kingdom, to excite a ſpirit of diſcontent among the Catholics, and rouſe their animoſity againſt the Proteſtants and the conſtitution. A letter which moſt falſely tells them, that they are not ſecure of an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; that they are oppreſſed even to ſlavery; that a change of that part of the conſtitution, which ſecures the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, is eſſential to their exiſtence; and then endeavours to induce them to diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, by urging them to

illegal and unconſtitutional aſſociations, and to elect a Popiſh congreſs to meet in the metropolis, with the vain expectation, that it can overawe the parliament, that the conſtitution is not ſtrong enough to repreſs and puniſh ſo daring a violation.

Though we have a ſtrong reliance upon the good ſenſe and loyalty of the Roman Catholics at large, that the ſeditious views of the authors and propagators of this ſaid letter will be diſappointed, yet we feel it a duty particularly incumbent upon us, at this time, to declare our ſentiments fully and decidedly in the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That under the laws, which veſt the elective franchiſe in Proteſtants only, this kingdom has improved, and is rapidly improving in trade, wealth and manufactures; its freedom has been vindicated and ſecured; its population encreaſed, and that ſince thoſe laws have been called frequently into operation, the progreſs of the national proſperity has been more vigorous and rapid.

Reſolved, That the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to ſerve in parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, is incompatible with the ſafety of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, the continuance of the ſucceſſion to the crown in the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, and muſt finally tend to ſhake, if not deſtroy our connexion with Great Britain, on the continuance and inſeparability of which depends the happineſs and proſperity of this kingdom.

Reſolved, That we will oppoſe every attempt towards ſuch a dangerous innovation, and that we will ſupport, with our lives and fortunes, our preſent conſtitution, and the ſettlement of the throne on his majeſty's Proteſtant houſe.

MATTHEW PLUNKETT, Sheriff.

John Foſter	Richard Cooper
Thomas Henry Foſter	Francis Manning
Richard Dawſon	Thomas Lee
John William Foſter	William Shiels
John M'Clintock, jun.	Philip Brabazon
Matthew Forteſcue	Chriſtopher Garſton
William Ruxton	Robert Brown
James Tiſdall	Francis Eaſtwood
O'Brien Bellingham	Roſs Moore
Francis Tipping	Thomas Benſon
William Brabazon	Wallop Brabazon.

COUNTY

COUNTY OF MEATH.

WE, the high ſheriff, magiſtrates, and freeholders of county Meath, convened by public advertiſement, having ſeen, with the deepeſt regret, a ſcandalous and libellous paper or letter, ſigned Edward Byrne, containing matter of a moſt daring and inflammatory nature, tending to excite animoſity againſt the peace of the kingdom, and our happy conſtitution, both in church and ſtate, feel it our indiſpenſable duty to expreſs our fulleſt abhorrence of ſuch publication.

And whereas, the ſaid publication, in order to inflame the minds of good and peaceable men, ſtates, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland ſuffer the heavieſt oppreſſions, and are altogether in a ſtate of ſlavery, that they are denied their trial by a jury of their country; and that an innovation on the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, by admitting them to the exerciſe of the elective franchiſe, or the power of voting for members to repreſent them in parliament, can alone ſecure them in their perſons and properties.

Reſolved, That ſuch letter or publication is a falſe and ſeditious libel, calculated to miſlead the loyal and dutiful Roman Catholics of this kingdom, and to foment diſſatisfaction and diſorder among our Proteſtant brethren.

Reſolved, That were the Roman Catholics admitted to the exerciſe of the elective franchiſe, inſtead of a Proteſtant parliament, through whoſe happy influence the national proſperity continues daily to flouriſh and encreaſe, we ſhould ſpeedily be repreſented by a Popiſh convention, and our connexion with Great Britain be as ſpeedily diſſolved.

And whereas, we have ſeen another letter or publication, ſigned Thomas Wright, purporting to be an addreſs from a certain number of men, who ſtile themſelves the Society of United Iriſhmen, which letter moſt falſely calumniates thoſe reſpectable grand juries, that have avowed their indignation and contempt of the daring ſcandals iſſued under the ſignature of the ſaid Edward Byrne; and whereas, the ſaid letter, ſigned Thomas Wright, ſtates, that ſuch grand juries have publiſhed the moſt flagrant abſurdities, calumnies, and libels, that they are the inſtruments of prejudice and diſſention, and notoriouſly ſubordinate to intrigue and diffuſe corruption.

Reſolved, That ſuch aſperſions are an high inſult on the dignity and public virtue of theſe counties, that have expreſſed their diſapprobation of the falſehoods and libels that a ſet of wicked and deſigning men have induſtriouſly circulated through the kingdom; that ſuch ill-founded calumnies are

a menace

a menace thrown out, with an intent to overawe and intimidate the ſpirit of ſuch counties as have not yet aſſembled, but that for ourſelves, we do declare our thorough contempt of all ſuch ſcandalous defamation.

Reſolved, That the ſaid letter, ſigned Thomas Wright, dares to aſſert, that the Proteſtant aſcendancy is a chimæra, and conſequently inſinuates, that Popery ſhould predominate.

Reſolved, That ſuch contempt of the eſtabliſhed religion, is of a nature highly ſeditious, and a moſt indecent libel on the conſtitution.

Reſolved, That we will, collectively and individually, diſcountenance all ſeditious meetings and aſſociations whatſoever; and that, with our lives and fortunes, we will ſupport the Proteſtant intereſts of Ireland, under which the commerce and wealth of the country have become at once vigorous and extenſive, and the true liberty of the ſubject ſecured and unſhaken.

SAMUEL GIBBONS, Sheriff.

COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

Summer Aſſizes, 1792.

AT a meeting of the high ſheriff and grand jury of the county Fermanagh, the following reſolutions were agreed on:

Reſolved, That we have the warmeſt attachment to our Roman Catholic brethren, and feel deſirous to communicate to them every privilege not inconſiſtent with our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate.

Reſolved, therefore, That it is with the utmoſt concern we have ſeen an inflammatory and dangerous publication, ſigned Edward Byrne, the probable effect of which will be to retard the extenſion of thoſe privileges, by embodying the Roman Catholics of Ireland in a political faction, holding out a language of demand and confidence, which cannot be tolerated with ſafety to the preſent conſtitution of the country.

Reſolved, That we do recommend to our Catholic brethren to merit the extenſion of future favors by ſhewing a ſubmiſſive gratitude for the very important privileges, which have been already conferred on them; and that we do moſt earneſtly adviſe them rather to rely on the wiſdom and liberality of parliament, which they have already experienced, than on the wild ſuggeſtions of deluding or deluded partizans.

Reſolved, That we feel it neceſſary to come forward at this period to declare,

clare, that we are ready to ſupport, with our lives and fortunes, our preſent invaluable conſtitution in church and ſtate, and that we will reſiſt to the utmoſt of our power the attempts of any body of men, who ſhall preſume to threaten innovation in either.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Sheriff.

Mervyn Archdall (foreman)	John Haſſard
John Caldwell	J. Hawkſhaw
Francis Brooke	James Johnſton
Gorges D'Arcy Irvine	John Richardſon
Jaſon Haſſard	John Watkins
Mervyn Archdall, jun.	John Roſborough
Henry Brooke	Robert Weir
Gerard Irvine	William Tredennich
Henry St. George Cole	George Nixon
William Barton	John King
W. Stewart	Robert Mayne.

We coincide with the grand jury in opinion, and adopt their ſentiments.

ENNISKILLEN
ERNE
BELMORE.

COUNTY OF MAYO.

Summer Aſſizes, 1792.

WE, the underſigned grand jurors, at this aſſizes convened, think ourſelves called on to enter our proteſt againſt certain reſolutions adopted by our fellow jurors reſpecting a paper, ſigned Edward Byrne, and ſaid to have been induſtriouſly circulated through the different counties of this kingdom, as alſo reſpecting certain claims, which the reſolutions aſſert, may be hereafter brought forward to the legiſlature from our Roman Catholic brethren, for the reaſon that the paper alluded to, however induſtriouſly circulated, never was produced to the jury, conceiving it to be a proceeding inconſiſtent with the dignity of any aſſociated body, to cenſure a paper they have never ſeen, and the purport of which they have conſequently never examined. We diſſent from any part of the ſaid reſolutions, that directly or by implication convey an eternal proſcription of our Roman Catholic brethren, knowing them to be a loyal, deſerving ſect of his majeſty's ſubjects in this kingdom: we object generally

generally to the preamble and reſolutions, ſo adopted by our fellow-jurors, as tending to create alarms, where no cauſe for ſuch exiſts, as tending to diſturb that harmony and good order that has ſo long ſubſiſted in this country, to revive diſſentions that in days of ignorance and bigotry deſolated this kingdom, as conceiving ſuch to be unprovoked and undeſerved by the Catholic body at large, and particularly unneceſſary in our county, where the records we have of the principles of that ſect of its inhabitants have been an approved, an uninterrupted loyalty of reſpect, and attachment to the conſtitution and the laws, and no later than the laſt ſeſſion of parliament a declaration of thoſe principles, that their conduct had been the teſt of diſclaiming any mode of obtaining from the legiſlature, for their body, further emancipation from civil diſability than what reſpectful petition might obtain. We hold in ſtrong abhorrence any ſyſtem that has, in its principles or forms, any ſemblance of the modes of anarchy and diſorder, that prevail in an unfortunate neighbouring country. We know of no connexion that ſuch have with the intereſts or principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, but do know that their conduct and ſentiments are uniformly oppoſite to ſuch, and that knowledge is a ſtrong motive of our attachment to them.

Dom. Geoffry Browne	Hugh O'Donnell
John Browne	Joſeph Lambert
Neal O'Donnell	George Glendinning
John Edmond Browne	Richard Blake.
John Bingham	

Weſtport Houſe, 10th Sept. 1792.

MY not having ſerved on the laſt grand jury of Mayo, having prevented my ſentiments being known on the important matter diſcuſſed there, reſpecting the claims, that may be brought forward to the legiſlature by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom, I think it neceſſary to declare, that I entirely coincide in the opinion of thoſe gentlemen, who expreſſed their diſſent to the reſolutions entered into by the majority of that grand jury.

DENIS BROWNE.

CATHOLIC DECLARATION.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, convened by public advertiſement, and held at the Cork Tavern, the

the 15th of October, 1792, the following declaration was unanimouſly agreed to:

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Eſq. M.D. in the Chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, compelled by the menaces and intimidations, which are daily repeated and renewed in the public prints, to deviate from that rule of ſilent expectation we had preſcribed to ourſelves, think it our duty at this criſis to interfere, and reſcue from opprobrium the character of that body, of which we form no inconſiderable portion.

We embrace the occaſion of teſtifying our entire approbation and concurrence, in the ſentiments expreſſed by our oppreſſed brethren throughout the kingdom; like them we are loyal, attached to our country and to the conſtitution which it poſſeſſes; like them inflexibly determined to ſeek, by all peaceable and legal means, that participation in the elective franchiſe, which we are qualified to enjoy by our ſituation, patriotiſm, and property.

As the inhabitants of an extenſive country, and great commercial city, we cannot ſtigmatize too ſtrongly the unguarded conduct of thoſe perſons, probably not much intereſted in the national welfare, who, by angry reſolutions of reſiſtance where no attack was deſigned, or even to be apprehended; and by dangerous confederations, which there is no pretence to juſtify, have diffuſed vague conjectures through Ireland and foreign countries; interrupting at home the public tranquillity and the harmony of ſocial life, repreſenting us abroad in a condition of precarious ſettlement. We ſee the ſpirit of intolerance obſervable in thoſe proceedings with aſtoniſhment, in an age which is denominated enlightened, and among a people, who have laid claim to the praiſe of information and liberality.

We never can admit, that the excluſion of three-fourths of the people from any connexion with the legiſlature, which diſpoſes of their lives, their liberty, and fortunes, is an eſſential and fundamental principle in the organization of ſociety within this iſland. The diſfranchiſement of a large portion of the Iriſh people, was the temporary expedient of a diſtempered age: it is time it ſhould be cancelled. It is time the privilege of voting for repreſentatives ſhould be re-annexed to our freehold property; and ſuffrage become, what the conſtitution deſigned it, the protection and reward of induſtry. The good of the country, the liberality of the age, the ſecurity our property affords, the proofs and the pledges we have given of patriotiſm and loyalty, all call aloud

for a happy reconciliation of parties, grounded upon this act of ſubſtantial juſtice.

The enemies of that great good of Ireland, our emancipation, endeavour to divert the public mind from this diſcuſſion, and to overwhelm our calm repreſentation in the outcry of ſedition. They are aware, that, ſupported by reaſon and juſtice, if our Proteſtant countrymen ſhall inveſtigate our cauſe, we muſt triumph over the baſe views and prejudices of the intereſted and bigoted: but we call upon our Proteſtant friends and neighbours to judge us, not from exaggerations and calumnies, but by their perſonal obſervation; by the general tenor of our lives and conduct; by the duties which we fulfil in common. Is there any room for the unkind ſurmiſes which circulate? Are there no terms upon which we may hope to be reſtored to our country? In the general havoc of our rights, remonſtrance, petition, and diſcuſſion were preſerved. We uſe them with that deference to the exiſting laws, and attention to the public peace, which befits men connected by every endearing tie to their country. Will any honeſt man lay his hand upon his breaſt, and anſwer, is our conduct diſorderly? Is our mode of addreſs indecent? Are our grievances fictitious? In every purſuit we are intercepted by monopoly; we are deprived of all that is called enviable in political life, and of many ſolid advantages of ſociety. When we enquire the cauſe of this excluſion, we are denominated ſeditious.

We have a ſtrong cauſe; it requires but the aid of argument, and this auxiliary alone we will employ. We ſolicit from our Proteſtant countrymen a patient hearing, that we may demonſtrate to them, that by redreſſing our grievances, they ſerve our common country and do not endanger their eſtabliſhment. We have no means of procuring redreſs, but by impreſſing conviction upon the Proteſtant repreſentatives of Proteſtant conſtituents.

For us ſtands all that is illuſtrious in the land for talent and public ſpirit! The men, who encourage venality and trade in corruption, are arrayed againſt us. It may be convenient to ſuch perſons to limit the number of free agents within the realm; but will the ſenſible and diſintereſted Proteſtants of Ireland be deceived by their unfounded aſſertions, their unſubſtantiated charges, and fanciful hypotheſes? Will they credit, that we would innovate in proſperity, who in adverſity are moderate and ſubmiſſive?

Will they believe, that we have an alien hope, who have appeared in every hour of peril armed by their ſides for our common protection, and who have, within

within the period of their recollection, reſiſted the only powers on earth, whom we could be ſuppoſed to favor? Will they not rather attend to the evidence of their ſenſes, that as the paſt repeal of the Popery laws has been the cauſe of national proſperity, ſo by the future muſt our country flouriſh? That it is more politic to recompenſe by franchiſe the toil of the laborious, than the perjury of the profligate. Theſe are the ſound doctrines of every wiſe ſtateſman and eminent writer of either kingdom; oppoſed to them are the men who inculcate the dangerous leſſon, that the church, the ſtate, the crown, the empire, and the conſtitution muſt totter, unleſs they have for ſupporters, a famiſhed ſlave and an arrogant monopoliſt.

We are threatened, if we perſiſt in our purpoſe, not only with an excluſion from future favors, but likewiſe with a revocation of paſt relaxations of penalties inflicted without a crime; the former openly avowed, the latter covertly inſinuated. But this ſentence of eternal and even of retroactive proſcription, though backed by ſome untimely proffers of lives and fortunes, has no effect on our conduct; becauſe we conceive, that to the legiſlature alone it is competent to menace or to proſcribe; and that for one fellow-ſubject to threaten to limit the rights of another, is to aſſume a power that to him does not belong :---a ſpecies of political aſſault unwarranted either by the law or the conſtitution.

To the patriots, who ſtood forward our advocates in the ſenate, and to thoſe who ſupported our cauſe without, we return our warmeſt thanks; and our acknowledgments and gratitude are particularly due to the late grand jury of this city, who, reſiſting the contagion of evil example, have declined entering into the confederacy attempted to be formed for the purpoſe of rivetting our chains, and detaining us in bondage; as well as to the enlightened and ſpirited Proteſtant freeholders, who, by their reſolutions of the 8th inſtant, have patronized our claims, and reſcued this great and reſpectable county from the ſtigma of bigotry, and the ſpirit of monopoly.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Chairman.

[Signed by a moſt reſpectable number of country gentlemen of landed property, and wealthy citizens.]

GALWAY ROMAN CATHOLICS.

AT a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Roman Catholic Inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Galway, convened by public requiſition on Sunday the 14th inſtant, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS, Eſq. in the chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county of the town of Galway, think it our duty to repel, in the moſt public and ſolemn manner, the imputation of ſeditious practices and intentions, which have been raſhly alleged againſt the Catholics of Ireland, but which we obſerve with ſurprize and regret to be daily repeated in the public prints, and ſanctioned by the ſignatures of men, who owe to the people of Ireland a more honorable ſervice than to fabricate calumny, and diffeminate diviſion, conſcious that in our opinions both civil and religious, in our demeanour and in our connections, there is nothing hoſtile to the good of our country, to liberty and ſettlement. We obſerve with equal indignation and aſtoniſhment, the aſſertion, that to reſtore us to the right of ſuffrage, is a meaſure which might endanger the fortunate connection of the ſiſter kingdoms, the happy conſtitution of this realm, and the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, to which we are devoted. Nor can we refrain from remarking, that whilſt the authors of theſe crude conjectures expect an unlimited deference to their opinions, they ſhould have treated with more decorum a body which contains the repreſentatives of ſo many ancient families, a large portion of the landed, and a vaſt majority of the commercial intereſt of the country. If the character of Ireland were to be collected from the newſpapers, foreigners might ſuppoſe it plunged in the bigotry of the moſt dark and barbarous periods of ſociety.

1ſt. Reſolved, That we concur in the ſentiments expreſſed by the Catholics of Waterford in their Declaration of the 22d of September, and in other ſimilar publications, being at once loyal, moderate, and firm.

2d. That the tranquillity of Ireland would have been more conſulted, if the grand juries, and ſuch other incompetent aſſemblies had referred the diſcuſſion to the wiſdom of parliament, the tribunal to which of right it appertains.

3d. That as we ſhould cenſure any menace or intimidation from the members of our body, ſo we muſt complain that the language of ſome late reſolutions is replete with menace, and ſeems calculated to deter the ſubject from the exerciſe of his right to petition.

4th.

4th. That the circular letter of the corporation of Dublin is on this account eminently reprehenſible, that it contained doctrines inconſiſtent with the exiſtence of good government, and the peace of a ſettled country.

5th. That thoſe who attempt to ſuppreſs the diſcuſſion of the Catholic queſtion acknowledge by that conduct that our cauſe is juſt, and our relief reaſonable, and that to obſtruct our humble application to parliament in petition, is the interruption of a right, which is enjoyed and exerciſed even under deſpotic governments.

6th. That impreſſed with a conviction that the proſperity of Ireland depends upon the union of its inhabitants, and that no union can be cordial unleſs political rights be impartially diſtributed, we will join with the Catholics of other counties and cities in an application to the legiſlature to be reſtored to the privilege of voting for our repreſentatives in parliament. That we will ſupport that application by every means of conſtitutional influence which we poſſeſs, and that we truſt our gracious Sovereign, whoſe character is an attachment equally paternal to all his ſubjects will not liſten to the miſrepreſentation and chimeras of intereſted men, but countenance this ſignal act of national policy and juſtice, by which not alone the condition of his faithful people will be improved, but Ireland herſelf become a more uſeful and profitable member of the empire.

CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS.

Chriſtopher Chevers, Eſq. having left the chair, and Andrew French, Eſq. of Rahoon, having taken it, the thanks of the meeting were unanimouſly voted to Chriſtopher Chevers, Eſq. for his proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by upwards of four hundred Gentlemen.

COUNTY KERRY MEETING.

At a meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Kerry, convened at the County Court-houſe, by public notice, from the High Sheriff, purſuant to a requiſition from the Grand Jury---

Reſolved, That having ſeen a printed paper now circulating amongſt the Catholics of this county, which paper is ſigned, "Edward Byrne," and propoſes to the Catholics of the entire kingdom, to elect perſons to repreſent their body, in the manner, and for the purpoſes therein ſet forth; we conſider it an indiſpenſable duty, as well from an inalienable intereſt in the ſecurity of our preſent happy conſtitution, ſo ſeriouſly invaded thereby, as from our ſolicitude for the real advantages of our Catholic brethren, which we conceive in fact

to

to be materially obſtructed by ſuch meaſure, to declare our opinion on the contents of ſuch paper, and the reſolutions it has compelled us to adopt.

Reſolved, That although we have ſeen with ſatisfaction the progreſſion of public opinion in favour of our Catholic brethren, which has for ſome years gradually procured them the material relaxations of the penal laws their moderation merited, yet we cannot but conſider any efforts made to call upon the Catholics of this kingdom, to aſſemble themſelves collectively or repreſentatively for the purpoſes ſet forth in ſaid letter, as calculated to continue and preſerve ſeparate views and intereſts between Catholics and Proteſtants, which we truſted time would gradually efface; as alſo to intimate that the privileges communicated to them, have been the acquiſitions of their own efforts, rather than the conceſſions of a generous and enlightened legiſlature, and above all to eſtabliſh a dangerous innovation ſubverſive of our preſent conſtitution, and neceſſarily productive of anarchy and confuſion, and which we ſhould therefore equally oppoſe, if adopted for any purpoſe by any ſet of men, or ſect of religion, not excepting even of the church, or eſtabliſhed by the laws of the kingdom.

Reſolved, That the dark and myſterious alluſions ſuch letter contained, to the aſſent of Lord Fingal and the other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen who differed from the ſaid committee, oblige us to declare, that we diſcredit ſuch aſſertion, as well from the contradiction it contains to the public declarations of the noblemen and gentlemen alluded to, as from the inconſiſtency of ſuch meaſures with their loyalty, their attachment to the preſent conſtitution, and their intereſts in its maintenance and ſupport.

Reſolved, That, in the county where the Catholics are exceedingly numerous, we have obſerved with the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction, the higher rank moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed by their meritorious efforts to preſerve peace and good order; and that in the middle and lower ranks, we have found offences of every kind daily diminiſh, whilſt thoſe attributed to, or derived from, the difference of ſects, have been utterly unknown.

Reſolved, That, in the indiſſoluble union which exiſts between the intelligent and good of all perſuaſions, we look forward to a continuation of that progreſſion of rapid improvement, which has taken place for ſome years in this county.

Reſolved, That the High Sheriff of this county be requeſted to tranſmit theſe our reſolutions to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, as the ſenſe of the county.

COUNTY

COUNTY OF MONAGHAN.

SUMMER ASSIZES, 1792.—We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Monaghan, obſerving with the utmoſt concern from certain late publications, that the privileges ſo liberally granted by parliament during the laſt ſeſſion to our Roman Catholic brethren, have not been received by them with that thankfulneſs and gratitude which they merited, do feel it our duty to declare our opinion, that if they look to further indulgences, they are to be obtained only by peaceable ſubmiſſion to the preſent laws, and to expreſs our firmeſt confidence that no branch of the legiſlature will admit of any alteration that can endanger that aſcendancy which an eſtabliſhed religion and government muſt maintain.

RICHARD DAWSON, Sheriff.

John Montgomery, Foreman,	James Corry,
John James,	Dacre Hamilton,
Samuel Madden,	Edward Richardſon,
Mat. Anketell,	Norman Steele,
N. Mont. Moore,	Thomas Brunker,
Charles Albert Leſlie,	William Forſter,
Thomas Singleton,	William Mayne,
Adam Noble,	John Mitchell,
John Ker,	James Jackſon,
Alexander Nixon,	Robert Graham,
Robert Montgomery,	John Rawdon,
	Humphrey Thompſon, Eſqrs.

No. XCI.

Queries to Foreign Univerſities, with their Anſwers. (*Page* 382.)

WHEN the committee of the Engliſh Catholics (for they had a committee with whom the Engliſh miniſters of the crown did not diſdain to communicate) waited on Mr. Pitt, he *requested* to be furniſhed with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Catholic clergy, and the Catholic univerſities abroad, "with reſpect to the exiſtence and extent of the pope's diſpenſing power." Three queſtions were accordingly framed and ſent to the univerſities of Paris, Louvain, Alcala, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions.

The

The queries and anſwers are as follows.

THE QUERIES.

Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, juriſdiction, or pre-eminence whatſoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, abſolve or diſpenſe with his majeſty's ſubjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatſoever?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are juſtified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other perſons differing from them in religious opinions, in any tranſaction, either of a public or a private nature?

Abſtract from the anſwer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the above Queries.

After an introduction according to the uſual forms of the univerſity, they anſwer the firſt query by declaring:

Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other perſon of the church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil juriſdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatſoever in *any* kingdom; and, conſequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reaſon or virtue of any authority, power, juriſdiction, or pre-eminence by divine inſtitution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the pope, or the church of Rome. This doctrine the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occaſion maintained, and upon every occaſion has rigidly proſcribed the contrary doctrines from her ſchools.

Anſwer to the ſecond query.—Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any perſon of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, abſolve or releaſe the ſubjects of the King of England from their oath of allegiance.

This and the firſt query are ſo intimately connected, that the anſwer of the firſt immediately and naturally applies to the ſecond, &c.

Anſwer to the third query.—There is no tenet in the Catholic church, by which Catholics are juſtified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or thoſe who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with Heretics, is ſo repugnant to common honeſty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which thoſe who have defended the Catholic

lic faith againſt Proteſtants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adverſaries in imputing this tenet to them, &c. &c. &c.

Given at Paris in the General Aſſembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thurſday the 11th day before the calends of March 1789.

Signed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY.

January 5, 1789.

At a Meeting of the Faculty of Divinity of the Univerſity of Douay, &c. &c.

To the firſt and ſecond queries the Sacred Faculty anſwers---That no power whatſoever, in civil or temporal concerns, was given by the Almighty, either to the pope, the cardinals, or the church herſelf, and, conſequently, that kings and ſovereigns are not in temporal concerns, ſubject, by the ordination of God, to any eccleſiaſtical power whatſoever; neither can their ſubjects, by any authority granted to the Pope or the Church, from above, be freed from their obedience, or abſolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the doctors and profeſſors of divinity hold and teach in our ſchools, and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theſes, &c. &c. &c.

To the third queſtion the Sacred Faculty anſwers---That there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are juſtified in not keeping faith with Heretics, who differ from them in religious opinion. On the contrary, it is *the unanimous doctrine* of Catholics, that the reſpect due to the name of God ſo called to witneſs, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomſoever it is pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel, &c. &c. &c.

Signed and ſealed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

The Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, having been requeſted to give her opinion upon the queſtions above ſtated, does it with readineſs—but ſtruck with aſtoniſhment that ſuch queſtions ſhould, at the end of this eighteenth century, be propoſed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and diſcernment of its natives. The Faculty being aſſembled for the above purpoſe, it is agreed with the unanimous aſſent of all voices to anſwer the firſt and ſecond queries abſolutely in the negative.

The Faculty does not think it incumbent upon her in this place to enter

upon the proofs of her opinion, or to ſhew how it is ſupported by paſſages in the Holy Scriptures, or the writings of antiquity. That has already been done by Boſſuet, De Marca, the two Barclays, Goldaſtus, the Pithœuſes, Argentre Widrington, and his Majeſty King James the Firſt, in his Diſſertation againſt Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others, &c. &c. &c.

The Faculty then proceeds to declare that the ſovereign power of the ſtate is in no wiſe (not even indirectly as it is termed) ſubject to, or dependant upon any other power, though it be a ſpiritual power, or even though it be inſtituted for eternal ſalvation, &c. &c.

That no man nor any aſſembly of men however eminent in dignity and power, not even the whole body of the Catholic church, though aſſembled in general council, can, upon any ground or pretence whatſoever, weaken the bond of union between the ſovereign and the people; ſtill leſs can they abſolve or free the ſubjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third queſtion, the ſaid Faculty of Divinity (in perfect wonder that ſuch a queſtion ſhould be propoſed to her) moſt poſitively and unequivocally anſwers—That there is not, and there never has been, among the Catholics, or in the doctrines of the church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with Heretics, or others of a different perſuaſion from themſelves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns.

The Faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promiſes, is the ſame; and is neither ſhaken nor diminiſhed, if thoſe with whom the engagement is made, hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, &c. &c.

Signed in due form on the 18th of November, 1788.

UNIVERSITY OF ALCALA.

To the firſt queſtion it is anſwered---That none of the perſons mentioned in the propoſed queſtion, either individually, or collectively in council aſſembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, juriſdiction and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the conſent of the people, and other ſuch titles of that nature.

To the ſecond it is anſwered, in like manner---That none of the perſons above-mentioned have a power to abſolve the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty from their oaths of allegiance.

To

To the third queſtion it is anſwered---That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with Heretics, or with any other perſons who diſſent from them in matters of religion, inſtead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

Signed in the uſual form, March 17th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.

To the firſt queſtion it is anſwered---That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor any aſſembly or individual of the Catholic church, have, as ſuch, any civil authority, power, juriſdiction or pre-eminence in the kingdom of England.

To the ſecond it is anſwered---That neither pope nor cardinals, nor any aſſembly or individual of the Catholic church, can, as ſuch, abſolve the ſubjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or diſpenſe with its obligations.

To the third it is anſwered---That it is no article of Catholic faith, with Heretics, or with perſons, of any other deſcription, who diſſent from them in matters of religion.

Signed in the uſual form, March 7th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID.

To the firſt queſtion it is anſwered---That neither pope, cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, juriſdiction or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain; or over any other kingdom or province in which they poſſeſs no temporal dominion.

To the ſecond it is anſwered---That neither pope nor cardinals, nor even a general council, can abſolve the ſubjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or diſpenſe with their obligation.

To the third it is anſwered---That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without reſpect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is ſtill more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the uſual form, February 17th, 1789.

No. XCII.

(*Page* 383.)

September 13, 1792.

At a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Catholics, RANDAL M'DONNELL, Eſq. in the Chair.

The Sub-Committee having ſeen, with great concern, a variety of publications, cenſuring the circular letter lately iſſued by them, ſaid to be ſigned by Edward Byrne, and erroneouſly ſtated to be illegal and unconſtitutional, have thought it their duty to ſubmit that letter to the inſpection of the Hon. Simon Butler, and Beresford Burſton, Eſq. two gentlemen of the firſt eminence in their profeſſion, and who have the honor to be of his Majeſty's council.

The caſe and opinions of thoſe gentlemen, which follow, will demonſtrate, that the committee have taken no ſtep whatſoever, which the laws and conſtitution do not fully warrant.

CASE.

The Catholics of Ireland, labouring under laws, by which they are deprived of every ſhare in the legiſlature, rendered incapable of ſerving their country in any office civil or military, and deprived of an equal participation with their fellow-ſubjects of other perſuaſions, in the benefit of the trial by jury, are deſirous of laying their grievances before the King and Parliament, and ſupplicating redreſs.

As the moſt effectual method of collecting the ſenſe of the Catholic body, and laying it before the king and parliament, a general committee from that body was formed, for the purpoſe of making application to the legiſlature, from time to time, on the ſubject of their grievance, and praying that redreſs, to which their loyalty and attachment to their ſovereign, and obedience to the laws, juſtly entitled them.

In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, the general committee, as individuals, did, on behalf of themſelves and their brethren, preſent a petition to parliament, praying relief, which petition was, with circumſtances of unprecedented ſeverity, rejected; and as one of the many cauſes of ſaid rejection, it was alleged, that the perſons whoſe names were affixed to ſaid petition were a faction, uncon-

connected with and incompetent to ſpeak the ſenſe of the Catholics of Ireland. In order to obviate every ſuch objection in future, the general committee framed a plan, which is ſent herewith, for the purpoſe of procuring the attendance of ſuch perſons from each county as were beſt acquainted with the ſentiments, and could beſt declare the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, who ſhould be by them deputed as delegates to the general committee, with inſtructions to ſupport the ſaid committee, as the voice of the Catholics, by whom they were deputed. "That an humble repreſentation be made to their "gracious ſovereign, and to parliament, of the many ſevere laws which op- "preſs his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no "cauſe founded in wiſdom or policy is aſſigned for their continuance, im- "ploring it as eſſential to their protection, and to ſecure an impartial diſtri- "bution of juſtice in their favor, that they may be reſtored to the elective "franchiſe, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury."

Charges and inſinuations of a very heavy nature have been thrown out, and menaces uſed by many bodies of men, and individuals, to prevent the carrying the above plan into execution, under a pretence that it is contrary to law, and that the meeting projected therein would be a popiſh congreſs, formed for the purpoſe of overawing the legiſlature.

The general committee, abhorring and utterly renouncing ſuch imputations, and deſiring to regulate their conduct in ſtrict conformity to law, requeſt your opinion upon the following queries:

1ſt. Have his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland, profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, a right to petition his majeſty and the legiſlature for the redreſs of grievances, equally with Proteſtants; and if not, wherein do they differ?

2d. If they have this right, may they lawfully chuſe delegates, for the purpoſe of framing ſuch petition, and preſenting the ſame, in a peaceable and reſpectful manner; and if they may not, by what law or ſtatute are they forbidden to do ſo?

3d. Is a meeting for the purpoſe of chuſing ſuch delegates, an unlawful aſſembly; and if not an unlawful aſſembly, has any magiſtrate or other perſon by or under pretence of the Riot Act, or any other, and what ſtatute, a right to diſperſe ſaid meeting?

4th. What is the legal mode of preſenting petitions to the legiſlature in Ireland; and is there any, and what ſtatute upon that point in this country?

5th. Is the plan ſent herewith agreeable to law; if not, wherein is it contrary

trary thereto, and to what penalties would perſons become ſubject, who ſhould carry, or attempt to carry, the ſame into effect.

Counſel will pleaſe to ſtate the authorities upon which he grounds his opinion.

Anſwer to the 1ſt queſtion.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that all and every his majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom, of every perſuaſion, Roman Catholic as well as Proteſtant, have an unalienable right to petition, in a peaceable manner, the king or either houſe of parliament, for redreſs of grievances, be thoſe grievances real or imaginary.—*1ſt Black. Comm. p.* 143.

Anſwer to the 2d queſtion.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that Roman Catholics have, equally with Proteſtants, a right to chooſe delegates for the purpoſe of framing ſuch petition, and preſenting the ſame in a peaceable and reſpectful manner to the legiſlature, and that they are not forbidden ſo to do by any law or ſtatute whatſoever. Delegation has always been conſidered not only as the moſt effectual mode of obtaining the general ſenſe, but alſo as the beſt ſecurity againſt tumult and diſturbance.

Anſwer to the 3d queſtion.—I am alſo clearly and decidedly of opinion, that a peaceable meeting for the purpoſe of chooſing ſuch delegates, is a lawful aſſembly, and that no magiſtrate or other perſon, by or under pretence of the riot act or any other ſtatute, has a right to diſperſe ſuch meeting. The aſſembly which may be diſperſed under the authority of the riot act, muſt be unlawful, riotous, tumultuous, and in diſturbance of the public peace. The act is inoperative upon an aſſembly that is lawful; and I feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that an obſtruction of the peaceable exerciſe of an unalienable right of the ſubject, is a miſdemeanor of the greateſt magnitude, and that any perſon charged with the guilt thereof, be his rank or ſtation what it may, is indictable, and, if found guilty by his country, liable to be fined and impriſoned; and I alſo feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that publications charging the general committee with exciting in the inſtance before us, unlawful aſſemblies for ſeditious purpoſes, are libels, and as ſuch are indictable and actionable.

Anſwer to the 4th queſtion.—By the Engliſh ſtatute of the 1ſt William and Mary, St. 2. Ch. II. commonly called the Bill of Rights, and which being a law declaratory of the rights of the ſubject, is therefore of force in Ireland, it is declared, " that all ſubjects have a right to petition to the king, and

" that

" that all commitments and profecutions for ſuch petitioning are illegal." Notwithſtanding the Bill of Rights is general, and does not ſpecify any regulations or reſtrictions, yet the court of King's Bench in England, in the caſe of the King againſt Lord George Gordon (Douglaſs, p. 571.), thought proper to deliver an opinion, that it did not repeal the Engliſh act of the 13th Car. II. St. I. Ch. 5, which enacted, " that no petition to the king, or either " houſe of parliament, for any alteration in the church or ſtate, ſhall be ſign- " ed by above twenty perſons, unleſs the matter thereof be approved by " three juſtices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury, in the " country, and in London, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common- " council: nor ſhall any petition be preſented by more than ten perſons at a " time." Under the above authority, therefore, the right of petitioning in England is ſubject to the regulations and reſtrictions laid upon it by that act of Charles II. But as neither the act of Charles, nor any one ſimilar to it, is in force in Ireland, the right of the Iriſh ſubjects to petition their legiſlature is not ſubject to any regulation or reſtriction whatſoever, ſave only that due care muſt be taken, leſt, under the pretence of petitioning, the ſubject be guilty of any riot or tumult. I am therefore of opinion, that no particular mode of preſenting petitions to the legiſlature of Ireland is pointed out by any law or ſtatute of force in this kingdom. It is to be obſerved, that in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, a great concourſe of people aſſembled in the Park, framed a petition, and deputed a very large number of their body to preſent it to the Houſe of Lords; the Lord Chancellor, in obſerving upon the petition, did not charge the petitioners with any illegality, either in aſſembling to frame, or in preſenting the petition, but on the contrary, his lordſhip was pleaſed to commend them for the peaceable manner in which they deported themſelves. The ſucceſs which attended the petition, is in the recollection of moſt people.

Anſwer to the 5th queſtion.—I am alſo clearly and decidedly of opinion, that the plan is in every reſpect agreeable to law, and that perſons, peaceably carrying, or attempting to carry the ſame into effect, would not thereby incur any penalty whatſoever. The plan is indeed unexceptionable; while it ſerves effectually to obtain the general ſenſe of the great Catholic body of Ireland, it provides every precaution againſt tumult and diſturbance.

September 3, 1792. SIMON BUTLER.

I. His

I. His majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, have, in my opinion, a right to petition his majeſty and the two houſes of parliament, or any of them, for the redreſs of grievances, equally with Proteſtants.

II. As they have this right, it follows, as I conceive, that, where the grievance complained of affects the whole body, they have alſo a right to collect the ſenſe of every individual of that body; but as the aſſembling them all for that purpoſe would be inconvenient, imprudent, and perhaps dangerous, I think the ſenſe of the whole body may be collected from a ſmaller number, delegated by them for that purpoſe, who may frame and preſent ſuch petition; and I know of no principle of the common law, nor of any ſtatute, by which they are forbidden to do ſo, it being always ſuppoſed that theſe proceedings are carried on in a peaceable and reſpectful manner.

III. I do not apprehend that a number of Roman Catholics, meeting in a private, peaceable and quiet manner, for the ſole purpoſe of declaring their ſenſe of the alleged grievances, and their deſire of petitioning the legiſlature for redreſs, and of chuſing out of themſelves, one or more, to aſſiſt in framing and preſenting ſuch petition, can be conſidered as an unlawful aſſembly; and I do not think that any magiſtrate, or other perſon, by or under pretence of the Riot Act, or any other act that I am acquainted with, would have a right to diſperſe ſuch meeting.

IV. I do not know of any ſtatute in this kingdom which regulates the mode of preſenting petitions to the legiſlature of this kingdom; the Engliſh ſtatute of 13th Car. II. St. V. Ch. 2d. has not been enacted here, that I know of; but the general law of the land requires that the petition ſhould be preſented in the moſt reſpectful and peaceable manner. The intended petition, as I apprehend, ſhould be entitled the petition of his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion; and ſhould be ſigned by a few of the Roman Catholics of each county and principal city in Ireland, on behalf of themſelves and their Roman Catholic brethren of that county or city. According to the forms of parliament here, the petition muſt be preſented to each houſe, by a member of that houſe; in preſenting the petition to his majeſty, which may be either to himſelf in perſon, or through the medium of the lord lieutenant, it would I think be prudent to follow the directions of the Engliſh ſtatute above-mentioned, and that not more than ten perſons ſhould preſent it.

V. From

V. From what I have already ſaid, I muſt be of opinion, that the plan ſent herewith to me, is not contrary to law, and I cannot conceive that perſons carrying, or attempting to carry it into effect, peaceably and quietly, would become ſubject to any penalties.

I have grounded my opinion upon the conception I have formed of the law and conſtitution of this kingdom, from that general reſearch which my profeſſion has led me to make into their principles; I have not therefore any authorities to ſtate.

13*th September*, 1792. BERESFORD BURSTON.

No. XCIII.

Circular Letter addreſſed to the Catholic Gentlemen of the Kingdom of Ireland, with a Plan for electing Delegates. (*P.* 383.)

SIR,

THIS letter with the plan which accompanies it, is tranſmitted to you, by order of the ſub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to aſſiſt, by their advice and influence, the meaſures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. You will pleaſe to loſe no time in ſubmitting this to the reſpectable Catholics of your county. You will pleaſe alſo to inform them, that ſeveral reſpectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent conſultations, for the laudable purpoſe of reuniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themſelves from it. Theſe country gentlemen had the ſatisfaction to find, that the general committee on one ſide, and the gentlemen who had entered into ſeparate addreſſes on the other, mutually regretted their diviſion; which they ſaw was uſed by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all ſides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this juſt and reaſonable requeſt, eſſential to the very exiſtence of our people, there will be a certainty of ſucceſs; it depends then on ourſelves whether we ſhall be—freemen or ſlaves! We ſay, eſſential to the

very exiſtence of our people: for, as the rage for electioneering intereſt increaſes, our wealthy farmers muſt either pay beyond the value for lands, or reſign them to Proteſtant freeholders when out of leaſe; our poorer yeomanry will of courſe be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all then, ſpeak with one voice, and ſupplicate the legiſlature for juſtice, and we ſhall receive it.

Theſe independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the moſt poſitive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppoſe the general committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined that all former differences in opinion ſhall be buried in oblivion on both ſides.

The committee had decided to ſend ſome of their body, to propoſe to the counties to appoint delegates to the committee, of whoſe attendance there would be a ceertainty; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through a great part of Ireland for this purpoſe; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the ſame idea themſelves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in preſſing ſuch a meaſure on the committee, as an additional cauſe of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, ſeemed at firſt inclined that the preſent committee ſhould be diſſolved; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties reſulting from ſuch a meaſure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to diſſolve itſelf, and the conſideration that a diſſolution muſt neceſſarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan incloſed, ſanctioned by the general committee, by theſe independent gentlemen, and by Lord Fingal, and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your county.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,

EDWARD BYRNE.

No.

No. XCIV.

DECLARATION. (*P.* 384.)

WE the Catholics of the city of Dublin, have read with extreme concern, the reſolutions of different bodies of our Proteſtant fellow ſubjects, in which they expreſs their diſapprobation of the conduct of our committee, and their averſion to our claims of the elective franchiſe, and an equal participation of the trial by jury. But the addreſs of the corporation of this city to the Proteſtants of Ireland, has filled us moſt peculiarly with mortification and ſurprize; as Iriſhmen, we are aſtoniſhed and grieved, that the firſt corporation of this kingdom ſhould have put forth a publication, teeming with falſe principles of government, and falſe ſtatements of hiſtoric facts; as Catholics, we lament, that the ſame body ſhould have miſconceived and miſ-ſtated our conduct and our objects.

We have read of what is called the right of conqueſt; it has alſo been called the right of robbery: but we do not imagine, that a doctrine ſo ſubverſive of the peace and ſettlement of ſociety, and of the immutable rules of juſtice, that a doctrine, which in its conſequences ſo completely warrants, and in its language ſo wantonly provokes reſiſtance, would be made the foundation of the Proteſtant claims to the government of this country. We did not expect that a doctrine exploded in this iſland by the revolution of 1782, would be revived to our oppreſſion. If conqueſt and the right of the ſword could juſtify the ſtronger in retaining dominion, why did not Great Britain abdicate her legiſlative ſupremacy over Ireland? or why were we all, Proteſtants and Catholics, actuated as one man to reſiſt ſo legitimate an authority? Is that monſtrous and exploded principle ſtill to be retained for our peculiar ſubjection, which was felt to be falſe by every honeſt man, when applied to the ſubjection of his native land?

We are deſired in that addreſs to "reſt contented with the moſt perfect to-"leration of our *religion*, the fulleſt ſecurity of our property, and the moſt "complete perſonal liberty." They are great and important bleſſings, but they are not ſecure to any man, who is a ſlave. They are held but by ſufferance, by thoſe who are tried without their conſent, and legiſlated for without being repreſented.

We agree with the corporation in the ſpirit of one aſſertion, they "know of

" no power under Heaven authorized to alienate this their moſt valuable in-
" heritance." Let our claims be tried by the ſame principle. The Catholics were the conſtituents of the very parliament which deprived them of their franchiſe, and thereby did indeed " alienate their moſt valuable inheritance!" and though we have acquieſced under that unjuſt deprivation for ſixty-five years, and though we will continue to acquieſce, ſo long as the ſtatute ſtands in its preſent form, we muſt ſtill declare, as a political truth, that no elected and delegated legiſlature has a right to disfranchiſe its electors and delegators, who never entruſted their power to that body for the purpoſe of being made the inſtrument of its own deſtruction. And we further ſay, that in our judgment, not even thoſe electors could empower their repreſentatives to enſlave us, their poſterity.

We are likewiſe told by the corporation, that " experience has taught
" them, that without the ruin of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, the Catholic
" cannot be allowed the ſmalleſt influence in the ſtate." The inclinations of our body are not to ſubvert any eſtabliſhment in this country; if they were, we are not component to ſo abſurd a project: and no ſtrength, that we might derive from the reſtoration of our rights would enable us to effect it, while the King, the Houſe of Lords, the Iriſh Privy Council, the Engliſh Privy Council, and the Chancellors of both countries, are unalterably Proteſtant. If by eſtabliſhment be meant religious eſtabliſhment, we muſt further reply, that no experience has taught them ſo; the Proteſtant religion was dominant in this country long before our anceſtors loſt their elective franchiſe. Is it only ſince the year 1727, that Proteſtantiſm has been the religion of the ſtate in Ireland? If by eſtabliſhment be meant the government of the country, it is equally ill founded; *that* is inſtituted for the freedom and happineſs of the governed; and yet this addreſs would imply, that procuring freedom and happineſs for three-fourths of this kingdom, would cauſe the utter ruin of our government. A greater libel againſt the conſtitution of Ireland was never uttered by its moſt declared enemy. It is ſufficiently capacious to give liberty to every man; and the more its baſe is widened, and its bleſſings diffuſed, the more it will be fortified againſt the efforts of time and deſpotiſm. Nor does experience warrant the aſſertion. Our loſs of the right of citizenſhip is comparatively modern; and the government of this country neither required nor gained any acceſſion of ſtrength by our ſlavery. That was effected in a time of profound tranquillity, after the uninterrupted

loyalty

loyalty and peaceable demeanour of our anceſtors had been experienced and acknowledged for thirty-ſix years from the capitulation of Limerick. The cauſes that induced this law are now almoſt forgotten; but if tradition be to be believed, where hiſtory is ſilent, it was enacted to ſatisfy court intrigue, not public ſecurity; to change the balance of power between Proteſtant families in two or three counties of this kingdom, not to give any increaſe of power to the Proteſtants at large.

It is ſuggeſted in that addreſs, that the Revolution was eſtabliſhed in Ireland by force, or as it is profanely called, by "an appeal to Heaven." The Revolution in England, derived its glory and its ſtability from this great truth, that it was founded on the people's will. Does the Revolution in Ireland reſt upon a different foundation? Is it ſupported by a principle, which is the reverſe of that, which rendered the Revolution in England the admiration of the world? No! it is not ſo; we muſt all concur in calumniating that great event, that our anceſtors may alſo be calumniated. The Revolution in Ireland was not completed by the battles of the Boyne or Aughrim, but by the articles of Limerick. It was conſented to by all, Proteſtants and Catholics. The conſent of the Catholics was obtained to a compact, *as ſolemnly ratified, and as ſpeedily broken*, as any in the records of hiſtory. By that compact, the enjoyment of all their rights was ſtipulated for to our anceſtors, as a declaration of their conſent. The reſtoration of thoſe rights was therefore connected with the Revolution ſettlement of this kingdom.

We are alſo told, that thoſe laws were enacted to "deprive the Roman Ca-"tholics of political power, in conſequence of the many and great efforts "made by them in ſupport of their Popiſh King and French connexions." When, where, or how were thoſe many and great efforts made? From their number and their magnitude, thoſe who ſo confidently advance this aſſertion, cannot, we preſume, be at a loſs for an inſtance; but we defy the malice of invention to produce *one*. *Our forefathers never violated the articles of Limerick.* From the time that they conſented to the Revolution in 1691, they never made any efforts either in ſupport of a Popiſh King, or French connexions, or of any other enemy to King William and his ſucceſſors. Had they even done ſo, the fault had been theirs—why not the puniſhment theirs alſo? Or, is it intended to be inſinuated to fellow-ſubjects who know our loyalty, that WE are anxious to have this country "governed by an arbi-"trary and unconſtitutional Popiſh tyrant, and dependant upon France;"

or

or that *we do not desire* to "enjoy the blessings of a free Protestant govern-
" ment, a Protestant monarch limited by the constitution (as settled by the
" Revolution), and an intimate connexion with the free empire of Britain?"
If we *do*, why is the law continued, after the reason of enacting has ceased?

We admit, that from the moment the Protestant began to make conces-sions, the Roman Catholic began to extend his claims. The first kindness of our Protestant brethren shewed a returning spirit of liberality and affection. Before that time we were not so rash as to raise our minds to the hopes of citizenship. But we were never guilty of the deceit imputed to us, of declaring that a little would satisfy us, and when that little was granted, of claiming more. Our own attention, as well as that of our Protestant fellow-subjects, was directed to the most immediate and most practicable redress. We did not embarrass the measure by remote and extraneous considerations, but we never did, either in word or thought, *and we never will forego our hopes of emancipation.* Freemen would not believe us, if we said that we should be induced by any comparatively small alleviation of our grievances, to consent to perpetual slavery.

We lament that it is *not true*, " that the last session of parliament left us
" in no wise different from our Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the
" exercise of political power." That assertion is falsified by the heavy code of penal laws still in force against us, many of which infringe on that security of property and that personal liberty, which it is alleged we possess. But it is not power, it is protection we solicit. It is not power, including in it the notion of *superiority*—it is the *equal enjoyment* of our rights that we claim.

The Corporation tell us, that they will not be compelled by any authority whatever, " to abandon that political situation, which their forefathers won
" with their swords, and which they have resolved with their lives and for-
" tunes to maintain." Are WE the seditious men, that would overawe the legislature and our fellow countrymen? No; our views are peaceable, and neither insult nor oppression shall make us forget our loyalty. But wherefore this untimely threat? It wears the appearance of first urging us to despair by an eternal proscription, and then of throwing down the gauntlet of civil war. We too have lives and fortunes, which we are ready to devote to the service of our country, whenever *real danger* shall require it; but we will never

never degrade that laſt and moſt ſolemn act of patriotiſm into an idle menace and an inſolent bravado.

The great queſtion of our emancipation is now afloat, we have never ſought to acquire it by force, and we hope for it now only from the wiſdom of the legiſlature, and affection of our Proteſtant brethren. But, we here ſolemnly and publicly declare, that we never will through any change of time or circumſtance, ſave the actual *reſtoration of our rights*, deſiſt from the peaceable and lawful purſuit of the two great objects of our hopes—*the right of elective franchiſe, and an equal ſhare in the benefits of the trial by jury.*

No. XCV.

Petition of the Catholics of Ireland. (*P.* 388.)

January 2, 1793.

MR. BYRNE, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, and Sir Thomas French, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland, attended the levee at St. James's, and had the honor to preſent the humble petition of that body to his majeſty, who was pleaſed to receive it moſt graciouſly.

The delegates were introduced by the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, ſecretary of ſtate for the home department.

The following is a correct copy of the petition:

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the underſigned Catholics, on behalf of themſelves and the reſt of his Catholic ſubjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects of your kingdom of Ireland, profeſſing the Catholic religion, preſume to approach your majeſty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to ſubmit to your conſideration the manifold incapacities and oppreſſive diſqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it pleaſe your majeſty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domeſtic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majeſty, and given, and being ſtill ready to give, every pledge, which can be deviſed for

their

their peaceable demeanour and unconditional ſubmiſſion to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland ſtand obnoxious to a long catalogue of ſtatutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious ſubjects pains and penalties of an extent and ſeverity, which ſcarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period, when no neceſſity can be alleged to juſtify their continuance.

In the firſt place, we beg leave with all humility to repreſent to your majeſty, that notwithſtanding the loweſt departments in your majeſty's fleets and armies are largely ſupplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree ſupported by our contributions, we are diſabled from ſerving your majeſty in any office of truſt and emolument whatſoever, civil or military—a proſcription, which diſregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and reſts as an univerſal ſtigma of diſtruſt upon the whole body of your Catholic ſubjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal ſtations, and the franchiſe of all guilds and corporations; and our excluſion from the benefits annexed to thoſe ſituations is not an evil terminating in itſelf; for, by giving an advantage over us to thoſe, in whom they are excluſively veſted, they eſtabliſh throughout the kingdom a ſpecies of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the ſpirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any univerſity, college, or ſchool for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the univerſity of Dublin by the ſeveral charters and ſtatutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or uſing weapons, for the defence of our houſes, families, or perſons, whereby we are expoſed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and aſſaſſination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to ſelf-defence, a variety of ſtatutes exiſt, not leſs grievous and oppreſſive in their proviſions, than unjuſt in their object; by one of which, enacted ſo lately as within theſe ſixteen years, every of your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peaſant, is compellable by any magiſtrate to come forward and convict himſelf of what may be thought a ſingular offence in a country profeſſing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he ſhall refuſe ſo to do, may incur not only fine and impriſonment, but the vile and ignominious puniſhments of the pillory and whipping, penalties appropriated to the

the moſt infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itſelf.

No Catholic whatſoever, as we apprehend, has his perſonal property ſecure. The law allows and encourages the diſobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the ſurrender of his all, purchaſe his repoſe; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future induſtry be ſucceſsful, and again be plundered by due proceſs of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Proteſtant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we moſt humbly ſubmit to your majeſty, that your loyal ſubjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worſe ſituation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themſelves.

We may not ſerve on grand juries, unleſs, which it is ſcarcely poſſible can ever happen, there ſhould not be found a ſufficiency of Proteſtants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which ſays, that no man ſhall be convicted of any capital offence, unleſs by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly preſume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the conſtitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifeſt injuſtice of our property being taxed in aſſeſſments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but may it pleaſe your majeſty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal ſubjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with moſt poignant anguiſh of mind, as being the badge of unmerited diſgrace and ignominy, and the cauſe and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchiſe, to the manifeſt perverſion of the ſpirit of the conſtitution, inaſmuch as your faithful ſubjects are thereby taxed, where they are not repreſented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give, or with-hold their aſſent; and we moſt humbly implore your majeſty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely ſpeculative, but is attended with great diſtreſs to all ranks, and in many inſtances, with the total ruin and deſtruction of the lower orders of your ma-

jeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects the Catholics of Ireland; for may it pleaſe your majeſty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwiſe, which the enjoyment of the elective franchiſe gives to thoſe who poſſeſs it, nor the conſequent inconveniencies, to which thoſe who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the diſgrace to three-fourths of your loyal ſubjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchiſe, in a nation poſſeſſing a free conſtitution, it continually happens, and of neceſſity from the malignant nature of the law muſt happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leaſes, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Proteſtant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumſtance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boaſt and laudable triumph of our Proteſtant brethren, a viſitation and heavy curſe to us, your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects. And may it pleaſe your majeſty, this uncertainty of poſſeſſion to your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects operates as a perpetual reſtraint and diſcouragement on induſtry and the ſpirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, poſſeſſing many and great natural advantages of ſoil and climate, ſo as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herſelf thereof ſo fully as ſhe otherwiſe might, to the furtherance of your majeſty's honor, and the more effectual ſupport of your ſervice.

And may it pleaſe your majeſty, the evil does not even reſt here; for many of your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, to preſerve their families from total deſtruction, ſubmit to a nominal conformity againſt their conviction and their conſcience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly diſbelieve; a circumſtance, which we doubt not will ſhock your majeſty's well-known and exemplary piety, not leſs than the miſery which drives thoſe unhappy wretches to ſo deſperate a meaſure, muſt diſtreſs and wound your royal clemency and commiſeration.

And may it pleaſe your majeſty, though we might here reſt our caſe on its own merits, juſtice, and expediency, yet we further preſume humbly to ſubmit to your majeſty, that the right of franchiſe was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the firſt adoption of the Engliſh conſtitution by our forefathers, was ſecured to at leaſt a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your majeſty's

royal

royal predeceſſors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by parliament; notwithſtanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation thus ſolemnly pledged, for which our anceſtors paid a valuable conſideration, in the ſurrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithſtanding the moſt ſcrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the ſaid treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the preſent, the ſaid right of elective franchiſe was finally and univerſally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, ſo lately as the firſt year of his majeſty King George the Second.

And when we thus preſume to ſubmit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your majeſty's royal notice, it is not that we ourſelves conſider it to be the ſtrong part of our caſe; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no ſuch event as the ſaid treaty had ever taken place, your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful ſubmiſſion to the laws, and from the great ſupport afforded by them to your majeſty's government in this country, as well in their perſonal ſervice, in your majeſty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and juſtly entitled to participate and enjoy the bleſſings of the conſtitution of their country.

And now that we have with all humility ſubmitted our grievances to your majeſty, permit us, moſt gracious ſovereign, again to repreſent our ſincere attachment to the conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed in three eſtates of king, lords, and commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and ſubmiſſion to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to perſevere in the ſame dutiful conduct, which has, under your majeſty's happy auſpices, procured us thoſe relaxations of the penal ſtatutes, which the wiſdom of the legiſlature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly preſume to hope, that your majeſty, in your paternal goodneſs and affection towards a numerous and oppreſſed body of your loyal ſubjects, may be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend to your parliament of Ireland, to take into their conſideration the whole of our ſituation, our numbers, our merits, and our ſufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your majeſty's ſubjects in loyalty and attachment to your ſacred perſon, we cannot ſuppreſs our wiſhes of being reſtored to the rights and privileges of the conſtitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable of

rendering your majeſty that ſervice, which it is not leſs our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your majeſty tranſmit to your lateſt poſterity, a crown ſecured by public advantage and public affection; and ſo may your royal perſon become, if poſſible, more dear to your grateful people.

The above petition is ſigned by the delegates from the following counties, cities, and towns in the kingdom of Ireland.

For ourſelves and the Roman Catholic Prelates and Clergy of Ireland.

John Thomas Troy, D. D. Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Dublin.

H. Moylan, D. D. Roman Catholic Biſhop of Cork.

For ourſelves and the Catholics of the County of Antrim.

Luke Teiling
Oliver O'Hara
Bernard O'Neill

County of Armagh.

Theo. Mac Kenna
Charles Whittington
Owen O'Callaghan

County of Carlow.

Walter Fitzgerald
Edward Butler William Finn
Thomas Warren

County of Cavan.

Hugh O'Reily
James Palles
Edward Dowell
Patrick Dowell

County of Clare.

Patrick O'Reilly
Laurence Comyn
James O'Gorman
Nicholas Mahon
Daniel O'Connell
Francis Mac Mahon, jun.

County and City of Cork

William Coppinger
John Therry
Nicholas Francis Coppinger
D. Rochfort
Bryan Sheehy
Edward Byrne
Denis Thomas O'Brien

County of Donnegal.

Richard Dodd
Daniel M'Laughlin
Andrew Mac Shane

County of Down.

Samuel Norris
John O'Neill
John Magenis
Thomas Savage
James Kenney

County of Dublin.

Patrick Thunder
Baron Lawleſs
Patrick Smyth
Peter Farrell

Thomas

Thomas Segrave
Henry Thunder

County of Fermanagh.

James Kiernan
Philip Maguire
Terence Maguire
Richard Kiernan

County of Galway.

Chriſtopher Dillon Bellew
Chriſtopher Bellew
Thomas French

County of Kerry.

Thomas Huſſey
Matthew Moriarty

County of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzgerald, jun.
Charles Aylmer
John Eſmonde
Chriſtopher Nangle
James Archbold
Randle Mac Donnell

County of Kilkenny.

Edward Sheil
Nicholas Devereux

King's County.

Patrick Oliver Plunkett
Francis Bennett

County of Leitrim.

Myles Keon
Hugh O'Beirne
John Keogh
Robert Dillon

County of Limerick.

Bryan Sheehy
R. Sheehy Keatinge
Richard M'Cormick

County of Londonderry.

Andrew Mac Shane
Richard Dodd

County of Weſtmeath.

James Count Nugent
Chriſtopher Nugent
Bernard O'Reilly
Edward Mac Evoy
John Weldon

County of Louth.

Patrick Byrne
Patrick Ruſſell

County of Mayo.

James Joſeph Mac Donnell
Edmund Dillon
Andrew Crean Lynch
Nicholas Fitzgerald
Theodore Mahon

County of Meath.

James Nangle
Bartholomew Barnwall
Michael Johnſon
Richard Barnewall
Thomas Ryan, M. D.

County of Monaghan.

Hugh Hamill
James Carolan
Bartholomew Clinton
Daniel Reilly

Queen's County.

Morgan Kavanagh
James Warren

William

William Dunne
Edward Byrne, jun.

County of Roſcommon.

John Fallon
James Plunkett
Owen O'Connor

County of Sligo.

Hugh Mac Dermot, M. D.
J. Everard
Patrick Mullarky
John Mac Donogh
Charles O'Connor
James Aylward

County of Tipperary.

Lawrence Smyth
John Lalor
Dennis O'Meagher
Thomas Mahon

County of Tyrone.

Thomas Richard Geraghty
Terence O'Neill
Bernard Mac Mahon
John Ball
John Byrne
John Fairfield

County and City of Waterford.

Patrick Power
Bartholomew Rivers
Richard Mac Kenna
John Dillon
Thomas Kirwan

County of Wexford.

James Edward Devereux
Harvey Hay
Edward Hay
Edward Sweetman

County of Wicklow.

Walter Byrne
Thomas Fitz Simon
Richard Doyle
Patrick Kavanagh
Peter Brady

County of Weſtmeath.

Michael Dardis
Lattin Fitzgerald
John Walſh
John Cormick

Town of Carrickfergus.

Chriſtopher Teeling, M. D.
Laurence Mac Dermott

Town of Armagh.

John Byrne

Town of Inniſkillen.

Edward Madden

Town of Carlow.

Thomas Warren

Philliptown.

Lewis Flannagan
James Molloy

Town of Dundalk.

Thomas Magan

Town of Trim.

Ignatius Weldon
Thomas Lynch

Town of Wexford.

Edward Sutton
William Kearney
Michael Mac Carty

City of Limerick.

Francis Arthur
Jaſper White

Luke

Luke Stritch
George O'Halloran
William Sweetman
Charles Young

Clonmell.

John Rivers
Matthew James Plunkett

Town of Galway.

Henry Lynch
Malachy O'Connor
Edmund Lynch Athy
Martin F. Lynch

Carrick on Shannon.

James Fitz Simons

Town of Caſtlebar.

N. Le Favre
Hugh Leonard

Town of Sligo.

John Dunn

Town of Drogheda.

James Bird
Roger Hamill
Gerald Dillon

Town of Caſhel.

Jeremiah Dwyer

Town of Athlone.

Simon Kelly

Town and Lordſhip of Newry.

Mark Dowlin
James Reilly
Charles Drumgoode

Town of Enniſcorthy.

Paul Houſton
Philip Sullivan

Ballyſhannon.

Thomas Doran
James Kelly

Town of Carrick on Suir.

John Donahoe

City of Kilkenny.

Con. Loughman
John Shearman
John Murphy

Dungarvan.

James Dixon

Town of Athy.

Joſeph Patrick Cahill
G. Fitzgerald

Town of Boyle.

John Mac Loghlin

Navan.

William James Mac Neven
Edward Geoghegan

Town of Ballymahon.

Denis Caffin

Town of Belfaſt.

Richard Croſs
Patrick Byrne

Town of Athboy

Thomas Bourke
John O'Neil

Town of Carrickmacroſs.

Richard Browne
Gregory Scurlog

Loughrea.

Hubert Thomas Dolphin

Maryborough.

Henry Johnſton

Ardee

Ardee.
Patrick Byrne, W. S. Kindelan

Town of Thurles.
A. Thompſon

Town of Naas.
John Eſmond
Joſeph Byrne

Town of Athenry.
Anthony French

Maryborough.
John Ball, jun.

Town of Roſcrea.
John Duffy

Town of Swords.
Chriſtopher Taylor

City of Dublin.
Richard Dillon
Thomas Kennedy
Jonathan Lynch
Thomas Glanan
James Murphy
John White
Lewis Lyons
Patrick Bean
Edward Lewines
A. Daly, M. D.
Nicholas Elcock
Simon Macguire
William Hyland
Patrick Marſh
Thomas Reynolds
John Sweetman
Michael Boylan
James Conolly
Thomas Braughall
Charles Ryan
John Ball
Thomas Mac Donne
Chriſtopher Kelly
Patrick Sweetman
John Sutton
John Comerford
Patrick Grehan
James Ferrall
William Clark
John Kearney
Richard Walſh
J. G. Kennedy
John Andrews.

No. XCVI.

A Liſt of all the Boroughs in Ireland, and their reſpective Patrons.
(*Page* 431.)

Boroughs.	Patrons.	Voices.
Antrim,	Lord Maſſereene,	2
Belfaſt,	Lord Donegall,	2
Randalſtown,	Right Hon. John O'Neil,	2

Armagh

Armagh,	Primate,	2
Charlemont,	Lord Charlemont,	2
Carlow,	William Burton,	2
Old Leighlin,	Biſhop of Leighlin,	2
Belturbet,	Lord Belmore,	2
Cavan,	T. Neſbit and Theo. Clements,	—
Ennis,	Sir L. O'Brien and Lord Conyngham,	—
Baltimore,	Sir J. Freke,	2
Bandon Bridge	Duke of Devonſhire and Mr. Bernard,	—
Caſtlemartyr,	Lord Shannon,	2
Charleville,	Lord Cork,	2
Cloghnekilty,	Lord Shannon,	2
Doneraile,	Lord Doneraile,	2
Kingſale,	Lord Clifford,	2
Mallow,	Mr. Jephſon,	2
Middleton,	Lord Middleton,	2
Rathcormuck,	Lord Riverſdale,	2
Youghal,	Lord Shannon and Mr. Uniacke,	2
Ballyſhannon,	Mr. Conolly,	2
Donegall,	Lord Arran,	2
Killybegs,	Mr. Burton Conyngham,	2
Lifford,	Lord Erne,	2
St. Johnſtown,	Lord Wicklow,	2
Bangor,	Lord Bangor and Lord Carrick,	—
Hillſborough,	Lord Hillſborough,	2
Killileagh,	Sir J. Blackwood,	2
Newtown,	Lord Calledon,	2
Newcaſtle,	Mr. Latouche,	2
Enniſkillen,	Lord Enniſkillen,	2
Athenry,	Mr. Blakeney,	2
Galway Town,	——— and Mr. Bowes Daly,	—
Tuam,	Mr. Bingham,	2
Ardfert,	Lord Glandore,	2
Dingle,	Mr. Townſend,	2
Tralee,	Sir B. Denny,	2
Athy,	Duke of Leinſter,	2
Harriſtown,		

Harriſtown,	Mr. J. Latouche,	2
Kildare,	Duke of Leinſter,	2
Naas,	Lord Mayo,	2
Callan,	Lord Callan,	2
St. Cannice,	Biſhop of Oſſory,	2
Iniſtioge,	Mr. Tighe,	2
Gowran,	Lord Clifden,	2
Kilkenny City,	Earl Ormond and Lord Deſart,	—
Knocktopher,	Sir Hercules Langriſhe,	2
Thomaſtown,	Lord Cliden,	2
Banagher,	Mr. Ponſonby,	2
Philipſtown,	Lord Belvedere,	2
Carrick,	Lord Leitrim,	2
Jameſtown	2 Mr. Kings,	—
Aſkeyton,	Lord Carrick and Mr. Maſſey	—
Kilmallock,	Right Hon. Silver Oliver,	2
Limerick City,	Lord Perry and P. Smith,	—
Coleraine,	Marquis Waterford and Mr. Jackſon,	—
Newtown Limavady,	Mr. Conolly,	2
Granard,	Mrs. M'Cartney,	2
Laneſborough,	Lord Clonbrock,	2
Longford,	Lord Longford,	2
Johnſtown,	Lord Granard,	2
Ardee,	2 Mr. Ruxtons,	—
Carlingford,	Mr. Moore,	2
Dundalk,	Lord Clanbraſſil,	2
Dunleer,	Mr. Foſter and Mr. Coddington,	—
Caſtlebar,	Lord Lucan,	2
Athboy,	Lord Darnley,	2
Duleek,	Col. Bruen,	2
Kells,	Lord Bective,	2
Navan,	Mr. Preſton and Lord Ludlow,	—
Ratoath,	Mr. Lowther,	2
Trim,	Lord Mornington,	2
Monaghan,	Lord Clermont,	2
Ballynakil,	Marquis Drogheda,	2

Maryborough,

Maryborough,	Sir J. Parnel,	2
Portarlington,	Lord Portarlington	2
Boyle,	Lord Kingſton,	2
Roſcommon,	Mr. Sandford,	2
Tulſk,	Mrs. Walcot,	2
Sligo,	Owen Wynne,	2
Caſhel,	Mr. Pennyfather,	2
Clonmel,	Lord Mountcaſhel,	2
Fethard, (Tipperary)	Lord Liſmore and Mr. Barton	—
Augher,	Marquis of Abercorn,	—
Clogher,	Biſhop of Clogher,	2
Dungannon,	Lord Wells,	2
Strabane,	Marquis Abercorne,	2
Liſmore,	Duke of Devonſhire and Sir R. Muſgrave,	—
Tallagh	Duke of Devonſhire and Lord Shannon,	—
Athlone,	Mr. Handcock and Sir Richard St. George	—
Fore,	Lord Weſtmeath	2
Kilbeggan,	Mr. Lambert,	2
Mullingar,	Lord Granard,	2
Bannow,	Lord Loftus	2
Clonmines,	Ditto	2
Ennifcorthy,	Sir V. Colclough,	2
Fethard, (Wexford)	Lord Loftus,	2
Gorey,	Mr. S. Ram,	2
New-Roſs,	Mr. Tottenham and Mr. Leigh,	—
Taghmon,	Mr. Hoare,	2
Wexford Town,	Lord Loftus and Mr. Nevil,	—
Baltinglaſs,	Lord Aldborough,	2
Bleſſington,	Marquis Downſhir	2
Carysfort,	Lord Carysfort,	2
Wicklow,	Mr. Tighe,	2

The thirty-two counties and twelve following boroughs are omitted, as being popular, and therefore the property of no individual.

Popular Boroughs.

Carrickfergus,	Drogheda,	Londonderry,
Cork City,	Dublin City,	Dungarvan,

Downpatrick,	Dublin Univerſity,	Waterford City,
Newry,	Swords,	Liſburn,

A claſs of power (according to the preceding catalogue) formed by the negatives that could be commanded into oppoſition by theſe names.

	Votes.		Votes.
Lord Shannon,	7	Burton Conyngham,	2
Lord Loftus,	7	Mr. Tighe,	4
Duke of Leinſter,	4	Duke of Devonſhire,	3
Lord Hillſborough,	4	Mr. Conolly,	4
Lord Granard,	4	Marquis Waterford,	1
Lord Clifden,	4		

No. XCVII.

A Bill for Amending and Improving the State of the Repreſentation of the People in Parliament. (*P.* 452.)

WHEREAS the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament is greatly defective, and it would tend much to protect the liberty of the ſubject, and to preſerve our excellent conſtitution, if the people of this realm were more fairly and equally repreſented in parliament.

Be it enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from, and after the expiration or diſſolution of this preſent parliament, the number of knights to be elected and returned to repreſent each county within this kingdom in any future parliament to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, be three inſtead of two knights, as heretofore uſed and accuſtomed, and for that end and purpoſe the freeholders in each and every county within this kingdom, (who have by law a right to vote for members to ſerve in parliament, and none other) are hereby authorized, empowered, and required, at every general election, to be hereafter holden for members to ſerve in parliament, to chuſe or elect three perſons to ſerve as knights or repreſentatives in parliament for ſaid county, which ſaid three perſons ſo elected ſhall be duly returned as knights or members to ſerve in parliament for the county; and the ſaid knights

knights or members ſo elected and returned, ſhall from henceforth have, poſſeſs, and enjoy all the rights, powers, authorities and privileges, which are poſſeſſed and enjoyed by the knights, who now ſit in parliament within this realm.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the expiration or diſſolution of this preſent parliament, the number of citizens to be elected and returned to repreſent the city of Dublin in parliament ſhall be three; and that the number of citizens to be elected and returned to repreſent the city of Cork in parliament, ſhall be three; and for that end and purpoſe, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, who are by law entitled to vote for members to ſerve in parliament, and none other, are hereby authorized, empowered, and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city, from and after the period aforeſaid, to chuſe and elect three perſons to ſerve as citizens or repreſentatives in parliament for the ſaid city of Dublin; and the freemen and freeholders of the ſaid city of Cork, are hereby authorized and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city, to chuſe and elect three perſons to be citizens or repreſentatives in parliament for the city of Cork; and the ſaid three perſons ſo choſen and elected as members for the ſaid city of Dublin, ſhall be duly returned as members to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city; and perſons ſo choſen and elected for the ſaid city of Cork, ſhall be only returned as members to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city; and all the ſaid ſeveral citizens ſo elected and returned to ſerve in parliament, ſhall from thenceforth have, poſſeſs, and enjoy, all the rights, powers, authorities, and privileges which are now poſſeſſed and enjoyed by any citizen or citizens already elected and returned to ſit in parliament.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall be deemed or taken to give to any city or town within this kingdom, which now is, or hereafter ſhall be made a county of a city, or a county of a town, a right or power of its ſo being a county of a city or a county of a town, to chuſe and elect more than two members to ſerve in parliament for ſuch city or town, it being the intent and meaning of this act, to give and grant the ſaid power of electing and returning three members to ſerve in parliament to each of the thirty-two counties into which this kingdom is now divided, and to the cities of Dublin and Cork, and to no other counties, cities, or towns whatſoever.

And be it hereby further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that when in any

any future parliament, to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, any vacancy ſhall happen to ariſe during the continuance of the ſaid parliament, by the death or expulſion of all, or any of the ſaid perſons ſo returned to ſerve in parliament for any of the ſaid counties, or for either of the ſaid cities of Dublin or Cork, or in caſe all or any of the ſaid perſons ſo returned, ſhall be afterwards declared and adjudged not duly elected, purſuant to the laws now in force in this kingdom, for the trial of petitions or controverted elections; or in caſe that from any other cauſe whatſoever, the ſeat or ſeats in parliament of all or any of the ſaid three perſons ſo elected and returned, ſhall become vacant, in every ſuch caſe, a new writ or new writs ſhall iſſue to the returning officer of the ſaid county or counties, and of the ſaid city or cities reſpectively, for the purpoſe of electing and returning one or more perſon or perſons, (as the caſe may require) in the room or ſtead of him or them, whoſe ſeat or ſeats have ſo become vacant, in the ſame manner as writs now iſſue to ſupply the vacancy of any ſeat or ſeats in parliament, and thereupon the freeholders of ſaid city or cities, who by law are authorized to vote for members to ſerve in parliament, ſhall reſpectively proceed to chooſe and elect one or more perſon or perſons, (as the writ ſhall direct) to repreſent the ſaid county or city in parliament, in the ſtead or room of ſuch perſon or perſons, whoſe ſeats have become vacant as aforeſaid; and ſaid perſon or perſons ſo choſen and elected, ſhall be duly returned as a member or members to ſerve in parliament for ſaid county or city, and ſo on from time to time as any vacancy ſhall happen to ariſe during the continuance of the ſaid parliament.

And whereas, enlarging the diſtricts of the ſeveral cities and borough towns within this kingdom, would tend to render their elections of citizens and burgeſſes to ſerve in parliament, much more free and independent;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the expiration or diſſolution of this preſent parliament, the limits or precincts of every city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to ſend members to parliament, ſhall, for the purpoſes of this act, only extend, and be deemed and taken to extend to a ſpace or diſtance of four miles from the ſaid city, borough, town, and manor, which ſpace or diſtance is to be meaſured by a line to be drawn from ſome one place within the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor, as near the center of the preſent ſcite of the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor, as conveniently as may be done, and to extend in every direction to a diſtance of four miles from the ſaid place, and no further, ſo as thereby to make the circuit

cuit of the diſtrict round the city, borough, town, or manor, equal to twenty-four miles in circumference, or thereabouts, and which ſpace contained within the ſaid circuit ſhall be for the purpoſes of this act deemed and taken as the diſtrict of the city, borough, town, or manor.

Provided always, that where any city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to ſend members to ſerve in parliament, ſhall be ſo ſituate, as that a line of four miles cannot conveniently be drawn or meaſured in the manner herein before directed, by reaſon of the vicinity of ſome other city, borough, town, or manor, having alſo a right to ſend members to ſerve in parliament, or by reaſon of the proximity of the ſea, then and in every ſuch caſe, a certain diſtrict ſhall be meaſured from the moſt central place within the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor, in ſuch direction as can be beſt and moſt conveniently done, and which ſhall be equal, or as nearly as may be to a ſpace contained within a circumference of twenty-four miles, and which ſpace ſhall be marked out and allotted as and for the diſtrict of the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor, ſituate as aforeſaid, ſo as in all caſes to give to every city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to ſend members to parliament, a diſtrict thereto appertaining equal to twenty-four miles in circumference.

And for the better aſcertaining the limits and boundaries of the ſeveral diſtricts aforeſaid, and in order to prevent all controverſy relative thereto;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the paſſing of this act, the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons ſhall iſſue his order or warrant to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties in this kingdom, commanding the ſaid ſheriffs to trace and mark out boundaries of the ſeveral diſtricts, which are to be allotted to each city, borough, town, or manor, lying within the ſaid county, purſuant to the true intent and meaning of this act; and the ſaid ſheriffs ſhall, within three months after the receipt of the ſaid order or warrant, fix and aſcertain the boundaries of the diſtrict appertaining unto every ſuch city, borough, town, or manor, lying within the ſaid county, according to the directions in this act contained; and the ſaid ſheriff, for the ſaid purpoſe, ſhall ſummon and impanel a jury of twelve freeholders of ten pounds freehold, lying within the ſaid county, but not in the barony, in which the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor lies, which ſaid jury ſhall perambulate the ſaid boundaries, together with the ſaid ſheriff, and allot the ſaid ſeveral diſtricts by metes and bounds; for which end and purpoſe, the ſaid ſheriffs ſhall employ one or more ſkilful ſurveyors to attend upon the ſaid jury and

mark

mark out the ſeveral diſtricts as aforeſaid; and after the ſaid jury ſhall have allotted and marked out the ſaid diſtrict by plain and diſtinct metes and bounds in the manner directed by this act, the ſaid ſheriff ſhall make a return of the allotment of the ſaid ſeveral diſtricts, ſpecifying therein the exact metes and bounds as aſcertained by the ſaid jury, and lodge the ſame with the clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, on or before the twenty-fifth day of December next.

And to the end that a full jury of freeholders may be had for the purpoſe aforeſaid, the ſheriff of the county ſhall iſſue his ſummons to twenty-four freeholders, of ten pounds freehold at the leaſt, within the ſaid county, (out of which twelve ſhall be ſtruck by the ſaid ſheriff), commanding them to attend him at the time and place therein mentioned, (giving fourteen days notice thereof), for the purpoſe of allotting the diſtrict as aforeſaid, and therein ſpecifying the name of the city, borough, town, or manor, whoſe diſtrict is to be allotted.

Provided always, that each jury ſo impanelled, ſhall aſcertain and allot the diſtrict of one ſuch city, borough, town, or manor, and no more; and if any of the freeholders ſhall neglect to attend on the ſaid ſummons without reaſonable cauſe of excuſe, to be allowed by the ſaid ſheriff, he is hereby authorized to impoſe on the ſaid perſon ſo abſenting himſelf, a fine of twenty pounds, which ſaid fine ſhall be returned and certified into his majeſty's court of exchequer, and thereupon proceſs ſhall iſſue for the levying thereof as isuſual in caſes of fines due to his majeſty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that each of the ſaid twelve freeholders ſo impanelled as a jury, ſhall take the oath following, which the ſaid ſheriff is hereby empowered to adminiſter.

" I, A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear that I will, to the beſt of my ſkill and judg-
" ment, without favor or partiality to any perſon whatſoever, mark out and
" allot the diſtrict for the city or town of (here naming the city,
" town, or manor) purſuant to the act, in that caſe made and provided."

And to the end that a proper fund may be provided for the expences attending the marking out the diſtricts aforeſaid:

Be it hereby enacted, that the ſheriff ſhall return to the grand jury of the ſaid county, an exact eſtimate of the expences attending the marking out and allotting the ſaid diſtrict, allowing to every juror attending thereupon, the ſum of one pound per day, and to the ſurveyor or ſurveyors ſuch ſum as the

ſheriff

ſheriff ſhall think fit, not exceeding the ſum of for which ſaid ſums the grand jury of the ſaid county is authoriſed and required to make a preſentment, to be levied in the ſame manner as all other preſentments of grand juries are raiſed and levied.

Be it further enacted, that when the diſtrict of the ſaid city, town, borough, or manor, ſhall be ſo allotted and marked out as aforeſaid, every freeholder who ſhall be ſeiſed of a freehold of ten pounds value within the ſaid diſtrict, ſhall have a right to vote for members to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor, any former uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding; provided always, that the ſaid perſon ſo claiming a right to vote at the ſaid election, ſhall have been ſeiſed of his freehold one whole year, before the teſte of the writ which iſſued for holding the ſaid election, and ſhall have regiſtered his freehold ſix months before the teſte of the ſaid writ, purſuant to the act made in the year of his preſent majeſty for the due regiſtering of freeholds.

And to the end that no partial allotments of ſaid diſtricts may be made:

Be it further enacted, that in caſe any three or more freeholders of ten pounds freehold, lying within the ſaid diſtrict, ſhall conceive themſelves aggrieved by the allotment of the ſaid diſtrict in manner aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid freeholders to preſent a petition to the Houſe of Commons, complaining of the ſaid allotment, thereby ſetting forth the grounds of the ſaid complaint, and the merits of the ſaid petition ſhall be referred to the determination of a committee of fifteen members of the Houſe of Commons, to be choſen by ballot, and ſtruck in the ſame manner, and ſubject to the ſame rules as committees are now choſen for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections; and the ſaid committee ſo choſen ſhall have full power and authority to ſummon all perſons before them, and to examine witneſs upon oath as to matters thereby referred unto them; and the members of the ſaid committee, as ſoon as they ſhall have been choſen as aforeſaid, ſhall, at the table of the Houſe of Commons, take the oath following:

"I, A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear that I will fairly and impartially try the merits "of the petition now to be referred, according to the beſt of my ſkill and "judgment. So help me God."

And be it further enacted, that the ſaid committee ſhall forthwith proceed to examine into the merits of the ſaid petition, and ſhall either annul or con-

firm the ſaid allotment of the ſaid diſtrict as to them ſhall ſeem juſt; which judgment of the ſaid committee ſhall be final and concluſive.

Provided always, that the ſaid committee ſhall have all the powers and authorities as to the trial of the ſaid petition, and their proceedings ſhall in all caſes be governed by the ſame rules and regulations as are preſcribed by the laws now in force for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections.

And in caſe the ſaid committee ſhall annul and make void the ſaid allotment of the diſtrict aforeſaid, then a new allotment ſhall be made of ſaid diſtrict in the manner herein before preſcribed, for which purpoſe the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons ſhall iſſue his order or warrant as aforeſaid to the ſheriff of ſaid county, who ſhall proceed to make a new allotment of the diſtrict as before preſcribed.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the of no perſon who ſhall be elected and admitted to the freedom of any corporation in any city or town corporate, ſhall, by virtue of ſuch election and admiſſion, have a right to vote for members to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city or town corporate, unleſs the ſaid perſon ſhall have been ſeiſed of a freehold tenement of the value of five pounds by the year within the ſaid city or town corporate, upon which he or his family ſhall have reſided for one whole year before the time of ſuch election and admiſſion.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend to any perſon or perſons who is or are admitted, or who have a right to their freedom by reaſon of birth, marriage, or ſervice to any trade or calling, but all ſuch rights ſhall remain in full force as if this act had not been made.

Be it further enacted, that every freeman or freeholder voting for a member to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city, borough, town, or manor, ſhall (if required by any other perſon having a right to vote at ſaid election) take the oath following:

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Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that each and all the inhabitant or inhabitants of every city, borough, or town corporate, having a right to ſend members to ſerve in parliament, who reſide within the precincts or diſtrict of the ſaid city, borough, or town corporate, as preſcribed by this act, and who ſhall have exerciſed any of the following trades or callings for five years within the diſtricts aforeſaid, ſhall, from and after the day of have

have a right to vote and be admitted to vote at the election of any repreſentative or repreſentatives to be choſen to repreſent ſaid city, borough, or towns corporate, in parliament.

And be it further enacted, that every perſon who ſhall be returned as a member to ſerve in parliament from and after the day of ſhall, before he be admitted to his ſeat in parliament, take the oath following:

" I do ſolemnly ſwear, that I have not directly or indirectly, procured my " election and return to parliament by the means of any ſum or ſums of mo- " ney whatſoever, or by any promiſe of any pecuniary reward whatſoever, " and that I have not authoriſed any perſon whatſoever, for procuring me " to be elected and returned a member to ſerve in parliament, and that if any " ſuch promiſe hath been made on my behalf, I will not ratify or make good " the ſame. " So help me God."

Provided always, that nothing in this act contained, ſhall extend or in any wiſe be deemed or taken to extend to the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry, and town of but that all their rights, franchiſes and privileges, limits and precincts, ſhall remain and continue as if this act had not been made.

No. XCVIII.

Kildare Reſolutions againſt the Defenders. (*P.* 537.)

AT a meeting of the county Kildare, held at Naas, the 24th July, 1795, in purſuance of public notice,

The HIGH SHERIFF in the Chair.

WHEREAS, on Monday the 13th inſtant, as Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. high ſheriff of the ſaid county, attended by Wogan Browne, Michael Aylmer, and Thomas Ryan, Eſqrs. juſtices of the peace of the ſaid county, was conducting two perſons charged with having committed high treaſon, by adminiſtering an oath to be true to the French; and with them, ſeveral other priſoners, from Kilcock to his majeſty's gaol of Naas, an armed mob, conſiſting of ſeveral hundreds, aſſembled in the neighbourhood, for the purpoſe of reſcuing the ſaid priſoners; and although intimidated from attempting the

intended reſcue, did, (while the ſaid ſheriff and magiſtrates were eſcorting the priſoners) adminiſter unlawful oaths to many of the inhabitants of the ſaid county, and did plunder ſeveral houſes of arms and ammunition, and did publicly declare vengeance againſt the ſaid ſheriff and magiſtrates, which threat they afterwards endeavoured to carry into execution againſt Thomas Ryan, Eſq. one of the ſaid magiſtrates, on the evening of the ſaid day, three ſeveral parties having lain in wait at three different parts of the road by which the ſaid Ryan was to return home, in order to aſſaſſinate him, and each party having fired ſeveral ſhots at him, whereby he was ſeverely wounded in the head.

Now, we, the magiſtrates, gentlemen, freeholders and inhabitants of ſaid county, do hereby offer a reward of 300*l.* to any one who ſhall diſcover the perſon that fired the ſaid ſhot, whereby the ſaid Ryan was wounded, and the ſum of 50*l.* for each and every of the perſons who lay in wait for the above mentioned infernal purpoſe, and fired a ſhot at the ſaid Ryan, ſo as that he, ſhe, or they ſhall be convicted of the ſame within nine months. And we do hereby promiſe a reward of 30*l.* to every perſon who ſhall diſcover to any of the ſubſcribing magiſtrates, the names of any of the perſons who have adminiſtered, or ſhall adminiſter any unlawful oath within this county, or who have taken, or ſhall forcibly take any arms, or attack or fire into any houſe, provided the perſon ſo diſcovered ſhall be convicted of ſaid offence, within the time aforeſaid; and alſo, an ample and adequate reward to any perſon who ſhall give information to any of the magiſtrates aforeſaid, of any meetings of Defenders intended to be held, or of any other matter or thing, which ſhall be deemed deſerving of reward by the committee hereby appointed, and we promiſe that the names of ſuch perſons ſhall not be made known.

And we hereby return our thanks to the parochial clergy of this county, for the zeal which they have already ſhewn in detecting and expoſing the fallacy of the contrary doctrine, and we entreat a continuation of their exertions in the ſame uſeful purpoſe. And in order to defray the ſaid expences, we promiſe to pay the ſums annexed to our names, as we ſhall be called upon for the ſame, and we appoint the juſtices of the peace of the ſaid county, to be a committee to receive ſubſcriptions, to diſpoſe of the money ſubſcribed in promoting the purpoſes of this meeting, and to apply to all perſons poſſeſſed of property in the county, for their aſſiſtance and contribution, and that ten per cent. be paid down.

And

And we do hereby appoint the following magiſtrates—Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. John Wolfe, Wogan Browne, Arthur Burdett, Michael Aylmer, Theobald Wolfe, John Montgomery and Thomas Ryan, Eſqrs. to be a committee, to judge of the propriety of claims, and to pay rewards, any three of them acting together, to be empowered to draw on Meſſrs. Finlay and Co. at whoſe houſe the amount of the ſeveral ſubſcriptions is to be depoſited.

And as it appears to us, that the introduction of that execrable ſpirit of outrage, (which has diſgraced ſo great a portion of this kingdom) into our hitherto peaceable and happy county, and which by promiſes which cannot be effected, and ſyſtems which cannot be realized, has deluded many honeſt, and otherwiſe well-diſpoſed perſons, muſt be promoted and extended by exertions on the part of the enemies of our country;

And as the avowed object of the perſons then conducting to priſon, and who appear to be leaders of the Defenders, is to ſupport and unite with the enemies of our king and country, we think it neceſſary for us to declare our determined reſolution, at all times, and at every perſonal riſk, and by every influence and power of property, to maintain our king, our conſtitution, and our laws, againſt any attack whatever; that we will give effectual protection, which the military aid afforded us by government enables us to promiſe to all perſons who may be in danger from their oppoſition to, and exertions againſt the ſaid perſons ſtiled Defenders; and that we will uſe our beſt endeavors to procure the compenſation which the grand juries are authorized to make by preſentment, for all injuries ſuſtained by them in their property or perſons.

And that if any perſon ſhall, notwithſtanding (without obvious neceſſity) ſubmit to any of the illegal requiſitions of the ſaid Defenders, or ſhall withhold any material information from the magiſtracy, we do hereby declare our determination by every means in our power to ſhew our diſapprobation of ſuch conduct. That we will in private life conſider the exertions of individuals as entitled to our warmeſt thanks, and the ſupineneſs of any gentleman or man of property, as deſerving (under theſe circumſtances) of a loſs of private eſteem and public character. We uſe this opportunity to recommend to our countrymen, dependents or not, ſworn or unſworn, to enquire, without taking our word, from their paſtors or well-informed friends, whether an oath to do an unlawful act, taken voluntarily or by compulſion, be binding or not; we declaring upon our conviction, and upon our honors that it is not binding on any man, and that however he may have offended againſt

his

his religion by the indiſcretion of his oath, his guilt would be increaſed by keeping it; and in order that all perſons may be apprized of the laws, touching the ſaid unlawful proceedings, we recommend it to the committee to procure printed extracts of the ſame, to be diſperſed throughout the county.

That the thanks of this county are due to Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. our worthy high ſheriff; and to the Reverend John Walſh, Wogan Browne, Michael Aylmer, and Thomas Ryan, Eſqrs. who aſſiſted the ſaid ſheriff, in repelling the attack made upon the peace of this county, by thoſe miſcreants, called Defenders! That thoſe our reſolutions be publiſhed in the public papers. That the thanks of this county be given to Captain Burke, of the North Mayo militia, for his very zealous and ſpirited conduct, in apprehending O'Connor, and four other perſons, now in cuſtody.

The high ſheriff having quitted the chair, and Lord Mayo being called thereto, the thanks of the county were given to Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. for his proper conduct in the chair, and in his having ſo ſpeedily convened the county.

SUBSCRIBERS.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Leinſter	200	0	0	James Spencer	100	0	0
Mayo	100	0	0	John Tyrrell	100	0	0
Harberton	100	0	0	John Digby	100	0	0
Fenton Aylmer	100	0	0	C. Nangle	100	0	0
John Hort	100	0	0	Thomas Burgh	50	0	0
M. B. S. L. Keating, Eſq.	100	0	0	Robert Latouche	50	0	0
John Wolfe	100	0	0	John Latouche	50	0	0
Sim. Digby	100	0	0	John Montgomery	50	0	0
Arthur Burdett	100	0	0	John Taylor	50	0	0
R. Finlay	100	0	0	D. W. O'Reilly	50	0	0
Wogan Browne	100	0	0	Thomas Tickell	50	0	0
Michael Aylmer	100	0	0	E. Fitzgerald	50	0	0
Theobald Wolfe	100	0	0	Robert Bayley	50	0	0
Ambroſe Farrel	100	0	0	Eyre Powell, Eſq.	50	0	0
John Latouche	100	0	0	Thomas Fitzgerald	50	0	0
Edward Hendrick	100	0	0	Charles Palmer	50	0	0
M. D. Cramer	100	0	0	John Eſmond	50	0	0
R. Griffith	100	0	0	Richard Deaſe	50	0	0

Walter

Walter Dowdall	50	0	0	Henry Stammer	22	15	0
Charles Aylmer	50	0	0	Thomas Tyrrell	22	15	0
Thos. Js. Rawſon	50	0	0	Samuel Yeates	22	15	0
R. Bookey	34	2	6	John Toole	11	7	6
Rev. Dean Keatinge	22	15	0	Rev. James Slater	11	7	6
Rev. J. Cramer	22	15	0	Rev. K. Burrowes	11	7	6
Rev. J. Walſh, rector of Kilcock	22	15	0	Richard Evans	11	7	6
				William Euſtace	11	7	6
J. M'Mahon	22	15	0	J. Hill Farange	11	7	6
James Eſmond	22	15	0	H. Eyre Lindey	11	7	6
Robert Aylmer	22	15	0	George Chapman	11	7	6
John Fitzgerald	22	15	0	Edward Read	11	7	6
John Fiſh	22	15	0	C. Vierpyl	11	7	6
Samuel Mills	22	15	0	Joſeph Atkinſon	11	7	6
Robert Montgomery	22	15	0	Leonard Phepoe	11	7	6
James Huſſey	22	15	0	M. Donnellan	11	7	6
William Wolfe	22	15	0	J. Walſh	5	13	9

No. XCIX.

Lord Viſcount Goſford's Addreſs to the Grand Jury of Armagh. (*Page* 554.)

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING requeſted your attendance here this day, it becomes my duty to ſtate the grounds, upon which I thought it adviſeable to propoſe this meeting, and at the ſame time to ſubmit to your conſideration a plan which occurs to me as moſt likely to check the enormities that have already brought diſgrace upon this county, and may ſoon reduce it into deep diſtreſs. It is no ſecret, that a perſecution, accompanied with all the circumſtances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages diſtinguiſhed that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor ſex, or even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late diſturbances, is ſufficient to excite mercy, much leſs to afford protection.

The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthleſs perſecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of eaſy proof; it is ſimply a profeſſion of the Roman

Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a perſon profeſſing this faith. A lawleſs banditti have conſtituted themſelves judges of this new ſpecies of delinquency, and the ſentence they have denounced is equally conciſe and terrible! It is nothing leſs than a confiſcation of all property, and an immediate baniſhment. It would be extremely painful, and ſurely unneceſſary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of ſo rude and tremendous a proſcription,—a proſcription that certainly exceeds in the comparative number of thoſe it conſigns to ruin and miſery, every example that ancient and modern hiſtory can ſupply: for where have we heard, or in what ſtory of human cruelties have we read of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their induſtry, and driven, in the midſt of an inclement ſeaſon, to ſeek a ſhelter for themſelves and their helpleſs families where chance may guide them. This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid ſcenes now acting in this county. Yet ſurely it is ſufficient to awaken ſentiments of indignation and compaſſion in the coldeſt boſoms. Theſe horrors are now acting with impunity. The ſpirit of impartial juſtice (without which law is nothing better than an inſtrument of tyranny) has for a time diſappeared in this county, and the ſupineneſs of the magiſtracy of Armagh is become a common topic of converſation in every corner of the kingdom.

It is ſaid in reply, the Catholics are dangerous, they may be ſo---they may be dangerous from their numbers, and ſtill more dangerous from their unbounded views they have been encouraged to entertain; but I will venture to aſſert, without fear of contradiction, that theſe proceedings are not more contrary to humanity than they are to ſound policy. It is to be lamented, that no civil magiſtrate happened to be preſent with the military detachment on the night of the 21ſt inſtant; but, I truſt, the ſuddenneſs of the occaſion, the unexpected and inſtantaneous aggreſſion on the part of the delinquents will be univerſally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer, and the party acting under his command. Gentlemen, I have the honor to hold a ſituation in this country, which calls upon me to deliver my ſentiments, and I do it without fear and without diſguiſe. I am as true a Proteſtant as any gentleman in this room, I inherit a property which my family derived under a Proteſtant title, and, with the bleſſing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmoſt of my power. I will never conſent to make a ſacrifice of Proteſtant aſcendancy to Catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or how-

however ſpecioufly or invidioufly ſupported. Conſcious of my ſincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadviſedly, but as the reſult of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry inſinuations that malice or party-ſpirit may ſuggeſt.

I know my own heart, and I ſhould deſpiſe myſelf, if, under any intimidation, I could cloſe my eyes againſt ſuch ſcenes as preſent themſelves on every ſide, or my ears againſt the complaints of a perſecuted people.

I ſhould be guilty of an unpardonable injuſtice to the feelings of gentlemen here preſent, were I to ſay more on this ſubject. I have now acquitted myſelf to my conſcience and my country, and take the liberty of propoſing the following reſolutions:

1ſt. That it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in a ſtate of uncommon diſorder; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievouſly oppreſſed by lawleſs perſons unknown, who attack and plunder their houſes by night, and threaten them with inſtant deſtruction, unleſs they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

2d. That a committee of magiſtrates be appointed to ſit on Tueſdays and Saturdays in the Chapter-room in the town of Armagh, to receive information againſt all perſons of whatever deſcription, who diſturb the peace of this county.

3d. That the inſtruction of the whole body of magiſtrates to their committee ſhall be to uſe every legal means within their power to ſtop the progreſs of the perſecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob againſt the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county.

4th. That ſaid committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any ſum or ſums of money, for information or ſecret ſervice, out of the fund ſubſcribed by the gentlemen of this county.

5th. That a meeting of the whole body of the magiſtracy be held every ſecond Monday, at the houſe of Mr. Charles M'Reynolds, in the town of Armagh, to hear the reports of the committee; and to give ſuch further inſtructions as the exigence of the caſe may require.

6th. That offenders of every deſcription in the preſent diſturbances ſhall be proſecuted out of the fund ſubſcribed by the gentlemen of this county.

No. C.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR's *Addreſs to his Fellow Citizens, for which he was confined by an Order of the Privy Council.* (*Page* 592.)

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE Poſt-office is ſo immediately dependent on the government, that any anonymous production iſſuing from thence, muſt be looked on as coming from the adminiſtration itſelf; in this light I have viewed the anonymous paper which has been ſo induſtriouſly diſtributed through the poſt-offices of the North avowedly to deprive me of whatever ſhare of your confidence I might have gained, and in this light I have given it an anſwer. Had I treated it with ſilent contempt, I ſhould have hoped that its coming from an adminiſtration which had ſo deſervedly forfeited the confidence of every Iriſhman, who valued the liberties of his country, would have inſured me from ſuffering, in your eſtimation, from the falſehood and calumny with which it abounds; but my reſpect for thoſe invaluable cenſors, the Preſs and the Public Opinion, the conſcious integrity of my own heart, and the moſt perfect reliance on the virtue of the cauſe I eſpouſe, prompt me to ſeize any occaſion, which affords an opportunity of vindicating it or myſelf from the aſperſions of an adminiſtration, whoſe heavieſt charge, in their wretched production, is, that at any time of my life I had been the advocate of them or their meaſures. As the whole of the work is one continued iſſue of miſrepreſentation and falſehood, a plain recital of facts will be the beſt means of giving it a full refutation. After the queſtion of Regency, that memorable diſplay of the infamy and principles of the factions of Ireland, ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them were forced into Iriſh parliamentary patriotiſm, by being ſtript of the wages of their proſtitution; I accepted a ſeat from my uncle Lord Longueville, in the chimerical hope that this craſh between the factions and the government, might be improved to the advantage of Ireland; but experience ſoon convinced me that nothing ſhort of the eſtabliſhment of a *national government, a total annihilation of the factions, and their uſurpations, and an entire abolition of religious diſtinctions* could reſtore to my country thoſe rights and that liberty which had been ſo long a ſubject of traffic, under a regular organized ſyſtem of treaſon, and acting up to this conviction from the day I accepted the ſeat from Lord Longueville, to the day I reſigned it. I earneſtly entreated him to declare

clare for a Reform of Parliament, and for the freedom of my Catholic countrymen. The thanks which were given me by the delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, for my defence of them and their cauſe, ſo early as 1791, and the vote which I gave for their total emancipation, againſt Lord Longueville and the government in the beginning of 1793, gives the lie to the aſſertion of adminiſtration, that I was not the advocate of Catholic freedom until my having ſpoke on that ſubject in 1795, and ſo wholly is it unfounded in truth, that I have exerted myſelf in defence of the liberties of my country, becauſe the government refuſed me a commiſſioner's place, that although Lord Longueville repeatedly preſſed me to let him procure me a commiſſioner's place, I as often refuſed it, aſſuring him that it was contrary to my principles to accept the money of my impoveriſhed countrymen, for the deteſtable treaſon of betraying their rights, their induſtry, their manufactures and commerce: that for the bribe of a Britiſh pander I ſhould baſely contribute to aggrandize *his* country, at the expence of every thing dear to *my own*; whilſt ſo far from bartering my principles to better my fortune, that though Lord Longueville preſſed me to accept large ſums of his own money, I declined them; and it is notorious he has ſince diſinherited me for the open avowal of my political ſentiments on the Catholic queſtion. Being forced, in my own vindication, to ſpeak of myſelf, I will leave you, my fellow-citizens, to judge of an adminiſtration, that by falſehood and calumny have attempted to widen a breach between me and connections that were but too widely extended before; yet whilſt they have given me an opportunity of proving to you, that no conſideration could induce me to abandon my principles, they ſhall never ſucceed in making me utter one unkind expreſſion of a man, whoſe wiſhes to promote me in life, have left a grateful remembrance their malice ſhall never efface. Abandoned adminiſtration! who have trampled on the liberties of my country, do you preſume to accuſe me of diſſuading my countrymen from arming to oppoſe an invaſion, which *your's and your accomplice's crimes have provoked?* Is it that the unalienable rights of free-born men to make their laws by delegates of their choice, ſhould be bartered and ſold by uſurpers and traitors, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Is it that our markets, our manufactures, and commerce, ſhould be ſold to that nation, which appoints our government, and diſtributes our patronage, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Is it to ſupport the Gunpowder Bill, which deprives them of arms, or the Convention Bill, which aims at perpetuating the uſurpation of rights, by proſcribing the only obvious and orderly means to

regain them, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Is it to ſupport the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Bill, which has deſtroyed the bulwark of liberty by withholding the Trial by Jury, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Is it to rivet the bolts or to guard the dungeons of their fellow-citizens, who, torn from their homes and their families by adminiſtration, vainly demand that Trial by Jury, which by proving their innocence muſt eſtabliſh its guilt, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Is it that a vile pander of national honor and legiſlative duty ſhould be inveſted with uncontrouled power over the opinions and perſons of an injured, a gallant and generous people, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? or to crown all, is it under the auſpices of the indemnified Carhampton, I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Go, impotents, to the Catholics, whoſe elevated hopes of all-glorious freedom, you have been appointed to tauntingly blaſt, and if they ſhould charge you with the crimes of your miſſion, although you cannot plead the having raiſed them to equal rights with their fellow-citizens, you can at leaſt boaſt that you have levelled thoſe rights to the ſtandard of Catholic thraldom. Hence, then, contemptible adminiſtration, from thoſe you have inſulted and levelled, to thoſe you have raiſed; go to the monopoliſts of the repreſentation of Ireland, and aſk them to arm; go to thoſe whom the continuance of the ſyſtem of corruption enables to live in affluence at the expence of that poverty and miſery their treaſon has cauſed, and aſk them to arm: go to thoſe huſſars of fees and exactions in the revenue, whoſe regular pay bears no proportion to their pillage and plunder, and command them to arm; go to attorneys and lawyers, who live by villainy, chicane and fraud, under a ſyſtem of complexity, fineſſe and fiction, at the expence and ruin of thoſe who are forced to employ them, and tell them they ought to arm; go to thoſe ſwarms of petty tyrants, perjured grand-jury jobbers, army contractors, tithe proctors and land ſharks, and tell them how neceſſary it is for them to be armed; go to the *eſtabliſhed* clergy, who pocket thoſe monſtrous funds for *inſtructing* nine-tenths of the nation, which ſhould provide decent eſtabliſhments for three ſuch countries as Ireland, and tell them to preach to the nine-tenths who are excluded from this *glorious* half of the conſtitution, to arm in its defence, or aſk them to blow the expiring embers of religious diſſention, and I will leave it to the inhabitants of Armagh, at length recovering from deluſion, to judge of their zeal in this chriſtian-like duty. Theſe factions, and adminiſtration, are your natural allies; theſe are your ſtrength; on theſe you may reckon, and although as devoted to ſyſtems which ſhould be aboliſhed, as apoſtates to national rights and national honor

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they count but too high; thank Heaven they are as inſignificant in numbers as in ſtrength to thoſe that are found. Although the old volunteers have been diſcouraged, becauſe they boldly threw off the open avowed dominion of Britain, and that theſe yeomen corps have been raiſed to ſupport the concealed deadly influence ſhe has gained by corruption and treaſon; although the old volunteers have been rejected becauſe they extended the rights and liberties of their country, and that theſe corps have been ſet up to ſupport laws ſubverſive of both; yet when the ſyſtematic ſcheme of the Britiſh miniſter, and of thoſe vermin that have neſtled about the throne, to frame ſome new modelled deſpotiſm on the ruins of freedom, by the erecting of barracks, thoſe bills that have been paſſed year after year, the late contempt of that only privilege of the Commons which was left them, the granting of money, and the correſpondent conduct of their creatures in this country ſhall have been developed to that degree, which would make reſiſtance an indiſpenſable duty, from my ſoul I believe that they would find themſelves widely miſtaken in the ſupport they will meet from many of theſe corps they have raiſed. Are the people of Ireland ſo weak as to convert a threatened invaſion from France into an expiation of the injuſtice, the crimes and oppreſſion by which the temptation to make it was cauſed, or ſhall an invaſion from France act like magic in changing the preſent ardent affection of the people of Ireland for liberty, into an unbounded diſplay of loyalty to a ſyſtem of corruption and treaſon, by which the moſt happily gifted nation on earth has been made to contain more miſery than any country in the creation? Away with deluſion! Are the people of Ireland ſure that the factions and adminiſtration who ſo earneſtly preſs them to ariſe to repel the invaſion of France, are not *invaders themſelves?* Are we ſure that their maſter and maker, the miniſter of Britain, has not inveſted them with enormous funds of corruption to which our wretchedneſs has been made to contribute! Are we ſure that theſe funds have not been diſtributed amongſt traitors, in the heart of our iſland, for betraying the induſtry, manufactures and commerce of the people of Ireland, to aggrandize thoſe of Great Britain? Nay, are we not certain that every market in Great Britain is ſhut againſt every ſpecies of Iriſh induſtry, with the ſolitary exception of linen, whilſt every manufacture of England has free acceſs to every market in Ireland, without any exception whatever? With theſe facts in our view, what Iriſhman can doubt that to ſupport the worſt of invaſions, the invaſion of *rights and commerce*, 15,000 Engliſh and Scotch have not been ſent to invade

us already? Or can we be certain that the ſhambles of Germany have not been reſorted to, to invade us with more? Compare the few troops they left us in the war againſt American freedom, when they had all Europe their foe, with the numbers they have ſent us this war againſt the freedom of France, when they had all Europe their ally; compare the weakneſs of Ireland, divided by religious diſſenſion, *when troops were ſo few*, with that ſtrength which Union has given, *when troops are ſo many*; we cannot but ſee with whom they ſeek to contend. Could French invaders do worſe than eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of pillage and treaſon *within*, that they may pillage and plunder *without*? Could they do worſe than reject laws a unanimous people had fought, or than paſs thoſe they deteſted? Could they do worſe than commit the perſonal liberty of the people of Ireland to two men without connection or intereſt in the country, without reſponſibility or control? Could they do worſe than withhold trials from Iriſh citizens caſt into dungeons, to the deſtruction of their health, and the ruin of their property? Could they do worſe than eſtabliſh military magiſtrates throughout the nation, and indemnify thoſe whoſe unfeeling ſouls had torn hundreds of Iriſh citizens from every endearing connection in life, after depriving their habitations of every privilege due to the reſidence of free-born men, conſigned them to the flames, turning their wives and children to beggary and famine, exiled their huſbands to fight againſt that freedom of which they had robbed them on an element they diſliked, and in a cauſe they abhorred? Or could any thing be more alarming to a people who valued their liberties, than the appointment of a man, that could require ſuch an indemnification, to be commander in chief of the army? Or, to crown all, could any invaders do worſe, that with powers to legiſlate for a limited time, under the form of conſtitutional order, deſtroy the conſtitution itſelf?

In vain ſhall the accomplices of the author of carnage inveigh againſt French fraternity, as long as Ireland exhibits ſo melancholy a picture of the fraternity they have adopted themſelves: I will not compare the ſyſtems of fraternity in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, adopted by England and France, but I will compare the alliance which England had formed with France, ſhe calls her natural enemy, with that ſhe dictates to Ireland, ſhe calls her brother and friend. In her alliance with France, ſhe gave what ſhe got, and reciprocity was the equitable baſis on which it was made; whilſt in her alliance with Ireland, ſhe has taken all ſhe could have aſked or demanded, and ſhe has given us excluſion in grateful return. On this ſcale of Britiſh fraternity, let her hirelings boaſt

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of Britiſh connection. On this ſcale of Britiſh fraternity, may my country no more be curſed with the friendſhip of Britain! Too long a tyrant, ſhe forgets her dominion has ceaſed. Too long her ſlaves, we muſt ſhew her we are reſolved to be free! Had ſhe ceaſed to maintain power by the accurſed means of fomenting religious diſſention; had ſhe ceaſed to ſupport factions, uſurpers and traitors; had ſhe abandoned the falſe illiberal notion, that ſhe gained more by our depreſſion than by our exaltation; had ſhe treated us like brothers and friends, I may, with confidence affirm, a more affectionate generous ally never exiſted, than ſhe would have found Ireland to her. But if the exiſting fraternity, my fellow citizens, be the bonds by which you wiſh a connection with Britain, I am not a delegate fit for your choice; for though I ſtood alone in the commons of Ireland, I would move the repeal of every law which binds us to England, on thoſe or any ſuch terms. I will neither be conquered by England or France; nor are we any more bound to a diſadvantageous alliance to one than we are to the other; and before England, the factions of Ireland, and the adminiſtration, I ſpeak it, if it is more the true intereſt of Ireland to form an alliance with France than with England, ſhe is free to adopt it. The jargon of ſtanding or falling with Britain is falſe: in the days that are paſt, we have always been down, it is time we ſhould ſeek to be up! Rich in a population of 4,000,000 of a healthy intelligent people, rich in her fertile ſoil, rich in her harbours and navigable rivers, rich in her favorable poſition between the old and new worlds, rich in her inſular ſituation, without uſurping dominion over any people upon earth, what intereſt, what cauſe, what pretext can the adminiſtration of Ireland aſſign for the blood and the wealth they have laviſhed, in a war commenced in depotiſm, conducted in ignorance, and ending only by ruin? With 800,000 gallant citizens, able to arm, is it that the Engliſh and Scoth have more to fight for in Ireland than the Iriſh themſelves, that we cannot be truſted with ſelf defence? when in the unanointed republics of the Swiſs, they can defy the invaſion of Germany, of France, and Sardinia, thoſe warlike and powerful nations, by which they are bounded, by that law which obliges every citizen from eighteen to ſixty years old, to be provided with arms, why cannot Ireland defy the whole world by a like obligation? Why has the gunpowder act, which diſarms our people, been paſſed? The anſwer is too plain for infatuation to miſtake it. Happy for Ireland if the prime mover of miſchief had borrowed the councils of that great and intuitive mind, England is ruined by having neglected; happy could

could he and his minions be taught, in the language and wiſdom of Fox, that there is more ſtrength to be gained by gaining the confidence of the people of Ireland, than in 40,000 of the beſt forces of Europe. Let them give up corruption, and they may ſafely diſband the troops it has furniſhed; let them ceaſe to narrow the limits of freedom, as the expanſion of intellect demands that they ſhould be extended; let them reſt aſſured, that a ſyſtem which cannot be ſupported without ſpies and informers, muſt ſoon be abandoned; inſtead of buying, of bribing, or of perſecuting the preſs, let them ſtrip falſehood of the advantages ſhe gains by concealment and miſrepreſentation, and give to truth that light and publicity, with which ſhe muſt ever prevail; let them recall thoſe baſe orders throughout the poſt-offices, for violating the ſecrets of friendſhip, and betraying the credit of commerce; let them open the dungeons, by repealing thoſe laws by which they are crowded; let them aboliſh what the chief magiſtrate's deputy calls the mildneſs of government, and give us an adequate repreſentation for the baſis of liberty, and I will ſtake my life on it, no nation ſhall ever invade us. But alas! my fellow citizens, I lament that the ſame infatuation, uſurpation and folly, which have been ſo much the order of the day, will ſtill prevent thoſe equitable terms from being conceded: But mark me, the whole Iriſh fabric is ſupported by that of Great Britain, whoſe progreſs in ruin can only be equalled by her infatuation. If the principles of the French revolution are as wicked, as deſtructive, and as diabolical as the miniſter has repreſented them, why was it neceſſary to involve the people of England in the horrors and ruin of war, that they may not be perſuaded to adopt them? Is it that the extreme of vice is ſo ſeducing, that the moſt violent of remedy only could prevent a wiſe people from ruſhing to meet it? And although the miniſter has aſſigned day after day, different objects, for having involved them; and that every aſſertion on which he has founded his arguments of the day, have been belied by the facts of the morrow. Still they have been deaf to the councils of his glorious opponent, which, as long as tradition continues muſt ever remain a wonderful inſtance of the efforts of genius and patriotiſm, to reſcue a beſotted and miſguided people from ruin; but the privileged and the rich yielding to fear and corruption, have deſerted this champion of liberty, to proſtrate themſelves at the feet of that miniſter it was once their province to controul: placing terror in the ſeat of reaſon, and ſacrificing every ſpecies of induſtry to the manufacture of ſoldiers, they have looked to the bayonet of the mercenary for their only ſalvation. Pre-

ſumptuous

ſumptuous deluſion! Do they imagine they can force back the current of public opinion? Is it by that corruption, whoſe neceſſities muſt increaſe by geometrical meaſure, whilſt its means muſt decreaſe in the ſame rapid proportion? Is it by a carnage which would exhauſt the creation? Is it by oaths wrung from oppreſſion; know they not that the firſt oath of allegiance is from the king to the laws, the conſtitution and people; and that if ſwearing, without conſideration, was binding, Charles could never have ſuffered, James have been excluded, nor a Brunſwick have ſat on the throne! We know that king, lords, and commons exiſt but by the people's permiſſion; if uſeful, their titles can never be queſtioned; if not, they can never be bolſtered by ſwearing. Vain efforts, to change the current of the human mind, like the noiſy winds, which to the ſhallow ſight, give a ſeeming current to the troubled face, whilſt with ponderous weight great ocean moves the tide, with ſlow majeſtic pace to its predeſtined limits.

Altho' it were in nature to reſcue Britain from impending deſtruction, it is not in nature that Ireland can be longer held by the diſgraceful and ruinous vaſſalage by which ſhe is bound. Much has been ſaid of the loyalty of the South contraſted with that of the North; if they mean loyalty to that ſyſtem of government which this adminiſtration have adopted, to the connection with England on the preſent conditions, to the actual ſtate of repreſentation, to the proſtituted ſale of the right to legiſlate in one houſe, by the ſtill more proſtituted ſale of the right to legiſlate in the other, to the jobbing and perjury of grand juries, to tithes, tithe-proctors and land-pirates, to the annual exportation of two millions worth of the produce of Ireland, to pay abſentees without any return, to the immoderate high rents and the low rate of wages, or to the enormous expence by which theſe corruptions are moved and maintained, I will anſwer for it, that the people of Leinſter, of Munſter and Connaught are as ſenſible of the miſery and poverty theſe grievances have cauſed, and that they will go as far as the people of Ulſter to get them redreſſed. I know the means, which have been uſed to perſuade the Catholics in the South that the perſecutions of the Catholics in the North, which have been ſo diabolically fomented and protected in Armagh, were the acts of the Preſbyterians of the North; but I ſtake whatever credit I poſſeſs with my Catholic and Preſbyterian countrymen, on the aſſurance I give to the Preſbyterians that the Catholics of the South have buried in eternal oblivion all religious diſtinction, and in the aſſurance I give to the Catholics that the crimes with

which their Preſbyterian countrymen ſtand charged, and for which ſo many are dungeoned at this inſtant, is their zeal for the union of Iriſhmen amongſt one another without diſtinction of ſect or religion; it is the eſſence of Chriſtianity, it is the eſſence of all morality and cannot by human laws be aboliſhed. Truſt me, my fellow citizens, that as the miniſter of England perceives the dying convulſions of a country on the deſtructions of whoſe liberty he has ſo long ſupported his power, he will be obliged to change his ſyſtem in Ireland of tyranny and force, into conceſſion and conciliation; you will then ſee his minions exchanging the ſaucy flippancy with which they now inſult and traduce you, into humiliation and meanneſs with which they will endeavour to ſooth you; the inſolence of the coward, the ſport of the drol and the petulence of the puppy will ſoon evaporate into the inſignificance, from whence they have riſen, but let no wretched palliative induce you to ally your cauſe with corruption; let nothing ſhort of a perfect repreſentation ſatisfy you. With this admonition I leave you; but that I may not be ſuſpected of ſeeking your confidence by any other means than the fulleſt diſcloſure of my political ſentiments, I promiſe you, as ſoon as time will permit, that I will lay before you the beſt account of the ſtate of our country my poor abilities will allow me to furniſh. The beſt aſſurance I can give of my fidelity to you and your cauſe, is, that I believe in a better order of things; that thoſe who violate the property and rights of others will forfeit their own, whilſt thoſe who reſpect the rights and property of others will be certain to have their's reſpected in turn. With theſe ſentiments, knowing that you had wiſely determined never to interfere any more in elections, under the ſyſtem of corruption and undue influence, I have offered my ſervices to uſe every means in my power to effect its deſtruction, and finding that from the monopoly of one ariſtocratic faction or other yours was the only place of popular election I could hope to ſucceed in.

Think it not preſumptuous, my countrymen, that one who loves liberty ſhould ſeek her in the only aſylum ſhe has left; think it not preſumptuous, my fellow-citizens, that one who will never out-live the threatened liberties of his country, ſhould ſeek an advanced poſt where he may triumph in her cauſe, or fall in her defence. In contempt of calumny, united with you in brotherly love and affection and in the glorious cauſe of reform, I will ever remain your faithful friend and fellow-citizen.

Belfaſt, Jan. 20, 1797. ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

No.

No. CI.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,—A Proclamation.
(*Page* 599.)

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS by an act of parliament paſſed in this kingdom in the thirty-ſixth year of his majeſty's reign, entitled, "An act for more "effectually ſuppreſſing inſurrections and preventing the diſturbance of the "public peace," it is enacted, that it ſhall be lawful, for the juſtices of the peace of any county aſſembled at a ſpecial ſeſſion in manner by the ſaid act directed, not being fewer than ſeven or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they ſee fit upon due conſideration of the ſtate of the county, to ſignify by memorial, by them ſigned, to the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors in this kingdom, that they conſider their county or any part thereof to be in a ſtate of diſturbance or in immediate danger of becoming ſo, and praying, that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim ſuch county or part thereof to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, thereupon it ſhall be lawful for the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom by and with the advice of his majeſty's privy council, by proclamation to declare ſuch county or any part of ſuch county, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance or in immediate danger of becoming ſo, and alſo, ſuch parts of any adjoining county or counties as ſuch chief governor or governors ſhall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extenſion of ſuch diſturbance.

And whereas, nineteen juſtices of the peace of the county of Londonderry, ſeveral of them being of the quorum, being the major part of the juſtices of the peace duly aſſembled, purſuant to the ſaid act, at a ſpecial ſeſſion of the peace holden at Dunguien, in the ſaid county, on Wedneſday the fourth day of this inſtant January, have by a memorial, by them ſigned, ſignified to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that certain parts of the ſaid county are in a ſtate of diſturbance or in imminent danger of becoming ſo, and have thereby prayed, that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim the pariſh of Banagher, ſituate in the Barony of Kenaght, and half Barony of Tirkceran, the pariſh of Beneagh, the pariſh of Dunguien, and the pariſh of Baeleagh ſituate

in the Barony of Kenaght, all which pariſhes are of ſaid county, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance or in imminent danger of becoming ſo.

Now we, the lord lieutenant do by and with the advice of his majeſty's privy council in purſuance of and by the authority to us given by the ſaid act of parliament, by this our proclamation, declare the ſaid pariſh of Banaghe, ſituate in the half Barony of Keenaght, and half Barony of Tirkeerin, the pariſh of Beveagh, the pariſh of Dunguien, and the pariſh of Baeleagh, ſituate in the Barony of Keenaght, being part of the ſaid county of Londonderry, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance or in immediate danger of becoming ſo, of which all juſtices of the peace and other magiſtrates and peace officers of the ſaid county of Londonderry, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 7th day of January, 1797.

W. Armagh	O'Neil	A. Wolfe
Clare, C.	Carleton	R. Roſs
R. Dublin	Yelverton	S. Hamilton
W. Tuam	J. Beresford	R. Roſs
Bellamont	H. Langriſh	L. Morres.
Clonmell	H. Cavendiſh	
Perry	D. Latouche	

God ſave the King!

No. CII.

Doctor Francis Moylan, to his beloved Flock, the Roman Catholics of the Dioceſe of Cork. (*Page* 606.)

AT a moment of ſuch general alarm and conſternation, it is a duty I owe to you, my beloved flock. to recall to your minds the ſacred principles of loyalty, allegiance and good order, that muſt direct your conduct on ſuch an awful occaſion. Charged as I am, by that bleſſed Saviour, whoſe birth with grateful hearts, we on this day ſolemnize, with the care of your ſouls, intereſted beyond expreſſion in your temporal and eternal welfare, it is incumbent on me to exhort you to that peaceable demeanor, which muſt ever mark his true and faithful diſciples.

Loyalty

Loyalty to the ſovereign, and reſpect for the conſtituted authorities, have been always the prominent features in the Chriſtian character, and by patriotiſm and obedience to the eſtabliſhed form of government, have our anceſtors been diſtinguiſhed at times, and under circumſtances very different from theſe in which we have the happineſs to live. For, bleſſed be God, we are no longer ſtrangers in our native land, no longer excluded from the benefits of the happy conſtitution under which we live, no longer ſeparated by odious diſtinctions from our fellow ſubjects. To our gracious ſovereign we are bound by the concurring principles of gratitude and duty, and to all our fellow citizens by mutual intereſt and Chriſtian charity.

Under theſe circumſtances, it is obvious what line of conduct you are to adopt, if the invaders, who are ſaid to be on our coaſts, ſhould make good their landing, and attempt to penetrate into our country. To allure you to a co-operation with their views, they will not fail to make ſpecious profeſſions, that their only object is to emancipate you from the pretended tyranny under which you groan; and to reſtore you thoſe rights, of which they will ſay you are deprived.

You, my good people, whom I particularly addreſs, who are ſtrangers to paſſing occurrences, had you known in what manner they fulfilled ſimilar promiſes in the unfortunate countries into which, on the faith of them, they gained admittance, you would learn caution from their credulity, and diſtruſt men who have trampled on all laws, human and divine; Germany, Flanders, Italy, Holland, to ſay nothing of their own, once the happieſt, now the moſt miſerable, country in the world, can atteſt the irreparable ruin, deſolation and deſtruction, occaſioned by French fraternity.

Be not deceived by the lure of equalizing property, which they will hold out to you, as they did to the above-mentioned people; for the poor, inſtead of getting any part of the ſpoil of the rich, were robbed of their own little pittance.

Be not then impoſed on by their profeſſions; they come only to rob, plunder and deſtroy. Liſten not to their agitating abettors in this country, who endeavour by every means, to corrupt your principles, but join heart and hand with all the virtuous and honeſt members of the community, who are come forward with diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm, as well to reſiſt the invading foe, as to counteract the inſidious machinations of the domeſtic enemies and unnatural children, who are ſeeking to bring on their native country the ruin and untold

told evils that flow from anarchy and confuſion. Obey the laws that protect you in your perſons and properties; reverence the magiſtrate entruſted with their execution, and diſplay your readineſs to give him every aſſiſtance in your power.

Act thus, my beloved brethren, from a principle of conſcience, and you will thereby enſure the favor of your God, and the approbation of all good men; whereas a contrary conduct will draw down inevitable ruin on you here, and eternal miſery hereafter.

I ſhall conclude with this ſimple reflection, if the ſway of our impious invaders were here eſtabliſhed, you would not, my beloved people, enjoy the comfort of celebrating this auſpicious day with gladneſs and thankſgiving, nor of uniting with all Chriſtians on earth, and with the celeſtial ſpirits in heaven, in ſinging, Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will!

25th December, 1796.

Doctor Caulfield, having attentively peruſed and conſidered the foregoing ſeaſonable addreſs of the worthy Roman Catholic Biſhop of Cork to his flock, laſt Chriſtmas day, on the truly alarming report of an hoſtile invaſion of this country by the French, and obſerving that the ſafety, the intereſt and duty of the people are ſo ſtrongly and pathetically preſſed and inculcated in it, moſt gladly adopts the ſame, and moſt zealouſly recommends the important ſubject, the pious ſpirit and loyal orthodox doctrine of it, to the ſerious conſideration and practical notice of the Roman Catholics of the dioceſe of Ferns; with great confidence in their principles as Chriſtians and ſubjects, that nothing ſhall ever warp or make them deviate from the indiſpenſable line of conduct pointed out therein.

Wexford, Jan. 7, 1797. JAMES CAULFIELD.

No. CIII.

The Appeal of the People of Ulſter to their Countrymen, and to the Empire at large. (*Page* 618.)

IRISHMEN!

OUR beſt citizens are entombed in Baſtiles or hurried on board Tenders; our wives and our children are become the daily victims of an uncontrouled and licentious foreign ſoldiery!

Iriſhmen!

Iriſhmen! Ulſter, one of your faireſt provinces, containing one-third of the population of the land. Ulſter, hitherto the pride and ſtrength of Ireland, is proclaimed, and put under the ban of martial law! The executive government of the country has ſentenced us to military execution, without trial, and the legiſlature of the country has ſanctioned this illegal act without enquiry! The conſtituted authorities of the land, (without condeſcending to examine into the exiſtence of our grievances, the truth of the outrages alleged againſt us, or the nature of the circumſtances that may have provoked them,) have ſtigmatized us as objects of terror to the reſt of Ireland, and of horror to the reſt of Europe!

What, you will naturally aſk, are your crimes? Hear them: Our enemies ſay, that under the appellation of United Iriſhmen, and by means of illegal oaths, we have eſtabliſhed and organized a horrid ſyſtem of murder, that we are the avowed enemies of all order and good government, and finally, that our ultimate object is pillage, maſſacre, and plunder! Countrymen! theſe charges are falſe! they are malevolent! for the only proof which our accuſers have pretended to adduce in their ſupport is, that in one whole province, where the ſervants of government have, for the laſt four years, by a ſyſtem of premeditated perſecution, endeavoured to drive the people into inſurrection, a few individuals, who had rendered themſelves notorious by their vindictive purſuit of this ſyſtem, have, during the laſt ſix months, loſt their lives. We do not defend theſe outrages; they give us more real grief than they do to our enemies.

But, how has it happened that the ſame horror was not expreſſed by the ſame perſons, when a civil war was for two years carrying on in the county of Armagh, againſt the Catholics, ſupported by magiſterial exertions, and as it was ſaid, by miniſterial connivance? Do you not know, countrymen, that theſe cruel perſecutions were carryed on by men, not only enjoying impunity, but boaſting that they were acting under the authority of government. Do you not know that the ſame ſyſtem of tyranny and terror has been enforced with various ſucceſs in almoſt every part of the north? that Belfaſt has been dragooned? that our moſt virtuous inhabitants have been nearly decimated? that magiſtrates have frequently iſſued forth, by day and by night, at the head of parties of the army, to ſcour the country, to burn the houſes, and impriſon the perſons of thoſe who are ſuſpected to love liberty? Can you then wonder, if men, who have made themſelves peculiarly obnoxious by their cruelties,

ſhould

ſhould ſometimes fall victims to individual vengeance? However, you may lament in common with us, can you be ſurpriſed if the ſon, whoſe father has been torn from his family and illegally impriſoned, or carried on board the fleet; if the huſband, whoſe wife has been dragged from her lying-in-bed, at the hour of midnight, and thrown into the ſtreet to ſee her houſe burned before her eyes; if the father, whoſe property has been deſtroyed, and his children caſt out into want and miſery; can you be ſurpriſed even if men, who are daily witneſſes to ſuch tranſactions, without redreſs and without the ſhadow of legal authority, and who are themſelves ſuffering under a grinding perſecution, the acts of which cannot be eaſily particulariſed, but which, by its unceaſing operation, cruſhes and deſtroys; can you be ſurpriſed, if men thus ſituated, determined not to be forced into inſurrection, ſhould ſeek to aſſuage their revenge, and vainly hope to ſtop the current of general calamity by the aſſaſſination of the moſt atrocious of their perſecutors? Do not, we beſeech you, falſely impute their acts to the moral depravity of any body of men: No; if the hands of the inhabitants of the North were not reſtrained by the ſtrongeſt ties of duty and religion, the higheſt heads and moſt overbearing ſpirits of our oppreſſors would have long ſince expiated their tyranny.

We have told you, countrymen, the charges exhibited againſt us, hear now the facts, and for the truth of them we ſolemnly appeal to the ſearcher of hearts. We are under an obligation (and we glory in it) to promote a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion. We are united in an organiſed ſyſtem, not to promote murder, but to promote peace; not to deſtroy perſons and property, but to ſave both from deſtruction. Laſtly, beloved countrymen! we are moſt ſolemnly pledged, (a pledge we will never forfeit,) to co-operate with you in every temperate and rational meaſure for obtaining the freedom of our country, by a full and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland, without regard to religious diſtinctions.

Theſe are the crimes of Ulſter. They are the common crimes of Ireland. How ſhould it be otherwiſe, when they ariſe from the duty we owe to our country and to our God? Yes, Iriſhmen! the ſacred flame has become general? That which originated in Antrim, has been reverberated from Cork, and all the intermediate ſpace from Wicklow to Mayo glows with the ſame enthuſiaſm. It has been our glory to raiſe the abutments, to you belongs the ſtill more glorious taſk of crowning the arch.

Our intentions have been, and ſtill are to obtain the great objects of our purſuit,

purſuit, through the means of calm diſcuſſion, and their own unqueſtionable juſtice. The common enemy knows, that theſe are the moſt powerful and irreſiſtible weapons. It is, therefore, that they have practiſed upon us a ſyſtem of reiterated aggreſſion, unparalleled in the hiſtory of civilized nations, for the purpoſe of goading us into inſurrection, or driving us into deſpair. They have hitherto failed, and they will ſtill fail, thanks to that bountiful Being who has endued us with patience as well as courage.

We can even yet endure for our country's ſake. But, countrymen! is there not a point, beyond which forbearance becomes a crime, and human nature is incapable of enduring? Shall we be forced beyond that point? If we ſhould, our poor and feeble oppreſſors would find, that United Ireland could, in an inſtant, trample them to duſt.

To our national armed force, whether militia or yeomanry, we peculiarly appeal. Soldiers! when you took up arms to defend your country, did you intend to turn them againſt your countrymen? Was it to raiſe the Catholic againſt the Proteſtant, and the Proteſtant againſt the Catholic that you arrayed? Was it to ſupport an adminiſtration which has brought your country to the verge of deſtruction, by a wicked war againſt liberty abroad, and a ſtill more wicked war againſt liberty at home, that you ſwore allegiance? If you ſhould ever, with parricidal hearts, turn your arms againſt your fellow-citizens, whoſe only crime is their patriotiſm, would you not feel that you were guilty of treaſon, rebellion and perjury againſt your king, your country, and your God? Think then in time, remember you are Iriſhmen! Remember that you muſt ſhortly anſwer for every act of murder, or even pillage that you might be induced, by unjuſt orders, to commit, before that Being who is the avenger of the oppreſſed.

To the Britiſh nation we alſo appeal! Is it criminal, Britons! to follow the example of your renowned anceſtors? If you feel the defects in your repreſentation, and if you are ſenſible that you as well as we, have been precipitated into the moſt wicked and deſtructive wars, in conſequence of theſe defects, can you poſſibly blame us whoſe repreſentation is infinitely more inadequate, for our peaceable exertions to remedy thoſe defects? Shall Ireland be conſidered as hoſtile, becauſe ſhe has caught a ſpark of that holy fire, which was kept alive in your iſland, when ſurrounding Europe was ſunk under a barbarous deſpotiſm? But you will be told that we wiſh to get rid of the connection. If that connection only exiſted in the manifold evils, which have

been heaped upon us by the preſent abominable adminiſtration, we ſure would wiſh for a ſeparation.

But, fellow ſubjects, connected as we are by the ties of blood—of common language and polity—intimately connected as we are by our relative ſituation with each other, and with the reſt of the world, as well as by our mutual wants and redundancies—ſo far from wiſhing to leſſen theſe ties of connexion, we call upon, we entreat you to unite ſtill farther with us in the juſt and neceſſary work of reform. We conjure you, by the manes of your Lockes, your Sidneys, your Hampdens, and your Ruſſels, to join us in a great and united effort to ſave the empire from deſtruction by the only meaſure which can ſave it—A radical reform in the repreſentation of the people. The removal of your preſent wicked miniſters will only operate as a temporary relief; the cauſe of all our evils would ſtill remain. Had not your miniſter known that his influence, owing to the defective ſtate of our repreſentation, enabled him to draw from Ireland 150,000 men to recruit the army, and 40,000 ſeamen to man the fleet of the empire, he would not ſo rapidly have ruſhed into this deteſtable war, which has brought you as well as us to the brink of ruin. Britons! Remember the words of the moſt illuſtrious ſtateſman that ever adorned your country or directed your councils; of that Pitt who conducted the empire to glory abroad, whilſt he cheriſhed liberty at home. In the year 1766, when Maſſachuſets was charged with rebellion, as Ulſter is now, " I rejoice that America has reſiſted," ſaid that great man. " Three millions of people, ſo dead to all the feelings of liberty as " voluntarily to ſubmit to be ſlaves, would have been fit inſtruments to make " ſlaves of the reſt. If America was to fall," continued he, " ſhe would fall " like the ſtrong man; ſhe would embrace the pillars of the ſtate, and pull " down the conſtitution with her. She has been wronged; ſhe has been " driven to madneſs by injuſtice: Will you puniſh her for the madneſs you " have occaſioned?" His councils ſucceeded---the obnoxious laws were repealed, and America ſat down contented. Shortly after, the ſyſtem of coercion was again reſorted to, and America was loſt.

Finally, we appeal to the Father of the Univerſe, whoſe almighty power we invoke to conduct us by the paths of peace, to liberty and happineſs.

April 14th, 1797.

COUNTY

COUNTY ARMAGH.

Whereas I have this day received a requiſition, ſigned by the undernamed gentlemen, to call a meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county. Now I do hereby appoint ſuch meeting to be held at the ſeſſion-houſe in Armagh, at one o'clock, on Wedneſday next 19th inſt.

Armagh, April 14th, 1797. R. B. SPARROW, Sheriff,

Wm. Brownlow	Joſ. Atkinſon	Jas. Johnſton
Caufield	J. Steele	Wm. Biſſet
Wm. Richardſon	John Maxwell	Samuel Cloſe
Robert Cam. Cope	Joſ. M'Geough	George Perry
A. T. Stuart	A. Macan	J. Seaver
K. Cope	J. A. Hamilton	Charl. M. Warburton
Alex. Hamilton	J. Lawſon	Geo. Atkinſon
John Moore	Corry M'Connell	K. Livingſton
A. Thompſon	J. Read	M. Obins.
J. Turner	Wm. Irvin	

Purſuant to the above, the moſt reſpectable meeting ever known in this county, of the nobility, gentry, clergy and freeholders, took place, the High Sheriff in the chair, the following addreſs was agreed on (with only one diſſenting voice) and being ſigned by the Sheriff, was given to the two county members, to be by them preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to tranſmit the ſame to his majeſty as the ſentiments of their conſtituents.

To the KING'S *Moſt Excellent* MAJESTY.

SIRE,

IN the moment of calamity, in the hour of impending diſtreſs, the inhabitants of the county of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, with reverence approach the throne, to expreſs their ſentiments of the higheſt reſpect and affection for your majeſty's perſon, and unalterable attachment to the true principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and to ſolicit your majeſty, to avert from the empire that total ruin, in which a war of unexampled ferocity and misfortune has almoſt irretrievably involved a brave and loyal people.

With aſtoniſhment, we have beheld your majeſty's miniſters, obſtinately perſiſting in a vain conteſt, which hath already ſpread through Europe, mi-

ſery and devaſtation. At home, Sire, their conduct has been marked with greedy exaction, with avaricious and inſatiable rapacity; and abroad they have manifeſted a prodigality unlimited, and an incapacity almoſt incredible.

When they firſt raſhly precipitated the nation into this unprincipled war, they boldly predicted the deſtruction of the French Republic and French political principles, the extenſion of our own commerce and a laſting and glorious peace.

Inſtead of realizing theſe golden dreams they have, by external preſſure, conſolidated the heterogeneous parts of the French Republic into one ſolid and indiſſoluble body, they have diſſeminated French principles, with a rapidity proportioned to their efforts for exterminating them; and, having ruined our commerce, loaded us with enormous taxes, and mocked us with deluſive hopes of peace, they ſeemed determined to wage an endleſs war, without reſources and without any clear and defined object.

Under the guidance of theſe men, the power of the Britiſh empire has been diminiſhed, and its glory and honor deſtroyed—perhaps for ever. They found us in poſſeſſion of a commerce, co-extenſive with the world; of reſources, which they themſelves boaſted were inexhauſtible; and of allies, whoſe combined powers they conſidered irreſiſtible. Their boundleſs prodigality has diſſipated theſe reſources, their infatuation has eſtranged our allies, our commerce has dwindled into inſignificance, our public credit blaſted at their inauſpicious touch, has ſhrunk into non-exiſtence.

Your majeſty's ſubjects of the kingdom of Ireland, bear not only a portion of thoſe calamities, under which the conſtitution totters, and the whole empire groans, but labour under diſtreſſes and miſeries peculiar to themſelves.

We complain, Sire, that the Britiſh conſtitution is enjoyed by us in name only. The Engliſh cabinet is the real efficient power, which guides, directs, and actuates the Iriſh government. Through their influence, laws are capriciouſly made and repealed. Under their guidance, a ſyſtem of organized corruption has eſtabliſhed itſelf: their meaſures are carried into effect, not by arguments drawn from reaſon and policy, but by the efforts of venality, frontleſs and unbluſhing. Coercive laws are made and penalties inflicted, altogether diſproportioned to the alleged offences. The people are goaded to madneſs by accumulated miſeries and oppreſſion, and if they ſigh, or murmur, the ſigh is treaſon, and the murmur death. The convention bill has taken from your majeſty's ſubjects, even the right to complain, the laſt ſad refuge

refuge of diſtreſt and ſuffering humanity. An enemy powerful and full of animoſity, has appeared on our coaſts, and in the moment of diſtreſs, our government manifeſted itſelf impotent and incapable of protecting the people: yet when the winds had providentially prevented the intended invaſion, it prepared, not to reſiſt the returning foe, but to alienate the affections of the people by deſpoiling them of their only protection—their arms.

Your ſubjects, Sire, are daily committed to priſon, under the inſurrection act, for frivolous cauſes; and, that one cruelty may be ſuperadded to another, the habeas corpus act has been ſuſpended, and innocent and unoffending men confined without hope of trial, liberation, or redreſs. The richeſt and moſt populous province in the kingdom has been, in defiance of truth and juſtice, ſtigmatized and illegally treated, as in a ſtate of inſurrection; our moſt uſeful citizens, torn from their families and deareſt connexions, are without trial by jury, dragged to the fleet, like the moſt atrocious felons; and military coercion has taken place of common law.

Sire, we humbly ſubmit to your conſideration, that if your people were fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament, moſt of theſe evils would have been prevented in their very origin.

In this kingdom, three-fourths of your majeſty's loyal people are aliens to many of the bleſſings of the conſtitution: the Roman Catholics exiſt under reſtrictions hoſtile to the common rights of mankind, and diſgraceful to the age in which we live. Your majeſty's miniſters, Sire, ungenerouſly taking advantage of theſe reſtrictions, have too long propagated amongſt us religious animoſities, and the fiery perſecutions of mercileſs bigotry. Againſt theſe men, at this moment, Sire, Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion lift up their voice with one accord: we arraign them of crimes at which humanity ſhudders, and from which Chriſtianity turns an ahhorent eye. Of theſe enormities we accuſe them before our country, before the whole Britiſh empire, before our king, in the face of the world, in the preſence of GOD.

For theſe reaſons, Sire, we pray your majeſty to aid your people in reforming the parliament, in emancipating the Catholics, and to diſmiſs your preſent miniſters from your councils for ever.

No. CIV.

Mr. Pelham's Letter to General Lake, 3d March. (*P.* 624.)

Dublin Caſtle, 3d March, 1797.

SIR,

I AM commanded by my lord lieutenant to acquaint you, that from the information received by his excellency with reſpect to various parts of the North of Ireland, additional meaſures to thoſe hitherto employed for preſerving the public peace are become neceſſary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Donegal, ſecret and treaſonable aſſociations ſtill continue to an alarming degree, and that the perſons concerned in theſe aſſociations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-diſpoſed, by the means of terror; that they threaten the lives of all who ſhall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegience, to diſcover their treaſons; that they aſſemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force diſarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his majeſty's juſtices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters and notices, the perſons of thoſe, who ſhall in any manner reſiſt or oppoſe them; that in their nightly excurſions for the purpoſe of diſarming his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, they diſguiſe their perſons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the eſtates of the gentry, for the purpoſe of making pikes; that they have ſtolen great quantities of lead for the purpoſe of caſting bullets; that they privately by night, exerciſe in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate perſons from joining the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by law, in order to reſiſt a foreign enemy; they refuſe to employ as manufacturers, thoſe who enliſt in the corps; that they not only threaten but ill-treat the perſons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houſes by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and ſhocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack and murder by night of Mr. Comyns, of Newtownards, and that they profeſs a reſolution to aſſiſt the enemies of his majeſty, if they ſhould be enabled to land in this kingdom. It further appears, that theſe diſturbances and outrages exiſt, and

even

even increaſe, as well in the diſtricts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order therefore to reduce the perſons engaged in the aforeſaid treaſonable aſſociations and guilty of the ſaid atrocious outrages, to ſubordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well-diſpoſed among his majeſty's ſubjects, and ſecurity to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any aſſiſtance being given to the enemy by the diſloyal and diſaffected, his excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his poſitive orders, that you take the moſt immediate and deciſive meaſures for diſpoſing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately diſarming all perſons ſo commiſſioned, or perſons holding commiſſions, the authority of the yeomanry act, or perſons acting under officers ſo commiſſioned, and after making ſuch diſpoſition you are deſired to carry ſuch diſarming into effect.

His excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your diſcretion the greateſt latitude, relying at the ſame time on your prudence and diſcernment in the exerciſe of it, ſo that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected againſt the evil deſigns of thoſe who have threatened their lives and property with deſtruction.

His excellency further authorizes you to employ force againſt any perſons aſſembled in arms, not legally authorized ſo to be, to diſperſe all tumultuous aſſemblies of perſons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm, and the ſafety of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects may be endangered by waiting for ſuch authority.

His excellency further authorizes you to conſider thoſe parts of the country, where the outrages before ſtated have been committed, or where they ſhall ariſe, as being in a ſtate that requires all the meaſures of exertion and precaution, which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require: and you are therefore required to ſtation your troops with a view to interrupt communication between thoſe whom you may have reaſon to ſuſpect of evil deſigns; to eſtabliſh patroles on the high roads or other paſſes, and to ſtop all perſons paſſing and repaſſing after certain hours of the night, and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations which, in the circumſtances of the caſe may be conſidered by you as neceſſary, you are authorized to iſſue notices, ſtating the regulations, and calling upon his majeſty's ſubjects to be aiding and aſſiſting therein.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. T. P.

General

General Lake's Proclamation.

Belfaſt, March 13th, 1797.

WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to ſuperſede the laws and the adminiſtration of juſtice, by an organized ſyſtem of murder and robbery, have encreaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purpoſes, ſeveral perſons who have been enrolled under the authority of his majeſty's commiſſions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorouſly deprived of their arms, it is therefore become indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety and protection of the well-diſpoſed, to interpoſe the king's troops under my command, and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in ſuch manner as the public ſafety may require: I therefore hereby enjoin and require all perſons in this diſtrict (peace officers and thoſe ſerving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and ſurrender up all arms and ammunition, which they may have in their poſſeſſion, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood.

I truſt that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unneceſſary.

Let the people ſeriouſly reflect before it is too late on the ruin, into which they are ruſhing; let them reflect on their preſent proſperity and the miſeries in which they will inevitably be involved by perſiſting in acts of poſitive rebellion; let them inſtantly by ſurrendering up their arms and by reſtoring thoſe traitorouſly taken from the king's forces, reſcue themſelves from the ſeverity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and ſpirit in enforcing ſubordination to the laws, and reſtoring tranquillity in their reſpective neighbourhoods, and they may be aſſured of protection and ſupport from me.

And I do hereby invite all perſons, who are enabled to give information touching arms and ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the ſame to the ſeveral officers commanding his majeſty's forces in their reſpective diſtricts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promiſe and engage, that ſtrict and inviolable ſecrecy ſhall be obſerved with

with reſpect to all perſons who ſhall make communication; and that every perſon who ſhall make it ſhall receive a reward the full value of all ſuch arms and ammunition.

G. LAKE, Lieut. Gen.
Commanding the Northern Diſtrict.

No. CV.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland—a Proclamation. (*P.* 627.)

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS there exiſts within this kingdom a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy, by a number of perſons ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the authority of his majeſty and the parliament, and the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government: and whereas, for the execution of ſuch their wicked deſigns, they have planned means of open violence, and formed ſecret arrangements for raiſing, arming and paying a diſciplined force; and in furtherance of their purpoſes have frequently aſſembled in great and unuſual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals and the like, and have frequently aſſembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houſes of many of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees wherewith to make handles for pikes and other offenſive weapons to arm their traiterous aſſociates, and have audaciouſly attempted to diſarm the diſtrict or yeomanry corps enrolled under his majeſty's commiſſion for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon ſeveral bodies of his majeſty's forces when attempting to quell their inſurrections; and it is therefore now become neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt powers, with which government is by law entruſted for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch traiterous attempts: and whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the ſuppreſſion of the aforeſaid traiterous and wicked conſpiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

Now we, the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined as far as in us lies to ſuppreſs ſuch daring attempts, and at the ſame time deſirous to prevent the well-diſpoſed or miſled from falling into

the dangers, to which ignorance or incaution may expoſe them, do by this our proclamation forewarn all ſuch to abſtain from entering into the ſaid traiterous ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, or any of them, and from reſorting to their meetings, or acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from ſuffering them to aſſemble in their houſes, or in any manner harbouring them. And we do ſtrictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all perſons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to ſome of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, or to ſome officer of his majeſty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where ſuch meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all perſons from tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies, or from meeting in unuſual numbers, under the plauſible or colourable pretence aforeſaid, or any other whatſoever.

And we caution his majeſty's loyal and loving ſubjects whenever ſuch aſſemblies ſhall happen, or that they receive notice from any magiſtrate or from the officer commanding any body of his majeſty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-diſpoſed may avoid the miſchiefs, which the guilty may bring upon themſelves.

And as it has become neceſſary, from the circumſtances before mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entruſted for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious and traiterous attempts now making againſt the peace and dignity of the crown, and the ſafety of the lives and properties of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, we have therefore iſſued the moſt direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his majeſty's troops, by the exertions of their utmoſt force, and with their full power to oppoſe all ſuch as ſhall reſiſt them in the execution of their duty.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our officers civil and military, and all other his majeſty's loving ſubjects, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover all pikes, pike heads, concealed guns and ſwords, offenſive weapons or ammunition of any kind whatſoever.

And we do hereby charge and command all perſons having in their cuſtody pikes, pike heads, or concealed guns, ſwords, offenſive weapons or ammunition whatſoever, to deliver up the ſame to ſome magiſtrate or officer of his majeſty's troops, as they ſhall anſwer the contrary at their peril.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all officers civil and military, and all other his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting in

ſup-

ſuppreſſing all traiterous, tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies, and in bringing to puniſhment all perſons diſturbing or attempting to diſturb the public peace.

And whereas we have reaſon to hope that many of his majeſty's ſubjects who have joined the ſaid traiterous ſocieties, have done ſo without having been appriſed of the extent of their crime, and others from intimidation, and that ſuch may be willing to return to their allegiance---Now we being deſirous to extend his majeſty's pardon to all ſuch as are ſenſible of their errors and will return to their allegiance, do hereby promiſe his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon to all ſuch perſons ſo ſeduced and intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, who ſhall on or before the 24th day of June next ſurrender themſelves to any of his majeſty's juſtices of the quorum of the counties, in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizances, with two ſufficient ſecurities, if ſecurities ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizances ſhall be acknowledged, which recognizance every ſuch magiſtrate is hereby required to return to the next general ſeſſion of the peace or aſſizes to be holden in and for the county, in which ſuch recognizance ſhall be taken reſpectively, to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſave and except all ſuch as have been guilty of murder, conſpiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houſes, corn or hay, ſtacks of ſtraw or turf, maliciouſly digging up or injuring or deſtroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind planted or ſowed, or deſtroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, adminiſtering or cauſing to be adminiſtered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his majeſty's forces of any deſcription, or inciting or encouraging any perſon to commit any of the aforeſaid offences reſpectively, and ſave and except all perſons now in cuſtody.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

W. Armagh,	Altamont,	Carleton,
Clare, C.	Glendore,	Yelverton,
Chas. Caſhel,	Portarlington,	J. Foſter,
W. Tuam,	Farnham,	J. Beresford,
Waterford,	Carhampton,	Denis Brown,
Drogheda,	Clonmell,	T. Pelham,
Weſtmeath,	Ely,	H. Cavendiſh,
Shannon,	Gosford, H.	J. Blaquiere,
Clanbraſſie,	Meath,	H. Langriſh,

Theo. Jones,	D. Latouche,	Robert Roſs,
Joſ. Cooper,	J. M. Maſon,	Iſaac Corry,
James Cuffe,	Arthur Wolfe,	S. Hamilton,
Geo. Ogle,	James Fitzgerald,	L. Morres.

Mr. Pelham's Letter to Lord Carhampton.

Dublin Caſtle, 18th May, 1797.

MY LORD,

THE lord lieutenant and council having judged it expedient to call upon his majeſty's troops to exert their utmoſt force to ſuppreſs a ſeditious and traiterous conſpiracy of perſons ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, I am commanded by his excellency to tranſmit to your lordſhip a copy of the proclamation iſſued on this ſubject, and to deſire that your lordſhip will iſſue the neceſſary orders to the troops under your command in conſequence thereof; his excellency has directed me to repreſent to your lordſhip, that as the traiterous and treaſonable deſigns of theſe conſpirators extend to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution and government, it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to their exertions. In thoſe parts of the kingdom, where theſe deſigns have been manifeſted by acts of open violence, it will be neceſſary to give the officers of his majeſty's troops more preciſe directions for their conduct. In ſuch parts of the kingdom as have been diſturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects have been endangered by perſons collected in arms, attacking and firing upon their houſes, and where aſſemblies of perſons have been collected for the purpoſe of unlawful cutting down trees or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution ſhould be adopted for the ſecurity of the lives and property of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and oppoſing by the moſt effectual means ſuch daring acts of violence.

Diligent enquiry ſhould be made reſpecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes and pike-handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties ſhould be directed to ſearch for and ſeize the ſame.

Any perſons armed with pikes or other weapons in reſiſtance of his majeſty's troops, to be conſidered as rebels and treated accordingly; all perſons exerciſing themſelves in the uſe of arms under perſons not holding his majeſty's or the lord lieutenant's commiſſion are to be diſarmed and apprehended, and in caſe of reſiſtance to be treated as rebels; and as it appears to be a part of the ſyſtem of theſe conſpirators to take the opportunity of funerals and other occaſions

caſions to aſſemble conſiderable numbers of perſons, the officers of his majeſty's army ſhould be directed, in purſuance of this proclamation, to watch all ſuch aſſemblies, and if from their number, or other circumſtances, the public peace ſhould appear to be endangered, they will diſperſe them; and as various attempts have been made to ſeduce his majeſty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all perſons of ſuſpicious appearance, who ſhall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other ſtations of his majeſty's troops, to be detained.

And his excellency further deſires, that your lordſhip will, from time to time, communicate ſuch inſtructions to the officers of his majeſty's troops as you ſhall deem beſt adapted for carrying into effect his excellency's proclamation, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honor to be, my lord,

Your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

The Earl Carhampton, THOMAS PELHAM.
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

No. CVI.

Proceedings of the Freemen and Freeholders of Dublin and of Corke. (*P.* 634)

AT a Meeting of the FREEMEN and FREEHOLDERS of the City of DUBLIN, convened by the High Sheriffs at the Royal Exchange, on Saturday the 8th of April, 1797, to conſider of a "Petition to the Throne, praying the removal of his Majeſty's Miniſters from his Councils for ever;" and a petition to his Majeſty to that effect having been produced, the queſtion of adjournment was moved thereupon, and a diviſion having taken place, the ſheriffs declared from the chair, that of the multitude aſſembled in the hall they had no heſitation to ſay, that the majority were againſt the adjournment, but that at the ſame time they felt it their duty to declare, "that being as well acquainted with the citizens of their bailiwicks as any other perſons in the aſſembly, a very large number of thoſe, who formed the majority were to their own certain knowledge neither freemen nor freeholders of the city of Dublin, but a multitude of men, who had tumultuouſly forced the doors, and made

" made their way into the aſſembly; and that, under that impreſſion, they " ſhould think it their duty to refuſe putting their names to any proceedings " of the day, though they would ſit in the chair as long as their fellow-citi- " zens ſhould deſire."—Whereupon the freemen and freeholders who voted for the adjournment, anxiouſly preſſed for another meeting, in order that there might be a fair diſcuſſion of the petition; and the ſheriffs declared that if ſuch a meaſure were adopted, they would take ſuch precautions as would procure a chaſte meeting of the freemen and freeholders only, by giving them tickets of admiſſion; and this they earneſtly and repeatedly preſſed, but having been objected to by the other part of the aſſembly, thoſe who voted for the adjournment retired from the meeting, and came to the following reſolution:

" Reſolved, That any proceedings adopted at the ſaid meeting, are not, " and cannot be conſidered as the ſenſe of freemen and freeholders of the " city of Dublin."

We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, agree to the above reſolution.

To Thomas Gibbings and Edward Allen, Eſqrs. High Sheriffs of the City and County of the City of Cork.

GENTLEMEN,

WE requeſt that you will as ſoon as poſſible convene your bailiwick, to take into conſideration an humble addreſs to our moſt gracious and beloved ſovereign, upon the preſent alarming ſtate of public affairs; praying him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters in Great Britain and Ireland from his councils for ever, as the firſt ſtep towards obtaining a ſpeedy, honorable, and permanent peace.

John Cuthbert, ſen.	Benj. Bousfield	Edw. Hoare, M. P.
Wm. Beamiſh	Wm. Crawford	Wm. Bleazby
Rich. Kellet, jun.	Francis Woodley	Wm. Stawell
Wm. Leader	Reuben Harvey, ſen.	John Callanan
George Stawell	R. De la Cour	John Terry
Wm. Cuthbert	Thos. Cuthbert	Wm. Penroſe
St. Leger Aldworth	Reuben Harvey, jun.	Wm. Penroſe
Michael Rogers	Thos. Rochfort	Benj. Hayes
Richard Barrett	Dominick Waters	Thos. Ware

Abbot

Abbot Trayer	Arthur G. Creagh	Rich. Moylan
N. F. Coppinger	Peter Trant	Thos. Gonnell
Nicholas Therry	John Martin	Paul Abbott
Marcus Lynch, jun.	Auſtin Shinkwin	Philip Stackpole
Nicholas Mahon	J. Keller	Cornelius Donegan
Heyward St. Leger	Samuel Perrott	Iſaac Kingſton
Wm. Reynolds	Benj. Hayes, jun.	Robert Simmons
Wm. Coppinger	B. Foley	George Chinnery
Stephen Fagan	John Cremin	Thomas Mahon
Juſtin Mc. Carthy	John Unthank	Rev. Chas. Beamiſh
John Moylan	George Lombard	Andrew O'Shea
John Lyne	Robert Burke	Johnſon St. Leger
M. I. Fulham	Morgan Regan	Ruſſel Fitton
John H. Hoſkins	James Haley	James Fagan
John Parks	George Cotter	James Kelly
Rich. Chinnery	Gerard Galway	J. Barry, M. D.
William Flyn	Rich. Maguire, jun.	† Sampſon Stawell
D. Shea	John Thompſon	† Euſtace Stawell
D. Foley	Rich. Fitton	
Henry Sadlier	Cooper Penroſe	

The high ſheriffs having refuſed to comply with the above requiſition, the freemen, freeholders, and citizens, qualified to be jurors, are requeſted to meet for the above conſtitutional purpoſe, at the Tholſel, on the 20th day of May, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The freemen, freeholders, and citizens, qualified to be jurors, who were invited to meet the 20th inſtant, "To take into conſideration an humble Ad-"dreſs to our moſt gracious and beloved Sovereign, upon the preſent alarm-"ing ſtate of public affairs, praying him to diſmiſs his preſent Miniſters in "Great Britain and Ireland, from his councils for ever, as the firſt ſtep to-"wards obtaining a ſpeedy, honourable, and permanent peace," are requeſted by the gentlemen who ſigned the requiſition, not to aſſemble on that day, as a proclamation, dated the 17th inſt. has been iſſued by the lord lieutenant and council, "forewarning all perſons from meeting in unuſual numbers, *under* "*any pretence whatſoever.*"

Cork, May 19, 1797.

The Gentlemen's names marked thus † were received after the requiſition was delivered to the high ſheriffs.

The

The gentlemen, who ſigned the above requiſition, feel themſelves called on by their love of peace, of order, and of freedom, to ſtate to the good ſenſe and impartial judgment of the public their opinions and conduct; particularly to expreſs their apprehenſions relative to the late proclamation, which places this kingdom in a ſituation awful and unprecedented. It is not neceſſary to mention, how much intereſted they are in the welfare of this country; when the enemy menaced the coaſt, their perſonal ſervices and peculiar contributions were not the leaſt conſpicuous or effectual amidſt the general loyalty and patriotiſm which prevailed. The peculiar calamities of the war they have long beheld, and ſeverely feel; its dreadful conſequences to the commerce and to the conſtitution, they cannot view without the deepeſt anguiſh. They ſhudder in reflecting on the waſte of treaſure, and the prodigality of human victims it has occaſioned. They lament to ſee public credit ſhaken to its foundation, trade daily decaying, and manufactures almoſt annihilated, diſtruſt and deſpondency pervading all ranks of the community, thouſands of the lower orders unemployed, ſinking under poverty and wretchedneſs, miniſters obſtinately purſuing a ſyſtem dangerous to the liberty of the country, and ruinous to the intereſt of the empire, prompt to irritate the feelings, but ſlow to conciliate the affections of the people; who, when this country was in danger, ſaw and acknowledged the zeal and fidelity of our Catholic brethren, but ſo ſoon as that danger was removed, forgot their ſervices, and rejected their claims. Judging from ſuch conduct and effects, they apprehend that no confidence can be placed in the ſincerity or capacity of theſe miniſters, and looking to an immediate peace as the only probable means of reſcuing the Britiſh empire from inevitable deſtruction, they feel the ſame ſolicitude that the authors and abettors of theſe misfortunes ſhould be diſmiſſed for ever from his majeſty's councils.

When they invited their fellow-citizens to aſſemble and deliberate on a queſtion involving their national exiſtence, they conceived, that they were adhering equally to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, as to the letter of the law. They conſidered the right to petition for redreſs of grievances as inherent in the ſubject; they knew that right had been claimed, ratified and confirmed at the revolution of 1688; that it has ſince been invariably exerciſed, and was in the late Convention Act declared and recognized; they therefore conſider it as interwoven with the principles of that Conſtitution, which they have ever revered, and are reſolved to ſupport.

After

After the proclamation was iſſued, had they not recalled their invitation they would have deemed themſelves acceſſary to the indignities and the military coercion, which might have been directed againſt the unoffending loyal and peaceable inhabitants of this city, who might have felt it their duty to pour out their complaints to their gracious ſovereign. From this act of the executive power, which prevents "any meeting in unuſual numbers *under* "*any pretence whatſoever*, and expreſſing the neceſſity of employing military "power, and commanding the exertion of their *utmoſt force*," * they apprehend additional misfortunes; they fear that the introduction of military force may bring into diſreſpect and diſuſe the civil power; they are of opinion, that to check diſcuſſion—to ſuppreſs manly and open effuſions of public ſpirit, or of public complaint, may excite ſecret diſcontent and diſaffection towards that government, which it is the duty of all good men to ſupport, whilſt affording protection and ſecurity to life, property and liberty, againſt violence, rapacity, and uſurpation. Under the reſtrictions of the proclamation they conceive, that no body of electors can ſafely aſſemble to inſtruct their repreſentatives, or to petition parliament; that ſalutary and conſtitutional medium for conveying the deſires, the wiſhes, or the wants of the people is thus loſt; all avenues to parliamentary enquiry, as to the legality of this proclamation, the neceſſity that urged it, or the juſtice which directed its application to this loyal city, are thereby ſhut up.

Having thus delivered their opinions, and ſtated the motives for their conduct, the ſubſcribers to the requiſition have only to deplore the adoption of a meaſure, that defeated their well-intended purpoſes—and which in its operation involving the innocent with the guilty, reſtraining and coercing the loyal equally as the diſaffected, diffuſes doubts, terror, and diſmay.

By the people of Great Britain and Ireland this event will not paſs unmarked---in ſeriouſly contemplating this deprivation of right, they will feel the inſecurity of all their once boaſted liberty.

Cork, May 24, 1797.

* Vide proclamation by the lord-lieutenant and council, Dublin Caſtle, 17th of May, 1797.

Copy of a Requiſition made to the High Sheriff of the County of Kildare, of the names thereunto ſubjoined, and of the Anſwers of the High Sheriff.

To ROBERT LATOUCHE, *Eſq. High Sheriff of the County Kildare.*

SIR,

YOU are hereby requeſted to convene the freeholders and inhabitants of your bailiwick, in order to conſider the propriety of petitioning his majeſty, praying him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his councils for ever, and to adopt ſuch meaſures as may once more enſure to theſe countries the bleſſings of exterior and interior peace.

Leinſter	B. Wills	P. Dever
Cloncurry	T. Swords	T. Kenna
N. Lawleſs	R. Deaſe	C. Colclough
J. Dillon	C. Nangle	John Henry
J. Huſſey	C. Aylmer	Joſeph Henry
W. Ponſonby	J. Gorman	G. Cockburne
G. Ponſonby	Rev. N. Aſhe	D. O'Reilly
C. Lumm	M. Lewis	J. Fitzgerald
E. Fitzgerald [Lord]	E. Walſh	J. Gorman
James Ryan	G. Lalor	W. Carroll
Robert Mercer	Mau. B. St. L. Keatinge	M. Taylor
Wogan Browne	T. Fitzgerald	T. Devay
G. Daker	L. Manſergh	D. Caulfield
N. Cahill	J. Medlicott	T. Dunn
G. Chapman	T. Graydon	J. B. Lewis
P. Dunne	J. Leeſon	W. Fitzgerald
Thomas Conolly	R. Aylmer	J. Cuffe
P. Lattin	W. Sherlock	J. Fitzgerald, jun.
J. Taylor	J. Haughton	H. Phelim
R. Hamilton	P. Maher	J. Moore
D. B. Daly	W. Wilkes	
A. O. Ferrall	O. Walſh	

Anſwer of the High Sheriff.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your requiſition, deſiring that I would convene the freeholders and inhabitants of my bailiwick, in order to conſider the propriety of a petition to his majeſty, praying him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters

miniſters from his councils for ever, and to adopt ſuch meaſures as may once more enſure to theſe countries the bleſſings of exterior and interior peace.

I have alſo received a paper, ſigned by a number of very reſpectable magiſtrates and freeholders of the county of Kildare, who having heard that ſuch a requiſition was in contemplation, and being fully convinced that a general meeting at this juncture would tend to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of the county, expreſs in the ſtrongeſt terms their diſapprobation of ſuch a meaſure, and earneſtly requeſt that I ſhould not accede to any ſuch requiſition at preſent.

Having conſidered this difference of opinion among men of property in the county, and being myſelf decidedly of opinion that ſuch a meeting would be highly injurious to its peace and tranquillity, I cannot conſiſtently with my duty comply with your requiſition.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen, &c.
ROBERT LATOUCHE.

To the Gentlemen, &c.

In conſequence of the above anſwer ſuch perſons as ſigned the requiſition are requeſted to meet at the Eagle in Euſtace-ſtreet, on Monday next, the 15th inſt. at two o'clock, in order to conſider what ſteps might be taken in conſequence thereof.

No. CVII.

Loyal Declarations of Catholics and Orangemen. (*P.* 643.)

7th January, 1798.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the pariſhes of Ramoan, Aunoy, Ballintoy, in the county of Antrim, regretting juſtly the diſturbances, which have outraged and diſgraced the northern parts of this kingdom, and feeling ſenſible of the paſt errors, which many of our body have been led into by the deep deſigns of wicked men, ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen; men who have been, and ſtill are, the prime cauſers and ſole movers of all the ſeditious proceedings, which have torn and diſturbed Ireland; and deteſting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their ſeditious principles and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, pledge ourſelves to ſupport, with our lives and fortunes, the bleſſed conſtitution of this country, and his majeſty's happy government, eſtabliſhed

amongſt us. Determined as we are, to exert ourſelves for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion and ſedition within our diſtrict, we further declare, that we have ſeen with indignation, their endeavours to ſow diſcord between thoſe of our and of the Proteſtant perſuaſion; being truly ſenſible that men, who have aſſociated or will aſſociate, like us, for the protection of the conſtitution, can have no enmity to thoſe, who are equally anxious for its preſervation, of whatever religious perſuaſion they may be; and we do hereby aſſure our Proteſtant brethren of the above deſcription, of our ſincere affection for them, and our abſolute determination to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, the ſupport of this happy conſtitution, the welfare of his majeſty's happy government, and in love and loyalty to his ſacred perſon.

Signed by Roger O'Murray, Paſtor, Philip M'Kelver, and by 508 Roman Catholic inhabitants of the aforeſaid pariſhes.

WE, the loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulſter, who have been ſtiled Orange men, in remembrance of our glorious deliverer, King William the Third, think it incumbent on us, at this critical period, to declare our faithful and ſteady attachment to his majeſty King George the Third, and to our valuable conſtitution in church and ſtate, as well as our gratitude for the bleſſings we enjoy under the preſent government, and our happineſs in the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection and rebellion, and the reſtoration of tranquillity in this province, by the exertions of the general officers and militia, aided by the zeal of the loyal inhabitants.

We have read in the public papers, with much ſatisfaction, the declarations of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of ſeveral pariſhes of this province: we have no doubt of the ſincerity of ſuch declarations: and that the Catholics of Ireland, ſenſible of the benefits they enjoy, will not ſuffer themſelves to be made the dupes of wicked and deſigning men, for the moſt diabolical purpoſes; and we flatter ourſelves, that ſuch declarations will be embraced, and have the happieſt effects, in other parts of the kingdom; ſuch conduct muſt be acceptable in the eyes of God and man.

We declare moſt ſolemnly, that we are not enemies to any body of people, on account of their religion, their faith, or their mode of worſhip, we conſider every peaceable and loyal ſubject our brother, and they ſhall have our aid and protection.

Anxious

Anxious to co-operate in preſerving internal tranquillity, and repelling invaſion, (ſhould our foreign enemies be deſperate enough to attempt it), we take this opportunity of declaring our readineſs to undertake any duty, in obedience to the commands of his excellency the lord lieutenant.

William Atkinſon	Richard Taylor
John Croſsle	Hugh Watſon
George Lendrum	John Johnſton
Edward Butler	Abraham Dawſon
Anthony M'Reynolds	William Hazleton
Samuel Johnſton	George Taylor

And ſeveral thouſand loyal inhabitants.

February 15, 1798.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the pariſh of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, aſſembled at our chapel, on the 26th of December, 1797, anxiouſly embrace the earlieſt opportunity of following the example of our fellow ſubjects of the pariſh of Calſraghtrin, and Grange of Iniſpollan, in the county of Antrim, by expreſſing our unfeigned loyalty, and our ſincere concern at the diſturbed ſtate of this country, which, until now, has been ever remarkable for a due obedience to the laws.

We cannot more ſtrongly expreſs our ſentiments, than by adopting the declaration of the above pariſh, in juſtly regretting the diſturbances which have outraged and diſgraced our hitherto peaceable country, and feeling ſenſible of the paſt errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep deſigns of wicked men, ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen; who have been, and ſtill are, the prime cauſers, and ſole movers, of all the ſeditious proceedings which have torn and diſturbed Ireland, and deteſting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their ſeditious and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the moſt ſolemn manner pledge ourſelves to ſupport, with our lives and fortunes, the bleſſed conſtitution of this country, and his majeſty's happy government eſtabliſhed amongſt us. Determined as we are, to exert ourſelves for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion and ſedition within our diſtrict, we further declare, that we have ſeen with indignation their endeavours to ſow diſcord between thoſe of our and the Proteſtant perſuaſion; being truly ſenſible that men who have aſſociated, or will aſſociate like us, for the protection of the conſtitution, can have no enmity to thoſe who are

equally

equally anxious for its preſervation, of whatever religious perſuaſion they may be; and we do hereby aſſure our Proteſtant brethren of the above deſcription, of our ſincere affection for them, and our abſolute determination to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, the ſupport of this happy conſtitution, the welfare of his majeſty's government, and in love and loyalty to his ſacred perſon.

Signed by Thomas Flannery, pariſh prieſt, and 817 perſons.

WE, the Roman Catholics of the pariſhes of Ballinderry, in the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, think it our duty to come forward, and thus publicly declare, our firm and determined reſolution of ſupporting our gracious Sovereign, King George, and oppoſing, with all our might, his enemies, and the enemies of all we hold dear—our liberty, our religion.

With unfeigned contrition we acknowledge, that many of our body were ſeduced from their duty and allegiance to the beſt of kings, by the artifice and arguments of deſigning men, ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen; to their wicked deſigns and diabolical practices we are indebted for all the outrages that have diſgraced the north of Ireland.

With unfeigned concern we hear, that the emiſſaries of that ſeditious body have been too ſucceſsful in ſeducing many of our Roman Catholic brethren in the ſouth of the kingdom, and that at this time, (as it was heretofore in the north) the country is diſgraced with outrage, rapine, and murder. In the moſt earneſt manner we entreat the Roman Catholics in thoſe diſturbed parts, for the honor of the religion they profeſs, to withdraw themſelves (before it is too late) from thoſe wicked ſocieties—to acknowledge their error, and throw themſelves on the mercy of our lenient government; then, like us, they will receive pardon for their paſt offences, and we hope, like us, will become dutiful and loyal ſubjects.

We are happy in declaring, that the moſt perfect good underſtanding has ever ſubſiſted between us and our Proteſtant brethren—and we ſhall ever endeavour to preſerve it: like them, we ſerve the ſame God, and with them we are ready, with our lives and fortunes, to ſupport our king and conſtitution. When, in other places, diſgraceful outrages were committed, with us the moſt perfect order was preſerved; for that bleſſing we are indebted to our next reſident magiſtrate, Andrew Newton, of Coagh, Eſq. for whoſe prudent conduct

duct in that office, and the good behaviour of the Ballinderry yeomen under his command, our grateful acknowledgments are due.

Reſolved, That this declaration, with our ſignatures, be delivered to Captain Newton, with our requeſt, that a copy of it be laid before his excellency the lord lieutenant.

Ballinderry, Dec. 29, 1797.

The above declaration is ſigned by Patrick Develin, Paſtor, and all the Roman Catholics in the pariſh, amounting to ſeveral hundreds.

December 10*th*, 1797.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the pariſh of Rathlin, in the county of Antrim, juſtly regretting the diſturbances, which have outraged and diſgraced the northern parts of this kingdom, and feeling ſenſible of the paſt errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep deſigns of wicked men ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen; men who have been and ſtill are the prime cauſers and ſole movers of all the ſeditious proceedings which have torn and diſturbed Ireland—and deteſting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their ſeditious principles and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, pledge ourſelves to ſupport with our lives and fortunes, the bleſſed conſtitution of this country, and his majeſty's happy government eſtabliſhed amongſt us, determined as we are to exert ourſelves for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion and ſedition within our diſtricts. We further declare, that we have ſeen with indignation their endeavours to ſow diſcord between thoſe of our and the Proteſtant perſuaſion; being truly ſenſible that men who have aſſociated or will aſſociate like us, for the protection of the conſtitution, can have no enmity to thoſe who are equally anxious for its preſervation, of whatever religious perſuaſion they may be. And we do hereby aſſure all our Proteſtant brethren of the above deſcription, of our ſincere affection for them, and our abſolute determination, to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, the ſupport of this happy conſtitution, the welfare of his majeſty's government, and in love and loyalty towards his ſacred perſon.

Signed by Edward M'Mullan, Paſtor of Rathlin.
Alexander M'Donnell, and by 180 Roman Catholic inhabitants of the aforeſaid pariſh.

No.

No. CVIII.

(*P.* 649.)

GENERAL ELECTION.

To the Meeting of Freemen and Freeholders, aſſembled at the Exchange, on Saturday, the 29th July.

My Fellow Citizens,

A SLIGHT indiſpoſition has prevented me from giving your reſolution an immediate anſwer. When the country is put down, the preſs deſtroyed, and public meetings for the purpoſe of exerciſing the right of petition to remove miniſters are threatened and diſperſed by the military, I agree with you that a general election is no more than an opportunity to exerciſe, by permiſſion of the army, the ſolitary privilege to return a few repreſentatives of the people to a houſe occupied by the repreſentatives of boroughs.

When the Iriſh parliament was perpetual or provincial, it was of little moment how that parliament was conſtituted: but becoming independent, it became eſſential, that it ſhould become conſtitutional; and in order to be conſtitutional, it was neceſſary the commons ſhould form an integral part thereof; fourteen years you gave to the experiment, and having failed, withdrew. You refuſe to take a ſmall portion of that repreſentation, the whole of which belongs to you; you will not confirm an unjuſt diſtribution of your property, by becoming a poor-rent charger on a poor portion of your inheritance; you refuſe to give your ſanction to your excluſion; and will not attend a ceremony, which has proved the trade of the individual and the ruin of the country. While I entertain ſuch an opinion, I beg to expreſs my profound reſpect for ſome enlightened and valuable individuals, who differ from me; oppoſed to their opinion, I ſhould ſuſpect my own if it were not fortified by yours. I think the people of this country are perfectly right when they inſiſt to be nothing leſs than the whole of the third eſtate. The people are in contemplation of the conſtitution only a part of the legiſlature, but they are the whole of the commons. Is that too much? They gave the crown—they aſk the repreſentation: they aſk the repreſentation of that prince, to whom they gave the crown. Without derogating from any of thoſe rights, which exiſt independent of any artificial formation, the people claim under the general

neral conſtitution of the land, and under their own particular declaration of right to be an integral part of the legiſlature. The conſtitution tells them, that their liberty exiſts in their exemption from any laws, ſave thoſe, to which by repreſentation they conſent: their declaration of right tells them that the king, the lords, and the commons of Ireland are the only body competent to make her laws, by which it is not only aſſerted that the Iriſh parliament is excluſively the Iriſh legiſlature, but that the people are an integral part thereof. If then the people are not ſuffered to form that integral part, the conſtitution of the realm and the claim of right are evaded and defeated. The miniſter ſtands in the place of parliament. He becomes the arbiter of your lives and fortunes, and transfers that dominion to the Britiſh cabinet, on whom he depends, and thus re-impoſes on this realm the legiſlative power of another country. And when your miniſters tell you, that the reform of parliament is only a popular pretence, I cannot believe them to be in earneſt: I wiſh they had made the experiment: happy had it been for the country—happy had it been for themſelves; they would then indeed have poſſeſſed but one-third of the conſtitution, but they would not have loſt the whole of the empire.

Foreign diſgrace leads naturally and of courſe to the ſubject of domeſtic oppreſſion: I cannot here omit that part of your reſolution which adverts to the barbarities committed upon the habitations, property, and perſons of the people, and beg to join with yours my teſtimony againſt ſuch repeated, wanton, ſavage, abominable, and permitted outrages, barbarities, and murders, ſuch as no printer will now dare to print, leſt he too ſhould be plundered or murdered for the ordinary exerciſe of his trade.

I beg to take this opportunity of returning my thanks to the aldermen of Skinner's-alley, who have expreſſed their approbation of my conduct. I do believe our meaſures were agreeable to the ſenſe of the nation. I lament they were not ſeconded by the majority of parliament; if that majority whoſe motives I do not diſcuſs, whoſe infatuations I do lament; if that majority inſtead of attaching itſelf to the court, had conſidered itſelf as part and parcel of the people, they had conſulted their dignity better. Why am I ſuperior to miniſters or viceroys? Becauſe I do not aſſume to be ſuperior to my fellow-citizens. Had that majority taken a proud poſt, and identified with the people—had they ſeized the opportunity of doing juſtice to Ireland, and inſtead of voting millions without getting any thing for the country, ſupported us in our motion to ameliorate the condition of the peaſantry, in our

motion for an equal trade, in our attempts to emancipate the Catholics, and to reform the parliament, their country would now have liberty and peace, inſtead of diſtraction at home, and negociation abroad. Where the Britiſh negociator remains with the Iriſh boroughs about his neck, to pay for every felony the miniſter has committed on the - - - - - - -

You expreſs a wiſh, that my public duty ſhould not ceaſe with my repreſentative capacity. In that idea I entirely concur. My ſeat in parliament was but a part of my ſituation; the relationſhip to my country was higher and more permanent. The duty of a citizen is commenſurate with his powers of body and mind.

I have the honor to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
H. GRATTAN.

To the Citizens of Dublin.

HAVING ſeen an addreſs to the citizens of Dublin, from my worthy colleague and friend Mr. Grattan, I feel it incumbent upon me, not only to take the ſame ſtep, but alſo to ſtate to you my moſt perfect coincidence of opinion, with the whole of that addreſs; an addreſs of ſuch comprehenſion, ſuch ſublimity and truth, that he that does not feel its force muſt be loſt to every ſenſe of humanity, juſtice, and honor.

As my friend's addreſs has been in conſequence of the probability of a ſpeedy diſſolution of parliament, I ſhould be wanting both in gratitude and reſpect, were I not immediately to ſeize the earlieſt opportunity of returning you my moſt ſincere thanks for your paſt kindneſs, favor, and indulgence; in other circumſtances I might have ſolicited, I might have aſpired to a continuance of them, but till the parliament of Ireland is reformed, I renounce every thought of ever again entering the Houſe of Commons.

To take leave of thoſe, from whom one has experienced ſo much as I have from the citizens of Dublin, is a moſt painful taſk. Proportionate, I may ſay, with the joy and ſatisfaction with which we met, flushed with hope, proud of your confidence, proud of feeling myſelf a willing and devoted ſervant, I indulged in the fond illuſion, as it has proved, of being inſtrumental, with the reſt of my friends, in advancing thoſe meaſures ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the ſalvation of Ireland, and which the nation had a right to expect would

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be brought to a happy concluſion. Vain hope! vain ſtruggle! accompanied by more ceaſing regret, at having engaged to work in ſuch a fruitleſs vineyard. I could not do it long; I early deſerted the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, but never you; I did ſo on conviction, that if the honeſty and talents of my friends combined were only the ſport of their opponents, wallowing in corruption, there could be little neceſſity for the attendance of thoſe, who, not pretending to the latter, made the former the only rule of their conduct.

A ſeſſion of parliament had not paſſed, after the honor you had done me, before I was completely convinced, that without a reform of the parliament, the country could not be ſaved. Could I have thought that you would have diſapproved of my abſence, I can only ſay, that I would have dragged my perſon and my regrets day after day, and night after night, into that houſe, however irkſome it might have been to me, and although peculiarly circumſtanced as to this country, you would ſtill have found me at my poſt, had there been the moſt diſtant proſpect of any one meaſure propoſed for the good of Ireland, on an enlightened and comprehenſive ſcale, being crowned with ſucceſs.

The time was, would that it could be recalled, when the people of Ireland, always patient, always enduring, looked to a reform of parliament as a period when, through the integrity of their repreſentatives and an ardent love for the welfare of the kingdom, ſuch meaſures might be purſued, with the concurring zeal of an œconomical and wiſe adminiſtration, as would have raiſed the character of the nation, and detached our country from the ridicule of that frivolous ſyſtem, that often impoſed, by the character and appearance of energy and deciſion, only to relapſe into the moſt perfidious derelict of all principle whatſoever.

At this awful criſis, when the reflecting mind wanders through the mazes of truth and error, in the teeming of eventful moments, we muſt not deſpair, though our affrighted country, with a deſponding and unſteady hand, upholds a mirror to our view, that glares upon our ſight; the ſteady graſp ſhifts it but a little, and its reflection true. All is not loſt, Ireland muſt ſtill be ſaved. Words get abroad; I have heard of United Iriſhmen—their ſyſtem I know not—I cannot ſuppoſe it bad; but this I know, that want of ſyſtem, want of union, want of cordiality, want of real patriotiſm in all ranks, has hitherto been the ruin of our country.

Again let me repeat my aſſurances of unalterable regard for you, my fel-

low-citizens, and my moſt anxious wiſhes for your proſperity. May the laſh of deſpotiſm be averted. May the liberties for which our anceſtors have bled, ſtill ſurvive all attempts at their extinction. Put your truſt in that Providence, that alone directs the blow, let the powers of this earth take what aim they may. HENRY FITZGERALD.

Boyle Farm, July 15, 1797.

No. CIX.

A Paſtoral Letter to the Catholic Clergy of the united Dioceſes of Waterford and Liſmore. By the R. R. Dr. Huſſey. (*P.* 657.)

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

IN theſe critical and awful times, when opinions ſeem ſpreading over this iſland, of a novel and dangerous tendency; when the remnants of old oppreſſion, and new principles which tend to anarchy, are ſtruggling for victory, and which in the colliſion may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake ſhakes all Europe, I felt no ſmall affliction and alarm, upon receiving the ſuperior command of the head of the church, to preſide over the Catholics of theſe united dioceſes, upon the death of your moſt venerable, and ever to be regretted prelate, your late biſhop.

In the midſt of theſe fears and alarms, it was a great conſolation to me, to be aſſured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my ſpiritual care; and that their exertions were conſtantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum. That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence and inſubordination to the laws, than this diſtrict; and that the memory of the illegal injuſtices and cruelties formerly practiſed in this country by men, who made religious diſtinctions a ſtalking horſe for political purpoſes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend, and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the Catholic faith will produce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock, which I commit to your care reſpectively. Let me beſeech you, to attach yourſelves to them, by frequently inſtructing and exhorting them, eſpecially as often as you approach the

the ſacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you, by ſuch a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourſelves to be made the inſtruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and poſſibly by other means, to make inſtruments of you over the poor, for their own temporal purpoſes, and perhaps to render your ſacred miniſtry odious to them. The poor were always your friends, they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worſt of times: they ſhared their ſcanty meal with you, and with your predeceſſors, and thereby preſerved a ſucceſſion of ſpiritual paſtors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwiſe, conformed to the errors of the nation, and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only ſhut their doors againſt you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beaſts, I ſhould not be able to addreſs the preſent reſpectable body of clergy under my ſpiritual authority. Such a conſideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to inſtruct them in their duties, to reſtrain their errors, and to correct their vices. *Argue, obſecra, increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.* Upon all proper occaſions, *ſpeak to them the words of eternal life,* without fear or deference towards the enemies of our holy faith. The paſtor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath loſt the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary ſhepherd, deſcribed in the ſcripture, who, upon ſeeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock an eaſy prey to him.

At the ſame time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the miniſters of him, *whoſe kingdom is not of this world,* I call upon you to ſtand firm againſt all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flocks from the belief and practice of the Catholic religion. Remonſtrate with any parent, who will be ſo criminal as to expoſe his offspring to thoſe places of education, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted. If he will not attend to your remonſtrances, refuſe him the participation of Chriſt's body; if he ſtill ſhould continue obſtinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Chriſt's commandment, *he be conſidered as a heathen and a publican.*

If, in any of your diſtricts, the Catholic military frequent Proteſtant places of worſhip, it is your duty to expoſtulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholic faith it is, exteriorly to profeſs one faith, and interiorly to believe another. That ſuch hypocriſy, even in the

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eyes of the world, is mean and puſillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the ſight of God. That the military garb they wear, implies a manly candour, which abhors ſuch duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Iriſh ſoldier, who ought not to be aſhamed of openly profeſſing the Catholic religion—*the religion of Iriſhmen.* Inſtruct them, that in all matters regarding the ſervice of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in matters regarding the ſervice of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their perſonal religion is their own natural, uncontroulable, impreſcriptible right, ſubject to the ſpiritual authority of the Catholic Church, and over which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are ſubject to their temporal rulers. In all ſpiritual matters, they are ſubject to their ſpiritual rulers. Theſe two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematics, can never touch each other. By the ſmalleſt declination, they loſe even their name. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phraſe of liberality of ſentiment. Surely liberality of ſentiment does not conſiſt in holding all creeds, and all forms of worſhip, to be equal! He who thus expreſſes himſelf, is a latitudinarian, who deſpiſes all creeds—all forms of worſhip! The man of true liberality is he, who conſcientiouſly believes, and ſcrupulouſly follows that creed, and form of worſhip, which is conformable to his conſcience, yet lives in charity, in concord, in amity with all others, of every religious perſuaſion. The man of true liberality is he, who employs his conſcience as the helm with which he ſteers, in his religious voyage, leaving others to ſteer theirs by a ſimilar guide. The man of true liberality is he, with whom a difference in religious opinions makes no difference in ſocial life—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently beſtowing more kindneſs, and more bounty, upon thoſe who differ from him in religious opinions, when they want it, more than upon thoſe of his own communion. The man of true liberality is he, who, when raiſed above the reſt, to govern a great people, ſcorns to attend to the paltry diſtinctions of ſect or party, ſpurns from his preſence thoſe intereſted adviſers of a dangerous faction, who would diſhonor him, and abuſe the ſacred name of majeſty, to enrich themſelves; but, like a true patriot, raiſes to power and influence, thoſe whom, in his conſcience, he thinks of moſt ability and integrity, to ſerve king and country. To ſum up the whole, the truly liberal man is he, who makes his religion the guide for his own perſonal and private conduct,

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and not a rule to guide, to govern, or to compel others to act againſt their conſcience and their religion.

The many compulſory means lately employed (and ſeveral inſtances of them within this very dioceſe not many days ſince) to drive the Catholic military to Proteſtant places of worſhip, alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his ſervice, and every well-wiſher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable ſteps could not make proſelytes of the Catholic military; it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worſhip, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French ſcale, and perhaps in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their perſecutors.

O how different are the principles of a Catholic ſoldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exerciſe of his religion! He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconſiſtent with religious piety; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearleſs, and intrepid in the midſt of danger; his boſom glowing with this conſideration, that his death upon his poſt, promotes him to a ſuperior poſt in eternity. The unbeliever, who ſees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally ſhrinks from the danger of his diſſolution, or if he ſeems to aſſume courage, it is either the brutal inſenſibility of his temper, or an artificial maſk, which he puts on, to ſcreen him from the contempt which is ſure to follow cowardice. But the courage and intrepidity of a true Catholic, is the diſcharge of his duty, is a calm heroic intrepidity, which ſees the danger in his road, but ſees immortality beyond it. He marches courageouſly on, ſure that if he falls, it is to riſe again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever ſees the danger, he ſees nothing beyond it, and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final and a fatal period to all his ſchemes of ambition, of fortune, of pleaſure, and that he *ſinks into eternal night*, never—never to riſe again. Surely ſuch an impious idea is capable of tranſmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly ſlave. Let me ſay all in one ſentence. Thoſe ſentiments of intrepidity, of fidelity, of honor, which high birth and poliſhed education impreſs upon thoſe of an elevated ſphere in life, cannot be ſuperior to the ſentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honor, which the Catholic religion, *if ſincerely believed, and pioufly practiſed*, would inſpire into the loweſt in the ranks; and who, if his duty calls him, would ſhew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæſar, and

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as unſullied loyalty and integrity as thoſe ſtateſmen and generals, who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politics of the world with the ſublime and heavenly maxims of the Catholic religion; they have not the ſmalleſt connection with each other: the one is ſpiritual, the other is temporal; the one regards the tranſitory affairs of this world, the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, ſo it is ſuitable to all climes, and all forms of government, monarchies or republics, ariſtocracies or democracies. Deſpotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith: it may well ſuit a ſmall ſect to regulate its creed and form of worſhip, according to the ſhape and form of government, of the limited boundaries where that ſect aroſe, exiſts, and dies away. Not ſo the religion, which the prophet foretold ſhould extend from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, which has been propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the Eaſt to the Weſt Indies, from Pole to Pole, teaching the ſame doctrine, adminiſtering the ſame ſacraments, and offering up the adorable ſacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the Catholic, or univerſal religion. It may well ſuit the laity of your reſpective diſtricts, to purſue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politics, by ſuch ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their paſt conduct is a proof that they are incapable of purſuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worſt of times; if, even when religious penalties made them total ſtrangers to their native land; if, when the ruling party, with inſolence in their looks, and oppreſſion in their hands, ground them down, when ſome of the moſt powerful men in the nation declared in the ſenate, that they hoped to ſee the day when no Catholic would dare to ſpeak to a Proteſtant with his hat on; when even the courſe of juſtice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who ſat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial adminiſtration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppreſſed ſufferers; yet even in theſe provoking times, if the body of Catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but alſo a great part of theſe impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the reſt of

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them in ſuch a ſtate of progreſs to be totally removed; that however a junto, for their own intereſted or other ſiniſter views, may raiſe mobs to try to throw obſtacles againſt the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts muſt be uſeleſs. The vaſt rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever oppoſes its deſcent and removal, muſt be cruſhed by his own raſh endeavours. The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguiſhed for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious diſtinctions a maſk to divide, to diſturb, to oppreſs it.

Make your flock ſenſible to the honor of being accounted a member of the Catholic communion, that they are not members of a ſmall ſect, limited to that country where the ſect itſelf was formed. They are members of a great church, which has laſted more than 1700 years, which flouriſhed in every part of the habitable world. *In omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum, & in fines terræ verba eorum,* and that Chriſt has promiſed that it will flouriſh until time ſhall be no more. *Uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi, portæ inferi non prævalebunt adverſus eam.* That conſequently they ſhould not be aſhamed to belong to a religion, which ſo many kings and princes, ſo many of the moſt poliſhed and learned nations of the world, glory in profeſſing.

Remind them, that two centuries of perſecution have tried in vain to pervert them; that the annals of the church, the hiſtory of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perſeverance in their religious principles. That we find, in the hiſtory of every other nation or people, that a much ſhorter time was ſufficient, by penal reſtrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the ſtate; but that two centuries of perſecuting laws, immenſe ſums of money given by parliament to gain over proſelytes, and levied upon thoſe very people, whoſe creeds they thereby endeavoured to purchaſe, left ſtill the great body of the nation faithful to that ſpark, which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the Catholic Church, and ſpread over this iſland; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this dioceſe are ſtill faithful and ſteady Catholics, notwithſtanding what they and their anceſtors ſuffered for their fidelity, and for which they are as unrivalled in the hiſtory of the church, as inſulated an exception to the prevaricating verſatility of man, as the geographical ſituation of the iſland itſelf is to the reſt of the world.

That portion of the Catholics of Ireland, which God has committed to my ſpiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren,

as my coadjutors and aſſiſtants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to inſtruct, and to feed, with the *word of ſalvation*, and *with the bread of angels.* It is a laborious, but it is alſo a meritorious, and an honorable employment. It forms the ſtrongeſt bulwark to the ſtate, by being the beſt ſupplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain.* A faithful diſcharge of theſe duties, will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the laſt day, the Supreme Paſtor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.

A Letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Huſſey.

My Dear Friend,

I HOPE in God this letter will find you in Ireland. From the moment that the government who employed you betrayed you, they determined at the ſame time to deſtroy you. They are not a people to ſtop ſhort in their courſe. You have come to an open iſſue with them. On your part what you have done has been perfectly agreeable to your duty as a Catholic biſhop and a man of honor and ſpirit. Whether it is equally agreeable to thoſe rules of circumſpect prudence, which ought to have their weight perhaps in an enſlaved country, may admit of ſome queſtion. That many of your people will be ready to condemn you is very probable: it is more than probable that they will give you but a feeble ſupport, however the leſs you have to rely on others, the more you are to rely upon yourſelf. There is nothing I wiſh for more than to have ſome converſation with you. But if juſt now you were to come to England, it would be conſtrued into a flight from the attack of Lord ——— and Mr. ———, at the ſame time that you will naturally act in a manner agreeable to the courageous diſpoſitions, which you have from principle, from diſintereſtedneſs, and a degree perhaps from mental conſtitution, you will be careful to preſerve that temper, in which the conflict which I fear you will be called to will certainly require. I expect you will be called before Lord D——'s committee. I did not conceive that a man of ſo little eſtimation in either kingdom, would have the lead of the Houſe of Lords committed to him, without ſome purpoſe, that required that kind of inſtrument. I therefore am of opinion, that inſtead of coming direct from W——d to England, you ought to go without delay to Dublin. How could they expect that you, a Catholic biſhop, ſhould not prefer your own religion to all others? How could they expect, that you ſhould be of any other opinion than mine, in which you know we frequently agreed,

" that

" that if the Catholics were ſeduced or bullied from the only religion they " have or can have, they muſt fall into indifference or into actual atheiſm, " or its concomitant direct tendency, actual rebellion." How could they expect, that if you as a Catholic paſtor, did not ſtrongly aſſert the advantages and pre-eminence of your own religion, yet as a good citizen you would endeavour to keep the people attached to the only religion which they can poſſibly have. How dare they aſſert it is not the religion of the country, in which more than 100 to 1 in your diocefe are of your communion. If they ſhould ſay, as that buffoon D——n does, that this is the religion, of the common people, it is only to ſpeak more in its favor, becauſe it is for them that all religion, and eminently the Chriſtian religion is meant for a guide, for a control and for a conſolation. Theſe are principles you have always held. To be ſure Chriſt himſelf has given as a concluſive proof in his anſwer to John the Baptiſt of his divine miſſion, that the goſpel was preached to the poor. The other part of the divine anſwer, if you cannot imitate in miracle you may as you have always done imitate in charity. As to what you ſaid to the ſoldiers, why ſhould it be wrong in you to ſay of them exactly what Tertullian has ſaid of the Roman ſoldiers in his day? You cannot alter the language of the church, and I believe there is no Proteſtant paſtor (and I believe you may appeal to his Grace of Caſhel) who ſhould attempt by any rigor inflicted or threatened to bring his people to maſs. Who would or could mean any other language than what you have done? The great point for you (as I wrote to you before in my firſt long letter, becauſe I knew that the caſtle junto do abſolutely deny the fact) is to eſtabliſh the circumſtance either of menace, coercion, or puniſhment as the caſe may be. When you have bottomed yourſelf well upon theſe facts, you need not be afraid to meet the vindical Lord D—— upon this ground. I ſhould not be ſorry, that the Catholicity of this nobleman's family ſhould be alleged as an excuſe for thinking well of your religion, for that whatever reſpect you have for the preſent Lord D——, you cannot think better of him than you did of the old lord, who certainly had been a moſt zealous Catholic, that if any perſon of thoſe families became more enlightened you could have no objection to it, but you could not think the better of them on account of their converſion, and that you hoped they would not perſecute you on principles which would equally well have juſtified a perſecution of their anceſtors and neareſt relations. That you would heartily wiſh, that every man in the kingdom had as much zeal

for the crown, and as much abhorrence for jacobinical principles as you have ſhewn. I revert to it again, you cannot leave Ireland until you have ſeen Dublin. There is a direct attack intended to be made on all your epiſcopacy. Dr. Troy has not fared better than you, notwithſtanding his caution and the ſermons he has publiſhed againſt the taking of oaths. For I have this day a letter from a moſt reſpectable and dignified clergyman of the church of England, in which he tells me, that the Dublin caſtle runners in London propagated every where, that this prelate actually had taken the oath of united Iriſhmen. If you have not wiſdom enough to make common cauſe, they will cut you off one by one. If you are called on, my opinion is, that you ought to recapitulate all the proceedings at Laughlinſtown, and to ſtate that you conſider that as the pledge of government, that on your going to Ireland you would find the ſame courſe perſevered in. That let them determine what they will, you are determined to do your duty. That if you have expreſſed your apprehenſions from the perſons commonly called the *junto*, it is nothing but what you are juſtified in by their own repeated declarations of diſlike to your whole body, and the repugnance which they have always publicly expreſſed againſt the repeal of the ſeveral perſecuting and diſqualifying laws. This laſt is only a hint in caſe they ſhould urge you upon the point. I feel as much concerned in you as if I was in my own perſon in Ireland, and in your ſituation, becauſe you know I adviſed you to accept the D——e of P——d's invitation; though I confeſs (and I am ſure you remember) that I trembled at your being committed at ſuch times and with ſuch people: but I thought it an imperious duty, and ſo did yourſelf to do every thing in your power to check the growth of jacobiniſm upon one hand, and oppreſſion, which is its beſt friend, on the other. I hope you have put down what you intended about the proteſt you entered into with the D——e of P——d and Mr. P—t. Adieu. I am with little ceremony, but great truth,

Yours, &c. &c.

Bath, 16th May, 1797. E. B.

Another Letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Huſſey.

My Dear Sir,

You will eaſily believe, I am in the higheſt degree intereſted in any thing, with which you are connected, particularly in the moſt important object, by which you are now detained in Ireland. I wrote to you by

Sir

Sir George Shee. I hope you have got that letter; not that it contains any thing very material, but that I hope you will not think me inattentive to you or your moſt important purſuit; for a long time I have had no information, or nothing which deſerves the name, about what you are doing. I hear, and am extremely alarmed at hearing, that the chancellor and the chiefs of the benches are among your truſtees: if this be the caſe, ſo as to give them the power of intermeddling, I muſt fairly ſay, that I conſider, not only all the benefits of the inſtitution to be wholly loſt, but that a more miſchievous project was never ſet on foot. I ſhould much ſooner make your college, according to the firſt act of parliament, a ſubordinate department of our Proteſtant univerſity, abſurd as I always thought that plan to be, than to make you the inſtrument of the inſtruments of the jobbing ſyſtem. I am ſure that the conſtant meddling of your biſhops and of the clergy with the caſtle, and of the caſtle with them, will infallibly ſet them ill with their own body; all the weight, which hitherto the clergy have had in keeping the people quiet, will be wholly loſt if once this ſhould happen; at beſt you will have a marked ſchiſm, and more than one kind, and I am greatly miſtaken if this is not intended, and diligently and ſyſtematically purſued. I am ſteadily of my old opinion, that this affair had better be wholly dropped, and the government boon with civility and acknowledgment declined, than to ſubject yourſelves and your religion to your known and avowed enemies, who connect their intereſt with your humiliation, and found their own reputation on the deſtruction of yours. I have ſaid ſo much on this point already, that I ſhall trouble you no more about it. As to the committee of lay Catholics, I am ſorry for a tone of jacobiniſm that was adopted by ſome of its principal members, but ſtill more ſo, that it has been diſſolved: the bad principle might have been kept under. Nothing ever can ſave you without ſome committee of the kind. I wiſh ſomething of the ſort re-eſtabliſhed; your enemies are embodied, what becomes of you if you are only individuals!

Mr. Hay of the county of Wexford, who came hither with an addreſs from that part of Ireland, is on his return to you, and takes this with him. I like him very much, he is a zealous, ſpirited, and active young man. He has one project in hand of great extent, and ſome difficulty, but like to be of great uſe: it is to make an exact enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, diſtinguiſhing their religion. The ſpecimen he has ſhewn me if it is perfect; and I have no doubt, that with the aſſiſtance of the Catholic clergy

(without

(without whom nothing of that ſort can be done) a very uſeful work towards every plan of political œconomy may be formed. I am ſure every one muſt be ſenſible of the truth of Lord Fitzwilliam's aſſertion, on ſeeing Mr. Hay's plan, that the depreſſion of the Catholics is not the perſecution of a ſect, but tyranny over a people. In the provinces of Ireland (out of the cities) it is almoſt literally true in ſubſtance and effect; it is true of the whole in the parts marked in his paper, the Proteſtants are not as one to forty-five; and on the whole I do not think, that the county of Wexford is much more Catholic than the other counties in Leinſter and Munſter. I know that an ill handle may be made of this work, but ſo there is, and ſo there will be of every thing done for the good of that country; but this invidious repreſentation is not of ſo much prejudice as the knowledge of important truths will be of advantage to you, to the country, and to a conſiderate government.

Mr. Hay is ſo good as to take over to you ſome books of your late dear friend,* to be preſented as memorials of the deceaſed to the new college, or to that of Carlow, as you think beſt.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Beaconsfield, June 9th, 1798. EDMUND BURKE.

To the Rev. Doctor Huſſey, Catholic College.

No. CX.

Addreſs of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. (*Page* 700.)

The Addreſs of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, on Wedneſday, May the 30th, 1798.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the underſigned, his majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects the Roman Catholics of Ireland, think it neceſſary at this moment publicly to declare our firm attachment to his majeſty's royal perſon, and to the conſtitution, under which we have the happineſs to live; we feel, in common with the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, the danger, to which both are expoſed from an implacable and enterprizing enemy menacing invaſion from abroad, and from the machinations of evil and diſaffected men conſpiring treaſon within

* His ſon the late Richard Burke.

his

his majeſty's kingdom; under theſe impreſſions, we deem it neceſſary to remove, by an open and explicit declaration, every idea of countenance afforded on our part to a conduct bearing even the appearance of indifference and indiſcretion, much more to a conduct holding forth ſymptoms of diſaffection and hoſtility to the eſtabliſhed order of government in this kingdom, in the preſervation of which, though we differ from it in ſome points of ſpiritual concern, we feel too deeply intereſted to look with an indifferent eye at its overthrow.

Allow us then to aſſure your excellency, that we contemplate with horror the evils of every deſcription, which the conduct of the French republic has produced on every nation hitherto weak enough to be deluded with its promiſes of liberty, and offers of fraternity; we anticipate ſimilar misfortunes as awaiting this his majeſty's kingdom, in the deprecated event of ſucceſsful invaſion; with confidence we date our determination not to be outdone by any deſcription of our fellow ſubjects, in zealous endeavours for averting that calamity: and that although anxious to enjoy, free of every reſtriction, the full benefit of our conſtitution, we reject with indignation any idea of removing the reſtrictions, under which we ſtill labour, by means of foreign invaſion, or by any other ſtep inconſiſtent with the known laws of the land; we prefer, without heſitation, our preſent ſtate to any alteration thus obtained; and with gratitude to the beſt of kings, and to our enlightened legiſlature, we acknowledge ſuch a ſhare of political liberty and advantage, already in our poſſeſſion, as leaves us nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to look elſewhere, than to the tried benignity of our ſovereign, and the unbiaſſed determination of the legiſlature, as the ſource of future advantage.

We cannot avoid expreſſing to your excellency our regret at ſeeing, amid the general deluſion, many, particularly of the lower orders, of our religious perſuaſion engaged in unlawful aſſociations and practices. Yet we truſt that your excellency's diſcernment will lead you to make every juſt allowance for the facility, with which men open to deluſion from their ſituation in life, are led aſtray from their political duty: it ſhall be our endeavour to call ſuch men to a ſenſe of that duty, by pointing out to them, how inconſiſtent their conduct is with their real intereſt, and how contrary to the maxims of religion which they profeſs; nor ſhall we leſs endeavour, by our conduct, to convince all deſcriptions of our fellow-ſubjects, how much we are impreſſed with the neceſſity of laying aſide all conſiderations of religious diſtinctions, and join-

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ing in one common effort for the preſervation of our conſtitution, of ſocial order, and of the Chriſtian religion, againſt a nation whoſe avowed principles aim at the deſtruction of them all.

We requeſt your excellency will make theſe our ſentiments known to his majeſty, and we rely with confidence on your excellency's acknowledged candour and generoſity, that you will repreſent us in that light, to which we venture to hope our conduct and principles have given us a juſt claim.

FINGAL, SOUTHWELL,
GORMANSTOWN, KENMARE,

With ſeventy-two baronets, gentlemen of diſtinction, and profeſſors of divinity, together with the Rev. Peter Hood, D. D. preſident of the Royal College of Maynooth, for himſelf and the profeſſors and ſtudents of ſaid college, and above 2000 whoſe names are too numerous to be inſerted.

The following Addreſs was preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the Earl of Fingall, Viſcounts Gormanſtown, Southwell, and Kenmare, the Rev. Dr. Troy, the Hon. Mr. Barnewall, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Hugh Hamil, and George Goold, Eſqrs. and ſigned by great numbers of Roman Catholics of Dublin, and of other parts of the kingdom:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the underſigned Roman Catholics, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, beg leave to approach your excellency with our warmeſt congratulations on your excellency's appointment to the government of this kingdom.

Firmly attached to his majeſty's royal perſon and family, and to the principles of our excellent conſtitution, we cannot omit this opportunity of expreſſing to your excellency our deep concern and regret, at ſeeing in this kingdom the exiſtence of a rebellion, threatening the deſtruction of each. We beg leave to aſſure your excellency, that we are determined to ſpare no exertion in our power for ſtopping its progreſs; and that, however our religious tenets may prevent us from ſubſcribing ſome of the teſts, which, by ſome of the exiſting laws, are required as qualifications in certain inſtances, yet none of theſe tenets militate againſt the principles of our happy conſtitution. Our religious principles lead us to reſiſt all rebellious conduct, as well as every ſpecies of turbulence and inſubordination, and our individual attachment to

his

his majeſty and the conſtitution further invites us to ſuch reſiſtance; by theſe principles your excellency will find our conduct ever guided, and led by them to a zealous co-operation with all others of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects. We anticipate with confidence, under the direction of your excellency's acknowledged military and political talents, a ſpeedy determination of the preſent unhappy ſtate of this his majeſty's kingdom, and an early reſtoration of the bleſſings of internal peace and tranquillity.

The Lord Lieutenant's Anſwer.

I HAVE the higheſt ſatisfaction in receiving your addreſs. The loyalty of the principles you profeſs will, I doubt not, be fully evinced by your public and effectual exertions. The preſent unhappy conjuncture calls equally upon men of all religious perſuaſions to mark their attachment to their ſovereign and our conſtitution, by counteracting the ſpirit of anarchy and rebellion, which had diſgraced the country. The influence of your example and authority may be of eſſential ſervice, and you may be aſſured of my determination to do juſtice to your efforts, in repreſſing every ſpecies of turbulence and inſubordination.

No. CXI.

(*Page* 710.)

The following Declaration and Addreſs have been tranſmitted by James Stewart, Eſq. of Killymoon, and laid before the Lord Lieutenant:

WE the Diſſenting Congregation of Cookeſtown, in the county of Tyrone, aſſembled at our Meeting-houſe, on the 27th of May 1798, feel ourſelves called upon, at this important and alarming period, to come forward and expreſs our attachment and loyalty in this public manner to our king and the conſtitution, and pledge ourſelves, to the utmoſt of our power, to preſerve the peace and good order of the community, and prevent, as far as our influence ſhall extend, that anarchy and confuſion, which are ſo lamentably diſgracing other parts of the kingdom.

Signed, by order of the ſeſſion,

JOHN DAVIS, Miniſter.

And we do alſo requeſt that James Stewart, Eſq. of Killymoon, will preſent theſe our ſentiments to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

The Addreſs of the Roman Catholics of the pariſh of Deſartcreat and Derryloran, in the county of Tyrone, unanimouſly agreed to at their reſpective chapels, on Sunday the 3d day of June, 1798, to be preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the pariſh of Deſertcreat and Derryloran, underſtanding with the utmoſt concern that moſt daring outrages have, for ſome time paſt, diſgraced our unfortunate country, and which, in ſome parts of the kingdom, ſeem as yet diſturbing the public peace, do think it neceſſary at this moment of alarm, (when many of our unfortunate countrymen, and, amidſt the general deluſion many of our religious perſuaſion, are engaged in thoſe unlawful practices,) publicly to declare our firm attachment to his gracious majeſty's royal perſon, and the conſtitution under which we have the happineſs to live. Under theſe impreſſions, we alſo think it neceſſary to remove, by an explicit declaration, every idea which may be entertained of our aſſiſting or even countenancing the conduct of theſe miſguided people, who are attempting to introduce into our country anarchy and confuſion: and we pledge ourſelves, ſolemnly and without heſitation to protect, at the hazard of all we hold moſt dear, the perſon of our moſt gracious ſovereign King George the third, and the conſtitution of this kingdom, againſt all enemies foreign or domeſtic, who are now or may hereafter diſturb the public peace or tranquillity.

Signed by upwards of 1000 of the inhabitants of ſaid pariſhes in the preſence of

ARTHUR TEGART, Pariſh Prieſt.

N. B. The ſignatures may be ſeen with Mr. Tegart.

No. CXII.

Roman Catholic Chapels deſtroyed or damaged during the late Rebellion.
(*Page* 726.)

County of Wexford and Ferns.

Denominations.	*Dates.*
Boolevogue, Whitſunday,	27 May, 1798
Maglus -	30 ditto
Arklow - -	9 June
Ramſgrange -	19 ditto
Drumgold -	21 ditto
Ballymurrin -	22 ditto
Anamoe - -	28 ditto
Gorey -	4 Aug.
Crane - -	17 Sept.
Rock -	12 Oct.
Ballyduffe - -	19 ditto
River -	19 ditto
Monaſeed - -	25 ditto
Clologne -	26 ditto
Ferns - -	18 Nov.
Oulart -	28 ditto
Ballygarret -	15 Jan. 1799
Ballynamonabeg -	24 Feb.
Murntown - -	24 Apr.
Monomolin -	3 May
Kilruſh - -	15 ditto
Marſhalſtown -	7 June
Croſſebegs - -	23 ditto
Killenenrin -	29 ditto
Litter, damaged -	29 ditto
Blackwater, ditto -	29 ditto
Monageer -	1 July
Killely - -	1 Sept.

County of Wexford and Ferns.

Denominations.	*Dates.*
Adamſtown, damaged	1 Sept. 1799
Gucrane - -	Oct.
Gurnacuddy, damaged	ditto
Glanbryan -	13 Mar. 1800
Ballimakeſy - -	16 July
Camie - -	3 Sept.
Davidſtown, damaged	Oct.

Arch-dioceſe Dublin, County Wicklow.

Arklow - -	9 June 1798
Roundwood -	26 ditto
Anamoe - -	28 ditto
Annacorra (Dioceſe Ferns)	2 Sept.
Wicklow, damaged)	2 ditto
Kilpatrick -	11 Oct.
Ballinvolagh - -	11 ditto
Killeveny (Dioceſe Ferns)	11 Nov.
Caſtletown - -	ditto
Aſhford - -	25 Jan. 1799
Glenaly - -	Feb.
Kilquiggan, on Eaſter Sunday (Dioceſe of Leighlin)	24 Mar.

County Wicklow, Arch-dioceſe of Dublin.

Johnſtown -	20 Apr. 1799
Wicklow Abbey, reſidence of the Pariſh Prieſt -	12 July
Kilmurry - -	23 Aug.

Denominations.	*Dates.*
Newbridge, partly deſtroyed,	Nov. 1799
Maceredin, otherwiſe Curyſfort -	March 1800
County of Kilkenny, Dioceſe of Oſſory.	
Roſbercon, near New Roſs	18 Dec. 1798
Corren, near Kilkenny	4 July 1799
Murkally, ditto -	ditto
Tullagher, near Roſbercon	Sept. 1800
County Carlow, Dioceſe of Leighlin.	
Clonmore - -	6 Mar. 1799
Hacketſtown, on Eaſter-day	4 May
Rathloe -	Aug.
Newtown, damaged -	Mar. 1800
County Kildare.	
Kildare, Dioceſe of Kildare	4 June 1798
Caſtledermot, (Arch-dioceſe of Dublin) -	28 Mar. 1799
Athy, ditto - -	May
Queen's County, Dioceſe of Leighlin.	
Stradbally -	24 June 1798
County Dioceſe of Meath.	
Dunbayne - -	26 May 1798
County Cavan.	
Killeſhandra, Dioceſe of Kilmore - -	July 1800
Caolency, ditto - -	ditto
King's County.	
Shinrone, Dioceſe of Killaloe,	
County Dublin.	
Ballyboghill, Arch-dioceſe of Dublin, accidentally deſtroyed by ſoldiers before the rebellion.	
County Cork.	
Kilbrogan, near Bandon, deſtroyed before the rebellion, or at the commencement of it, by Scotch ſoldiers.	

In all ſixty-nine chapels deſtroyed or damaged, of which fifty have been ſurveyed, and compenſation allowed and paid by order of government, which has likewiſe ordered the others to be eſtimated.---Dublin, 6th May, 1801, add the pariſh prieſt's houſe at Wicklow.

No. CXIII.

Mr. Hay's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Gordon. (*Page 742.*)

REV. SIR,

AS you have publicly profeſſed a wiſh to be informed of any involuntary errors contained in your hiſtory, when ſpeculative opinions ſupply the place of fact, and are ſo prevalent, hearſay evidence, whether oral, manuſcript, or printed, is to be received with the greateſt caution, and the greateſt ſuperiority of ocular information to any other, induces me, from

my

my perſonal knowledge of facts, to ſend you, along with my own opinion, auxiliary documents, that cannot fail to convince you that the introduction of my name into your hiſtory is not ſuch as I am entitled to, and I hope your profeſſions of liberality and candour may be realized in doing juſtice to my preſent communication. According to the plan contained in Mr. Byrne's circular letter, two perſons deputed from each Catholic congregation in the county of Wexford, aſſembled at Enniſcorthy, on the 29th of July, 1792, where they elected delegates to repreſent the county in the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland; I attended this meeting as a voter from the congregation I belong to, and had the honor of being elected one of the delegates for the county of Wexford, ſo that the intermediate ſtep of baronials (which you mention in your hiſtory) had but a ſpeculative exiſtence, invented I do naturally ſuppoſe, for the purpoſe of aſſimilating the Catholic committee with the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen, a circumſtance totally devoid of truth, as no kind of communication exiſted between them. In order that the meeting of the general committee ſhould be publicly attended, propoſals were made to hire the Rotunda and other public places, which could not be obtained. Such diſappointment was the more conſpicuous, as ſuch refuſal was not ſignified to many other applications of the ſame kind, ſo that no other place but the Taylor's-Hall, in Back-Lane, could be obtained, which precluded the poſſibility of being able to admit any but the delegates, as it was ſcarcely ſufficient to contain them, and thus was the committee fruſtrated in having their aſſembly publicly attended. The firſt meeting of this general committee took place in December, 1792, for ſeven days only; which you mention to be many weeks; and the ſecond and final meeting was for eight days, from the 16th of April, 1793, to the 25th only, meeting on Saturday the 20th, being in the Court of King's Bench, where all the delegates attended to take the oaths of allegiance preſcribed in the late act of parliament, and this meeting ended in diſſolution. The collections made by the Catholics of Ireland to defray the neceſſary expences attendant on the purſuit of their emancipation were voluntary ſubſcriptions, not in any degree aſſeſſments, as it is evident, that the entreaties of the ſub-committee (by no means orders) were not attended to, as two-thirds of the counties of Ireland never produced one farthing. I paid the collection of the county of Wexford to the treaſurer in 1792, and no ſecond collection ever was made there. The ſtatue of the king could not be erected, although voted by Catholic gratitude, which along with other honorable engagements

engagements of the committee, were ſuperſeded by the illiberality of the general and calumnious outcry raiſed at the time againſt our collections. The petition of the Catholics of Ireland, preſented to the king on the 2d January, 1798, might be ſuppoſed to eſcape animadverſion, when his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify his ſtrongeſt approbation in his recommendation to the parliament of Ireland, who in conſequence repealed the greater part of the penal ſtatutes againſt Catholics. The late Earl of Clare did aſſert, as you have done in your hiſtory, that the Catholic petition was ſurpriſingly fraught with miſrepreſentation. On this aſſertion being ſo publicly made, the petition was re-printed, reciting the ſtatutes, on which the allegations were grounded, prepared by the honorable Simon Butler, whoſe reputation as a lawyer, the chancellor was too well aware of to attempt to expoſe his error again, and gave up the point; ſo that I imagine this public document will be equally convincing to you, as I ſend it to you along with all the proceedings of the Catholic committee relating to this event, for your peruſal, as I ſhould wiſh your avowal to proceed from the moſt perfect information on the ſubject. Although I profeſs the Roman Catholic religion, I ſhould not be of that communion one ſingle hour were their tenets as they are repreſented, through that baneful prejudice ſo prevalent in Ireland, that proves ſuch an effectual drawback to the otherwiſe infallible proſperity of the country, and I cannot ſufficiently lament to ſee ſo induſtriouſly circulated, as it only ſerves to keep alive thoſe prejudices that all liberal men ſee through and reprobate as a peſt to ſociety. A ſloop had been fitted out by the inſurgents, but twice condemned as totally unfit for that ſervice, was hauled on one ſide in the harbour, where ſhe ſunk within a foot of her deck, and remained in that ſituation for a month, when ſhe was pumped out, and I was on the ſame day, without trial or inquiry, ſent on board along with thoſe that had been tried, and ſentenced to tranſportation. The wet ſtraw was left in the hold, and a little dry ſtraw ſhook over it, which our walking on ſoon made as bad as the reſt, ſo that it was not poſſible to ſit or lie down without imbibing the wet, nor could we even have the ſatisfaction of reſting againſt the ſides of the ſhip, as the planks were water ſoaked, and the effervescence of the putrid malt ſo ſtrong as to turn money black in our pockets in the courſe of a few hours; we had alſo a profuſion of rats, that bit ſome of the priſoners. My health has been greatly impaired by five weeks confinement on board this ſloop, and I fear it may never be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. I ſhould detain you too long was I to enumerate the

the various hardſhips I have endured during a period of thirteen months that I was confined, which I was at laſt releaſed from by an honorable acquittal, at the ſummer aſſizes in Wexford, 1799, independent of the amneſty bill, whereas my perſecutors could be puniſhed by the fundamental laws of the conſtitution, had they not the indemnity bills to ſcreen their baſe and tyrannical conduct toward me. I have confined myſelf merely to the facts ſtated in your hiſtory, in which I have been an eye witneſs, and in ſome degree concerned, ſo that it precludes the poſſibility of cavilling or contradiction, and hope you may be kind enough to ſet them in their proper colours. I requeſt the favor of your anſwer, as I am anxious to learn your determination on a ſubject you have hitherto been ſo much miſinformed, as I do not mean to let ſuch a miſrepreſentation paſs unrefuted, to poſterity, I am therefore anxious to learn your anſwer, and have the honor to be, with great reſpect,

Rev. Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Dublin, 6th July, 1802. EDWARD HAY.

No. CXIV.

(*Page 743.*)

At a Meeting of the General and ſeveral Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford, the following Reſolutions were agreed upon:

Reſolved, That the commander in chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies, for the purpoſe of bringing in all men they ſhall find loitering and delaying at home, or elſewhere; and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards, ſo to be ſent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our deſire and order that ſuch perſons ſo giving reſiſtance ſhall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe, and all ſuch perſons found to be ſo loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court martial, appointed and choſen from among the commanders of all the different corps, and be puniſhed with death.

Reſolved, That all officers ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain

pain of death, unleſs authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpoſe.

It is alſo ordered, that a guard ſhall be kept in rear of the different armies, with orders to ſhoot all perſons who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement; and that theſe orders ſhall be taken notice of by all officers commanding in ſuch engagement.

All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior officers, to be tried by a court martial and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

It is ordered, that all men who ſhall attempt to leave their reſpective quarters, when they have been halted by the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they ſhall have leave from their officers for ſo doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all perſons, who have ſtolen or taken away any horſe or horſes, ſhall immediately bring in all ſuch horſes to the camp, at head quarters, otherwiſe for any horſe that ſhall be found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, that perſon ſhall on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

And any goods that ſhall have been plundered from any houſe, if not brought into head quarters, or returned immediately to the houſes or owners, that all perſons ſo plundering as aforeſaid, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

It is alſo reſolved, that any perſon, who ſhall take upon them to kill or murder any perſon or priſoner, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death.

By Order of B. B. HARVEY, commander in Chief,

Head-Quarters, Carrick-Byrne Camp, June 6, 1798. FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.

A proclamation of ſimilar tendency was iſſued at Wexford on the 17th, addreſſed to the inſurgent armies by General Edward Roche, conceived in the following words:

To the People of Ireland.

COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW SOLDIERS!

YOUR patriotic exertions in the cauſe of your country have hitherto exceeded your moſt ſanguine expectations, and in a ſhort time muſt ultimately be crowned with ſucceſs. Liberty has raiſed her drooping head,

head, thouſands daily flock to her ſtandard, the voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Univerſe, that a total ſtop has been put to thoſe ſanguinary meaſures, which of late were but too often reſorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in ſlavery.

Nothing now my countrymen, appears neceſſary to ſecure the conqueſts you have already won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for through a want of proper ſubordination and diſcipline, all may be changed.

At this eventful period, all Europe muſt admire, and poſterity will read with aſtoniſhment, the heroic acts achieved by people ſtrangers to military tactics, and having few profeſſional commanders; but what power can reſiſt men fighting for liberty?

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarniſhed with any wanton act of cruelty; many of thoſe unfortunate men now in priſon were not your enemies from principle; moſt of them, compelled by neceſſity, were obliged to oppoſe you; neither let a difference in religious ſentiments cauſe a difference among the people. Recur to the debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords on the 19th of February laſt; you will there ſee a patriotic and enlightened Proteſtant biſhop (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in oppoſition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful oppoſition of his fellow-courtiers.

To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious perſuaſions, has been our principal object: we have ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner, have aſſociated for this laudable purpoſe, and no power on earth ſhall ſhake our reſolution.

To my Proteſtant ſoldiers I feel much indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited ſignal proofs of bravery in the cauſe.

Wexford, June 7, 1798. EDWARD ROCHE.

No. CXV.

(*Page* 758.)

Refutation of the Charges againſt Dr. Caulfield and the Catholic Clergy of Wexford.

SIR Richard Muſgrave, in a pamphlet entitled, Obſervations on the Reply of the Rev. Doctor Caulfield, and of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Wexford, has lately publiſhed a copy of an affidavit without any date, ſuppoſed to have been made by one Higginbottom, with a view to criminate the Catholic biſhop of Ferns and his clergy, to the following effect, viz.

John Higginbottom ſweareth on the Holy Evangeliſts, that he was a priſoner with the rebels in Gorey, the day of the battle of Arklow; that he was bailed out by Furlong, D'Arcy, and Roſſiter, of Gorey, and thereby permitted to be a priſoner at large; that he went with Roſſiter into D'Arcy's, a public houſe, and into a room where they ſat to drink, and ſhortly after, Kavanagh and Synnott, prieſts, and two other rebels, came in to them; that, after ſome time, Synnott ſaid, Murphy had but ſeven men when he began the buſineſs, and now you ſee what it has come to; he then took out a letter and ſhewed it to Redmond, ſaying, you may read that, and ſee how long I have been concerned in this buſineſs; and though I ſtood againſt it as long as I could, you may ſee, in that letter, how I was compelled by my biſhop to it: ſome time after, while the battle raged and could be heard, he ſaid, there are ſome people now laſhed round hell with an iron flail.

Sworn before me, PETER BROWNE. JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM.

I certify, that the above affidavit was made before me, and that I know Higginbottom well, and believe him to be well worthy of credit.

PETER BROWNE, Dean of Ferns.

Too many perſons are attempted to be traduced and criminated by the publication of the above affidavit, not to ſet the public right upon the fact. The prurient luſt for falſehood in ſome authors is as unbounded as it is incomprehenſible. The following declaration of Mr. Synnott is ſubmitted to the reader, with ſome affidavits of reſpectable perſons in refutation of that of Higginbottom.

I, John Synnott, pariſh prieſt of Gorey, mentioned, or ſuppoſed to be mentioned, in a form of affidavit, ſaid to have been made by John Higginbottom, and publiſhed in a pamphlet entitled, *Obſervations on the Reply of the Right Rev.*

Rev. Doctor Caulfield, &c. Dublin, printed by Marchbank, 1802, and ſuppoſed to be written by Sir Richard Muſgrave, Bart, feeling myſelf criminally and falſely charged therein, deem it a duty to the public and myſelf to do away, ſo far as in my lies, the unfavorable impreſſion which the misſtatements of the publiſher are calculated to make to the prejudice of my biſhop and of the Roman Catholic miniſtry in general, do make the following ſolemn declaration:

In the awful preſence of Almighty God, the ſovereign judge of the living and the dead, I do ſolemnly declare, that I was not in Gorey during the battle of Arklow; that I was not in D'Arcy's houſe on that day; and that I did not ſee the deponent, John Higginbottom, during the battle of Arklow, or on that whole day; that I did not any where take out or ſhew Redmond the letter referred to in the ſaid affidavit, ſetting forth how long I was concerned in the buſineſs (rebellion), and that though I ſtood againſt it as long as I could, I was compelled by the biſhop to it; that I never expreſſed or uſed ſuch words, or others of ſimilar tendency attributed to me; nor theſe—*there are ſome people now laſhed round hell with an iron flail*, words which I never heard of until I read them in the alleged affidavit of Higginbottom. I alſo declare in ſame manner, that I could not ſhew any letter of the import alluded to above, becauſe I never received from my biſhop, Right Rev. Doctor Caulfield, any letter, tending to ſedition, turbulence, or rebellion; on the contrary, I received ſeveral letters from him, in the courſe of the year, before the rebellion, and in the beginning of that very year until he was called to Dublin, directing and ordering me and the other clergy of the diſtrict, to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to impreſs on our flocks reſpectively the ſinfulneſs of unlawful oaths, of all combinations or conſpiracies, and unlawful meetings, tending to ſedition, turbulence, or diſturbance of the public peace and tranquillity, and that ſuch had been the Doctor's conſtant theme whenever he perſonally met his clergy, uniformly on ſuch occaſions, and by circular letters, declaring, that any Roman Catholic, who did not conduct himſelf conformably to theſe inſtructions, was abſolutely diſqualified, and could not be admitted to ſacraments: that loyalty to our king, and ſubmiſſion to his government, were indiſpenſable Chriſtian duties, and that no one can be a good Chriſtian, who is not a good ſubject.

How or why that ſuppoſed affidavit without date, has not made its appearance in public till this late period, is not eaſily accounted for, or how it could

have ſo long eluded the diligence of the compiler of the memoirs: but let the candid public compare it with what I have now truly ſet forth, (which I am ready to declare on oath in any court) and with the following affidavits made by the very men ſtated to have been preſent, when the ſubject matter of Higginbottom's affidavit occurred, and let them or any man of common ſenſe judge of its authenticity, and how far it tends to criminate the conduct of Dr. Caulfield, and reverend Father Kavanagh, ſo often mentioned in thoſe memoirs, publiſhed by Sir Richard Muſgrave.

Gorey, 4th Nov. 1802. JOHN SYNNOTT, P. P.

I. Matthew D'Arcey, late of Gorey, ſweareth on the holy Evangeliſts, that he lived in Gorey the day of the battle of Arklow; that he remembers John Higginbottom to have been in his houſe that day in company with John Roſſiter, of Gorey, has no recollection of Rev. John Synnott, or Rev. Francis Kavanagh, to have been in his houſe, or in Higginbottom's company on that day; and poſitively denies to have not ſeen or heard any thing of the letter ſpoken of in Higginbottom's affidavit; and further ſaith, that his affidavit is made at the requeſt of the Rev. John Synnott, of the county Wexford.

HUGH TREVOR. MATTHEW D'ARCEY.

Dublin, June 15th, 1802.

II. John Redmond, late of Kilkavin, in the county of Wexford, maketh oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that the Rev. John Synnott never ſhewed him any ſuch letter from his biſhop, nor ever uſed any ſuch expreſſions in his hearing, as ſtated in John Higginbottom's affidavit, and that he, John Redmond, was as far diſtant from Gorey as Kilkhavin, which is three miles, from the commencement of the battle of Arklow until the day following; and further ſaith, that this affidavit is made at the requeſt of the Rev. John Synnott, of the county Wexford. Sworn before me this 15th day of June, 1802.

HUGH TREVOR. JOHN REDMOND.

III. *County of Wexford to Wit.*—The Rev. Patrick Stafford, of Clonſilla, in ſaid county, prieſt, came before me one of the juſtices of the peace for ſaid county, and made his voluntary oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that on the

the day of the battle of Arklow, the Rev. John Synnott, P. P. was in company with him; and that during the continuance of the battle they were not in Gorey, or within a mile of it; and further ſaith, that this affidavit is made at the requeſt of ſaid John Synnott. Sworn before me 18th June, 1802.

ANNESLEY BROWNRIGG. PATRICK STAFFORD.

IV. *County of Wexford to Wit.*—John Roſſeter, of Gorey, ſadler of ſaid county, came before me one of the juſtices of the peace for ſaid county, and made his voluntary oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, and ſaith, that on the battle day of Arklow, in the late rebellion, he did not ſee the Rev. John Synnott, the Rev. Francis Kavanagh, or John Redmond of Kilkavin, at Matthew D'Arcey's, or any other houſe in Gorey, or any other place on ſaid day; and further, he had never ſeen the Rev. John Synnott hand a letter to John Redmond, or ſay he had any orders from his biſhop, or any other perſon to act in that buſineſs; and further declare, that he never uſed ſuch expreſſions in his hearing as is ſtated in John Higginbottom's affidavit.

Sworn before me this 19th day of June, 1802. This affidavit was made at the requeſt of the Rev. John Synnott.

JAMES WHITE. JOHN ROSSETER.

No. CXVI. *a.*

A Liſt of the Members who voted againſt and for an Union with Great Britain, on the 24th of January, 1799. (*Page* 875.)

The following gentlemen voted againſt the Union.

Hon. A. Acheſon (1)	Arthur Browne	Hon. A. Creighton
W. C. Alcock	William Burton (1)	Joſ. Edward Cooper (1)
M. Archdall (1)	Robert Crowe	Henry Coddington
David Babington	Lord Viſc. Corry (1)	James Cane
John Bagwell (1)	Lord Clements (1)	Lord Caulfield (1)
William Bagwell	Lord Cole (1)	D. B. Daly (1)
John Ball	Hon. Col. Cole	Richard Dawſon
Jonah Barrington	George Crookſhank	Arthur Dawſon
J. C. Beresford	Hon. J. Creighton	Francis Dobbs

Richard

Richard F. Edgeworth
John Egan
George Evans
Sir John Freke, Bt.
Fred. J. Falkiner (1)
Rt. Hon. J. Fitzgerald
W. C. Fortefcue (1)
Hon. Thomas Foſter
Arthur French (1)
William Gore
Han Gorges (1)
Hans Hamilton (1)
William Handcock
Edward Hardman
Francis Hardy
Sir Joſ. Hoare
Alexander Hamilton
Hon. A. C. Hamilton
Sir Francis Hopkins
Gilbert King
Charles King
Hon. Robert King
Rt. Hon. Henry King
John King (2)
Lord Viſcount Kingſborough (1)
Hon. G. Knox
Francis Knox
John Latouche (1)
John Latouche, jun.
Robert Latouche
Dav. Latouche, jun.
C. P. Leſlie (1)
Edward Lee
Sir Thomas Leighton
A. Montgomery (1)
Sir John M'Cartney
Colonel John Maxwell
Wm. Thomas Monſell
Arthur Moore
Lord Mathew (1)
John Metge
Richard Neville
Thomas Newenham
Charles O'Hara (1)
Henry Oſborne
Sir Edward O'Brien
Hon. W. O'Callaghan (2)
Hugh O'Donnel
James M. O'Donnel
Rt. Hon. G. Ogle
Rt. Hon. Wm. Brabazon Ponſonby (1)
George Ponſonby
Major Wm. Ponſonby
John Preſton
Joſeph Preſton
Sir John Parnel (1)
Richard Power (1)
Sir L. Parſons (1) (3)
W. C. Plunket
William Ruxton
Abel Ram (1)
Guſtavus Rochford (1)
John S. Rochford
Sir Wm. Richardſon
Fr. Saunderſon (1)
W. Smyth, Weſtm. (1)
James Stewart (1)
Henry Stewart (2)
Sir R. St. George
Hon. B. Stratford
Hon. Barry St. Leger
Nathaniel Sneyd
H. W. J. Skeffington
Thomas Stannus
Francis Savage (1) (2)
William Tighe
Henry Tighe
Hon. R. Trench (1)
John Taylor
Hon. R. Taylor (2)
Thomas Townſend
Charles Vereker
Owen Wynne
John Waller (1)
E. D. Wilſon

[111]

The following are thoſe who voted for an Union.

R. Alexander
H. Alexander
R. Anneſley
R. Archdall
William Barley
R. Hon. J. Beresford (1 2)
J. Beresford, jun.
Marcus Beresford
J. Bingham
J. H. Blake (1)
W. Blakeney
Sir J. Blaquiere

Anthony

Anthony Botel
James Boyd
Lord Boyle (1)
Rt. Hon. D. Browne (1)
Stewart Bruce
George Burdett
Thomas Burgh
Lord Caſtlereagh (1)
Sir H. Cavendiſh
George Cavendiſh
Broderick Chinnery
Rt. Hon. T. Conolly (1)
E. Cooke
C. H. Coote (1)
R. Cornwall
Rt. Hon. J. Corry
Sir J. Cotter
R. Cotter
W. A. Croſbie
St. George Daly
William Elliot
General Euſtace
Lord Cha. Fitzgerald
A. Ferguſon
Maurice Fitzgerald
R. U. Fitzgerald (1) (3)
Hon. W. Forward
Sir C. Forteſcue
J. Galbraith
H. D. Grady
Richard Hare
F. Hare
Hugh Howard
Colonel B. Henniker
Peter Holmes
Hon. F. Hutchinſon
Hon. J. Hutchinſon
Col. G. Jackſon (1)
Denham Jephſon
Hon. John Jocelyn
Robert Johnſon
Walter Jones
Theo. Jones
John Keane
James Kearney
Henry Kemmis
William Knott
Andrew Knox
James Knox
Sir H. Langriſhe (2)
Thomas Lindſay, ſen.
Thomas Lindſay, jun.
M. Longfield
John Longfield
Captain J. Longfield
Francis M'Namara
Roſs Mahon
Richard Martin
Rt. Hon. J. M. Maſon
H. Dillon Maſſey
James M'Cleland
E. A. M'Naghten
Lorenzo Moor
Stephen Moor
Rt. Hon. Lodge Morres
Sir Richard Muſgrave
Thomas Neſbit
Sir W. Newcomen (1)
W. Odell (1)
C. M. Ormſby
Charles Oſborn
T. Pakenham
Frederick Trench
Sir Boyle Roche
R. Rutledge
Sir George Shee
H. Skeffington
William Smith
Henry M. Sandford
Edmond Stanley
John Staples (1)
John Stewart
John Stratton
Charles Tottenham
Rt. Hon. J. Toler
J. Townſend
Lord Tyrone (3)
R. Uniacke
J. O. Vandeleur
James Verner
Lieut. Col. Wemyſs
Henry Weſtenra
Thomas Whaley
Ben. B. Woodward
W. Yelverton

[106]

Thus marked (1), country members.
Thus marked (2), abſent on the firſt day.
Thus marked (3), tellers the firſt day.

No.

No. CXVI.

Copy of a Letter from Dr. Caulfield to James Boyd, Esq. (*P.* 761.)

SIR,

WITH equal ſurpriſe and concern I have lately been told, that it is whiſpered about, you have many grievous charges againſt me, as many as would hang fifty men. If this report be founded in truth, conſcious innocence preſſes me to requeſt, and I expect from your candour, that you will have the goodneſs to let me know it; for I do not, nor will I ſkulk, or fly from juſtice, or the laws. I ſhall be here, or in the neighbourhood, openly, and ready to anſwer any legal or fair call: I hope you will believe me, when I aſſure you, that I ſhall by many degrees prefer innocent death to inglorious and wounded honor.

That I have been foully calumniated, and moſt groſsly inſulted, is too notorious; and that I bore it in all meekneſs and patience is not leſs ſo; nor is it a ſecret, though ſince overlooked, that during the horrid rebellion in Wexford, I did every thing in my power to ſerve and ſave my Proteſtant neighbours and their property; and if I did not more, it was unfortunate for them and painful for me, that I could not effect it, being myſelf in conſtant terror for my life. The fabrications and falſe tales of the ignorant I can, I thank God, deſpiſe; but charges of treaſon or felony are too much for a Chriſtian innocent man to bear.

This conſideration, I hope, will make my apology for giving you this trouble; humbly requeſting you will inform me how I ſtand in that reſpect.

I have the honor to be, with great reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble

And moſt obedient ſervant,

Baltimore, May 11, 1800. JAMES CAULFIELD.

No. CXVII.

Reſolutions in Favor of Mr. Foſter. (*P.* 914.)

COUNTY OF LOUTH.

AT a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Louth, held at Dundalk, on Monday, January the 14th, 1799, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to.

JOHN M'CLINTOCK, Eſq. jun. High Sheriff in the chair.

Reſolved, That it is the duty as well as the right of the freeholders and burgeſſes of Ireland to expreſs their ſentiments on the ſubject of a Union.

Reſolved, That our repreſentatives were not empowered at their election to ſurrender the conſtitutional privileges of their conſtituents.

Reſolved, That the rapid improvement of this kingdom ſince the date of her legiſlative independence, clearly evinces that an independent Iriſh legiſlature is as neceſſary as Britiſh connexion to the proſperity of Ireland.

Reſolved, That an Union would not only deprive us of many of our deareſt rights, but render the enjoyment of the remainder precarious and uncertain, and would for ever deſtroy the ſecurity that Ireland now poſſeſſes, for their continuance.

Reſolved, That it is impolitic and unwiſe to agitate, at this time, a queſtion that may lead to a recurrence to firſt principles.

Reſolved, That firmly attached as we are to Britiſh connexion, we do totally diſapprove of a plan of a legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Reſolved, That theſe our ſentiments be communicated to our repreſentatives, in whoſe attachment to the conſtitution and true intereſts of Ireland we have the moſt firm reliance.

The high ſheriff having left the chair, and Mr. Balfour having taken it, it was reſolved,

That our thanks be given to our worthy high ſheriff, for his readineſs to convene the county, and his proper conduct in the chair.

To the ELECTORS of the County of LOUTH.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your ſentiments, and it is a great ſatisfaction to me, to find my own opinion ſtrengthened by your explicit declaration,

claration, that an Iriſh independent legiſlature is as neceſſary as Britiſh connexion to the proſperity of Ireland.

The Houſe of Commons have ſaid ſo in ſtrong language, when they ſtated to his majeſty in 1782, that the very eſſence of our liberties exiſts in the right of a ſole legiſlature, the parliament of Ireland, a right which they then claimed on the part of all the people as their birthright, and which they declared to his majeſty they could not yield but with their lives.

I joined in that ſtatement, and we were afterwards told from the throne, that both countries had pledged their good faith to each other, that their beſt ſecurity would be an inviolable adherence to that compact; and we were deſired to convince the people, that the two kingdoms were then one, indiſſolubly connected in unity of conſtitution, and unity of Intereſt.

Nothing then remains to ſtrengthen our union. We have adhered to that compact, ſo has Great Britain; and we have riſen to proſperity with a rapidneſs beyond example ſince it was made. I ſee no concern either of imperial concern or local neceſſity, which can juſtify our attempting a change, much leſs ſuch a change as would annihilate that birthright, by the confirmation of which our trade and manufactures felt a ſecurity that immediately rouſed a happy ſpirit of exertion, the ſurrender of which would not only make the employment of thoſe exertions precarious, but would equally take away all ſecurity of permanence from every advantage, which any perſons might be ignorantly deluded into a hope of from the projected meaſure of a legiſlative Union. In truth, I ſee much danger, and a probable decreaſe to our trade and manufactures from the meaſure, and I cannot conceive any one advantage to them from it.

If the linen manufacture reſts at all on any compact, that compact was made with the Iriſh parliament, the extinction of which takes away a ſecurity we have found adequate, and leaves it without the protection of its natural guardians, who by their vigilance, their regulations, and their bounties, have more than doubled its export within a few years paſt.

As an Iriſhman then, I ſhould oppoſe the meaſure, and as a member of the empire, I ſhould not be leſs averſe to it; for the innovation it would make in the conſtitution of Great Britain, with whom we muſt ſtand or fall, may ſo endanger that conſt tution, as in the end to overturn it, and with it the whole of the empire.

Nor can I look at the circumſtances of the times without depreciating its being

being propoſed, when the French proceedings teach us the danger of innovating on the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, and, when it muſt be peculiarly alarming to Ireland, ſcarcely reſted from a cruel and unprovoked rebellion, to have the public mind again agitated by an unneceſſary, unprovoked, and unſolicited project. Theſe are my ſentiments.

The entire confidence you repoſe in my attachment to the conſtitution, and the true intereſts of Ireland, call upon me to ſtate them fully to you. You ſhall not find that confidence miſplaced. I ſhall oppoſe the meaſure, and I remain, with the moſt perfect eſteem and affection,

Your very obliged and faithful humble ſervant,

Collon, January 15th, 1799. JOHN FOSTER.

To the ELECTORS of the County of LOUTH.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your addreſs, and return you my thanks for the confidence you have placed in me.

I entirely agree with you, that an independent Iriſh legiſlature is as neceſſary as Britiſh connexion to the proſperity of Ireland, and that it is impolitic at preſent to agitate a queſtion of legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. I have the honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

WILLIAM CHARLES FORTESCUE.

Ravenſdale Park, January 15th, 1799.

CITY OF DUBLIN.

At a general aſſembly of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 18th of January, 1799, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

Reſolved, That by the exertions of the people and parliament of this kingdom, the trade and conſtitution thereof were ſettled on principles ſo liberal, that the nation has riſen ever ſince rapidly in wealth and conſequence.

Reſolved, That having boldly defended the conſtitution in king, lords, and commons, againſt the open and ſecret abettors of rebellion, we are determined ſteadily to oppoſe any attempt that may be made to ſurrender the

free legiſlation of this kingdom, by uniting it with the legiſlature of Great Britain.

Reſolved, That viewing the meaſure of an Union with Great Britain as one fraught with the moſt fatal conſequences to this kingdom, tending to annihilate the conſtitution thereof, any perſon bringing forward ſuch a propoſition, would in our opinion be an enemy to the king's government in this country, by endangering the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

Reſolved, That it is our duty and our determination to ſupport inviolably the prerogatives of the crown, as well as the privileges of the people.

Reſolved, That any miniſter who ſhall adviſe his majeſty, by the exerciſe of any of his prerogatives, to influence or deter any member of the legiſlature from the free uſe of his judgment in parliament, will thereby commit a high crime againſt the honor and dignity of the crown, the independence of the parliament, and the conſtitution of the realm.

Reſolved, That the foregoing reſolutions be publiſhed.

Signed by order,

ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

Be it remembered, that at a general aſſembly of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 18th day of January, 1799, it was reſolved unanimouſly, that the following addreſs be preſented to the Right Honorable John Foſter, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland.

The Addreſs of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of Dublin, in Common Council aſſembled.

SIR,

AMIDST the terror which the threatened invaſion of our liberties, and our fortunes, and our commerce have ſpread around, the hearts of Iriſhmen, though ſickened with diſguſt, and influenced with indignation, are yet ſtrangers to deſpair. From thoſe talents and that virtue, in which ſhe has often found relief, your country again demands protection. Suffer not a nation, to which you have heretofore been a ſhield, to expire without an effort to ſave her. Come forward with all that animated zeal for the welfare of the empire, with that affectionate attachment to Britiſh connexion, with that ardent love for Ireland, and that parental care of her commercial and conſtitutional rights, by which you have been ever diſtinguiſhed. Bring with you that penetrating judgment and capacious wiſdom, that commanding

ing eloquence and bold integrity, with which you have hitherto ſupported thoſe dear but valuable intereſts. Demonſtrate to the world, that the aſſertions of our enemies are not motives, but pretexts; that their arguments are idle and deluſive; that while they affect to promote the trade and agriculture of Ireland, to ſecure our alliance with Britain, and to invigorate the energies of the empire, they are proceeding wickedly and wantonly to undermine them all.

In teſtimony whereof the common ſeal of ſaid city is hereunto affixed, the day and year aforeſaid.

The Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, board of Aldermen, Town Clerks, High Sheriff, and Corporation at large, having waited on the Right Honorable the Speaker with ſaid addreſs, he was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

My Lord and Gentlemen,

TO be ſo honored by the city of Dublin, which has ever been eminently conſpicuous for its loyalty, its attachment to our conſtitution, and its watchful vigilance over all our rights and intereſts, fills me with ſentiments of gratitude and honeſt pride, which you can more readily conceive than I can expreſs. Accept my grateful and cordial thanks, and be ſure of my zealous perſeverance in the conduct you approve.

You have very juſtly joined a zeal for the empire and attachment to Britiſh connexion with an ardent love for Ireland. No man can be a ſound friend to Ireland, who does not feel that zeal and that attachment, nor can he ever be an efficient friend, if he does not in every public meaſure hold them in his view, and make them the rule of his conduct.

Since the conſtitution of this kingdom was ſettled, by its right to a ſole, ſeparate, and excluſive legiſlation, being unequivocally confirmed, we have ſeen its proſperity riſing rapidly, yet ſteadily, its reſources increaſing for the ſupport of the empire, and thoſe reſources liberally and effectually applied. We have ſeen, and ſtill ſee mutual acts of kindneſs between the two kingdoms ſtrengthening their connexion, and any commercial jealouſies that ever exiſted happily ſubſiding. Inſeparably united under the ſame executive power, which is equally a branch of the legiſlature of each kingdom, our Union is complete to every beneficial purpoſe, and the project in contemplation deſerves not the name of Union. In my ſoul, I think it is fraught with poſſible conſequences, certainly not foreſeen by thoſe who bring it forward, that

will

will tend, if not to actual ſeparation, to attempts at leaſt to ſeparate us from Great Britain, to our utter ruin and to the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire, now the moſt happy and glorious on the face of the earth.

I am, my Lord and Gentlemen,
With the utmoſt reſpect, gratitude, and veneration,
Your very obliged and obedient ſervant,
JOHN FOSTER.

Ordered, That ſaid addreſs and anſwer be publiſhed,
ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

No. CXVIII.

Addreſſes of Roman Catholics upon the Union. (*Page* 979.)

CITY OF WATERFORD.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Waterford and its vicinity, held at the Great Chapel, on the 28th of June, 1799,

PETER ST. LEDGER, Eſq. in the Chair,

The following five gentlemen were appointed a committee, to prepare a declaration on the meaſure of a legiſlative Union:

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hearn, Thomas Sherlock, Eſq.
Edward Sheil, Eſq. Jeremiah Ryan, Eſq.
Thomas Hearn, Eſq. M. D.

Reſolved, That the following declaration be adopted.

THE meaſure of a legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland having been recommended to the conſideration of both of his parliaments by our moſt gracious ſovereign, the common father of his people, we, his majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects the Catholics of the city of Waterford and its vicinity, have thought it incumbent on us to make this public avowal of our ſentiments on the important and intereſting occaſion.

We are firmly convinced, that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affection, is a meaſure of wiſdom and expediency for this kingdom, and will effectually promote the ſtrength and proſperity of both; and we truſt it will afford the ſureſt means of allaying thoſe unhappy diſtrac-

tions

tions and removing thoſe penal excluſions on the ſcore of religion, which have too long prevailed in this country, and by conſolidating the reſources of both kingdoms oppoſe the moſt effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of both foreign and domeſtic enemies.

Strongly impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we look forward with earneſt anxiety to the moment when the two ſiſter nations may be inſeparably united in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honor and dignity of his majeſty's crown, and in the preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That Lord Viſcount Donoughmore, the ſincere and attached friend of the Catholic intereſt, be requeſted to communicate theſe our ſentiments moſt reſpectfully to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Thomas Sherlock, Eſq. for his public and ſpirited exertions in promoting this our declaration, and that he be requeſted to hand it to Lord Viſcount Donoughmore.

Signed, by order,

PETER ST. LEDGER, Chairman.

[Signed by 280 ſubſcribers.]

MY LORD, *Dublin Caſtle, 16th July, 1799.*

I AM directed by my lord lieutenant to requeſt your lordſhip will have the goodneſs to expreſs to the Roman Catholics of Waterford, the ſatisfaction his excellency feels, from their declaration of the 28th of June, which they deſired your lordſhip to lay before him, and which is ſo reſpectably ſigned.

The meaſure of a legiſlative Union upon juſt and liberal principles between this kingdom and Great Britain is near his excellency's heart; he is convinced, that nothing will ſo effectually tend to bury the religious animoſities in oblivion, which have unhappily prevailed in this kingdom, to conciliate the affections of all his majeſty's ſubjects to the mild government under which they live, to encreaſe the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland, and to augment the power and ſtability of the Britiſh empire.

I have the honor to be,

With the trueſt eſteem and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

Lord Viſcount Donoughmore. CASTLEREAGH.

Rath-

Rathfarnham Caſtle, Nov. 5th, 1799.

DEAR SIR,

THE Roman Catholics of the town of Wexford and its neighbourhood having requeſted of me, through Dr. Caulfield, to preſent a dutiful and loyal addreſs from them to his excellency the lord lieutenant, I feel great ſatisfaction in complying with their deſire, and from the ſignature I have every reliance on the ſincerity of their profeſſions; I therefore beg of you, to lay it before his excellency with my humble reſpects.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

To Lieut. Col. Littlehales. ELY.

AT a meeting of the Roman Catholics of the town of Wexford and its vicinity, in the Chapel of Wexford, on Sunday the 22d of September, 1799,

Reverend Doctor CAULFIELD in the Chair.

To His Excellency Charles Marquis CORNWALLIS, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

HOWEVER depraved or ungrateful ſome of our communion in this country may have been, when acting under that fatal impulſe of temporary madneſs and deluſion, which unfortunately prevailed in this kingdom laſt year, we humbly preſume to approach your excellency with our unfeigned aſſurance of perpetual loyalty and decided attachment to the royal perſon, family, and government of our beloved and moſt gracious ſovereign, whoſe paternal indulgence towards us we can never forget.

We recollect with abhorrence and deteſtation the late unnatural rebellion, and the crimes it produced; but entertain the conſoling reflection, that the generality of the Roman Catholics in this country, of reſpectability, conſequence, or property, with ſome exceptions, and even many amongſt thoſe, who ſtill labour under the painful appearance of delinquency, were perfectly innocent—nevertheleſs we have to lament, that there were too many guilty.

The compulſive ſway and irreſiſtible predominancy of a wicked and armed conſpiracy dragged many peaceable and loyal ſubjects from their home into the field, and forced them, however reluctant, to take or to ſeem to take a part, and to appear in arms under the criminal banner of rebellion, during that dreadful paroxyſm of political phrenzy, which we earneſtly pray and hope

God

God in his mercy will never again permit to convulſe and deſolate this once proſperous and happy country.

Allow us likewiſe, my Lord, to expreſs our deep indelible ſenſe of gratitude to our beloved monarch for his majeſty's attention to the happineſs of all his ſubjects in this kingdom, clearly evinced by the appointment of your excellency to the chief government thereof at a difficult and awful criſis, when the ſocial band was broken aſunder, and ſocial order appeared ſhaken from its very foundation by the wildeſt anarchy, excited and foſtered by the baneful operation of modern French revolutionary maxims, which threatened us with all the moral and political evils that have ſo long and ſo grievouſly afflicted that ill-fated country.

The preſence of your excellency happily arreſted the progreſs of this contagious malady, and the inflexible perſeverance in the wiſe, humane, and deciſive meaſures, which ſo eminently characterizes your excellency's adminiſtration, has overawed the conſpirators, reclaimed the deluded rebel, protected the loyaliſt, and gradually introduced into the mind of even the moſt obdurate offender an anxious deſire to ſubmit to legal government, and to live in an uninterrupted ſtate of eternal peace in the ſpirit of Chriſtian charity with his fellow ſubjects of every religious perſuaſion or denomination whatſoever.

As we look forward with an anxious intereſt to the moſt effectual means of eſtabliſhing the internal peace and proſperity of this hitherto diſtracted country, upon a comprehenſive and permanent baſis, we conſider it a duty we owe to ourſelves and to our poſterity, thus openly to declare, that we conceive theſe deſirable objects can only be attained by the happy completion of the great and uſeful meaſure of a legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which the common father of the people has in his wiſdom recommended to the ſerious conſideration of his parliament.

We are indeed firmly perſuaded, that the propoſed incorporation of both legiſlatures muſt give additional energy to the reſources and vigor of the empire, by conſolidating and identifying the common intereſts of the whole people, and that by the liberal efficiency of its operation, diffuſing from the centre to the extremities of the empire, all thoſe bleſſings which naturally flow from the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, it will afford to every deſcription of his majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland perfect ſecurity in the full enjoyment of civil, political, and religious freedom.

Reſolved, That the Right Honorable the Earl of Ely be humbly and re-

ſpectfully requeſted to preſent this our addreſs to his Excellency the Marquis Cornwallis.

[Signed by above 3000 perſons.]

Dublin Caſtle, Nov. 6, 1799.

MY LORD,

IN anſwer to the honor of your lordſhip's letter of yeſterday's date, and its incloſure, I am directed by my lord lieutenant to requeſt, that you will have the goodneſs to convey his excellency's ſincere acknowledgments to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the town of Wexford and other pariſhes in that county, for their addreſs tranſmitted by your lordſhip.

His excellency deſires me to ſtate to your lordſhip, the ſatisfaction he receives from finding from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the county of Wexford, ſo general a concurrence of ſentiment in favor of a legiſlative Union with Great Britain, which meaſure he conſiders eſſentially neceſſary for the future proſperity and tranquillity of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects in Ireland.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord, &c.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The Earl of Ely.

To His Excellency Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland,

The Addreſs of the Roman Catholics of the City of Cork.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WITH the moſt affectionate and unfeigned reſpect, we beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your arrival in this city, and to aſſure your excellency of the high ſenſe we entertain of the wiſdom, firmneſs, and benevolence of your government, which has ſo happily ſubdued a deſperate rebellion, and reſtored this lately diſtracted country to peace and tranquillity.

Our moſt gracious ſovereign lord the king, to whoſe illuſtrious houſe we are bound by every tie of loyalty and gratitude, having in his parental care recommended to his parliaments in both countries the conſideration of an Union of the legiſlatures of his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, on the broad and permanent baſis of mutual advantages and general ſecurity, we beg leave

leave to expreſs our ſentiments on ſo important a queſtion, and to declare to your excellency, that we conſider it the moſt effectual means to promote the ſtrength and happineſs of the empire, to allay the unhappy diſtractions which have raged, and that nothing ſhort of this ſalutary meaſure can enſure to us a continuance of the confidence, of the tranquillity, and the bleſſings which the wiſdom of your auſpicious government has reſtored to this country.

[Signed by 308 Subſcribers.]

To the Roman Catholics of the City of Cork.

IT affords me ſingular pleaſure to be aſſured, that the government of Ireland has been adminiſtered in a manner that has given you ſatisfaction during the period in which his majeſty has graciouſly thought proper to commit it to my care.

In full expectation that the ſalutary meaſure to be brought forward will upon the completion of it, be the means of eventually terminating all religious and civil diſſentions, and of giving reciprocal advantage and general ſecurity to the whole empire, it is with unfeigned gratification that I find a coincidence of opinion in this great work on the part of the loyal Roman Catholic inhabitants of the ancient and opulent city of Cork.*

No. CXIX.

The Articles of Union. (*P.* 1043.)

RESOLVED, 1. That in order to promote and ſecure the eſſential intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, and conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the Britiſh empire, it will be adviſable to concur in ſuch meaſures as may beſt tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in ſuch manner, and on ſuch terms and conditions as may be eſtabliſhed by the acts of the reſpective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

* Many other ſuch addreſſes were made by the different bodies of Roman Catholics: viz. From the county of Leitrim, ſigned by 1836; one from the county of Longford; from the inhabitants of Tipperary and Cahir; from thoſe of the united pariſhes of Monaſterevan, Lacka, Harriſtown, Nurney and Ballybrackin; from the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Kilkenny; from thoſe of the dioceſe of Elphin in the county of Roſcommon, &c. &c.

Reſolved, 2. That for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an Union, upon the baſis ſtated in the reſolution of the two houſes of parliament of Great Britain, communicated by his majeſty's command in the meſſage ſent to this houſe by his excellency the lord lieutenant, it would be fit to propoſe as the firſt article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall upon the firſt day of January, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord, one thouſand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal ſtile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the ſaid united kingdom and its dependencies, and alſo the enſigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, ſhall be ſuch as his majeſty by his royal proclamation, under the great ſeal of the united kingdom ſhall be pleaſed to appoint.

Reſolved, 3. That for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that the ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of the ſaid united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, ſhall continue limited and ſettled in the ſame manner, as the ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now ſtands limited and ſettled, according to the exiſting laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

Reſolved, 4. That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the ſaid united kingdom be repreſented in one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtiled the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Reſolved, 5. That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the charge ariſing from the payment of the intereſt and ſinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, ſhall continue to be ſeparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively.

That for the ſpace of twenty years after the Union ſhall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, ſhall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland, that at the expiration of the ſaid twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom, other than the intereſt and charges of the debt to which either country ſhall be ſeparately liable, ſhall be defrayed in ſuch proportion as the ſaid united parliament ſhall deem juſt and reaſonable, upon a compariſon of the real value of the exports and imports of the reſpective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of reviſion, or on a compariſon

compariſon of the value of the quantities of the following articles conſumed within the reſpective countries, on a ſimilar average, viz. beer, ſpirits, ſugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion reſulting from both theſe conſiderations combined, or on a compariſon of the amount of income in each country, eſtimated from the produce for the ſame periods of a general tax, if ſuch ſhall have been impoſed on the ſame deſcriptions of income in both countries, and that the parliament of the united kingdoms ſhall afterwards proceed in like manner, to reviſe and fix the ſaid proportions according to the ſame rules or any of them, at periods not more diſtant than twenty years, nor leſs than ſeven years from each other, unleſs previous to any ſuch period the united parliament ſhall have declared as herein after provided, that the general expences of the empire ſhall be defrayed indiſcriminately by equal taxes, impoſed on the like articles in both countries.

Reſolved, 6. That for defraying the ſaid expences, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland ſhall hereafter conſtitute a conſolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the intereſt of the debt and ſinking fund, ſhall, in the firſt inſtance be charged, and the remainder ſhall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expence of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by theſe articles be liable, ſhall be raiſed by ſuch taxes in each kingdom reſpectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall from time to time deem fit, provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their reſpective proportion ſhall be levied, no article in Ireland ſhall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like articles.

Reſolved, 7. That if at the end of any year, any ſurplus ſhall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the intereſt, ſinking fund, and proportioned contribution, and ſeparate charges to which the ſaid country is liable, either taxes ſhall be taken off the amount of ſuch ſurplus, or the ſurplus ſhall be applied by the united parliament to local purpoſes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may ariſe in her revenues in time of peace, or inveſted by the commiſſioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound intereſt, in caſe of contribution in time of war. Provided the ſurplus ſo to accumulate, ſhall at no future period be ſuffered to exceed the ſum of five millions.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raiſed by loan in peace or war, for the ſervice of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, ſhall be conſidered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof ſhall be borne by the reſpective countries in the proportion of their reſpective contributions. Provided, that if at any time in raiſing the reſpective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall judge it fit to raiſe a greater proportion of ſuch reſpective contributions in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to ſet apart a greater proportion of ſinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raiſed on account of the one country than that raiſed on account of the other country, then ſuch part of the ſaid loan for the liquidation of which different proviſions have been made for the reſpective countries, ſhall be kept diſtinct, and ſhall be borne by each ſeparately, and only that part of the ſaid loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the reſpective countries ſhall have made proviſion in the proportion of their reſpective contributions.

Reſolved, 9. That if at any future day, the ſeparate debt of each kingdom reſpectively ſhall have been liquidated, or the values of their reſpective debts (eſtimated according to the amount of the intereſt and annuities attending the ſame, of the ſinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of ſuch debt ſhall appear to be redeemable by ſuch ſinking fund) ſhall be to each other, in the ſame proportion with the reſpective contributions of each kingdom reſpectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of ſuch debts ſhall vary from ſuch proportion, ſhall not exceed one hundredth part of the ſaid value; and if it ſhall appear to the united parliament, that the reſpective circumſtances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiſcriminately, by equal taxes impoſed on the ſame articles in each, to the future general expence of the united kingdom, it ſhall be competent to the ſaid united parliament to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the intereſt and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to ſuch declaration, ſhall be defrayed indiſcriminately by equal taxes impoſed on the ſame articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumſtances may require to impoſe and apply ſuch taxes accordingly, ſubject only to ſuch particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumſtances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of ſuch declaration, it

ſhall

ſhall no longer be neceſſary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expences, according to any of the rules herein before provided.

Provided nevertheleſs, that the intereſt or charges which may remain on account of any part of the ſeparate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which ſhall not be liquidated or conſolidated proportionably as above, ſhall, until extinguiſhed, continue to be defrayed by ſeparate taxes in each country.

Reſolved, 10. That a ſum not leſs than the ſum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of ſix years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining inſtitutions for pious and charitable purpoſes, ſhall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to ſuch local purpoſes, in ſuch manner as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall direct.

Reſolved, 11. That from and after the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, all public revenue ariſing from the territorial dependencies of the united kingdom, ſhall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the reſpective contributions of the two countries.

Reſolved, 12. That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe that lords ſpiritual of Ireland, and lords temporal of Ireland, ſhall be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the Univerſity of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one moſt conſiderable cities, towns and boroughs) be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the Houſe of Commons in the parliament of the united kingdom.

Reſolved, 13. That ſuch acts as ſhall be paſſed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords ſpiritual and temporal and the commons to ſerve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, ſhall be ſummoned or returned to the ſaid parliament, ſhall be conſidered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and ſhall be incorporated in the act of the reſpective parliaments, by which the ſaid Union ſhall be ratified and eſtabliſhed.

Reſolved, 14. That all queſtions touching the election of members to ſit on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom, ſhall be

be heard and decided in the ſame manner as queſtions touching ſuch elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter ſhall by law be heard and decided, ſubject nevertheleſs, to ſuch particular regulations in reſpect of Ireland, as from local circumſtances the parliament of the ſaid united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Reſolved, 15. That the qualifications in reſpect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to ſit in the Houſe of Commons of the United Kingdom, ſhall be reſpectively the ſame as are now provided by law, in caſes of elections for counties, and cities and boroughs reſpectively, in that part of Great Britain called England, unleſs any other proviſion ſhall hereafter be made in that reſpect by act of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Reſolved, 16. That when his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhall declare his, her, or their pleaſure, for holding the firſt or any ſubſequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation ſhall iſſue under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, to cauſe the Lords ſpiritual and temporal and Commons who are to ſerve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in ſuch manner as by any act of this preſent ſeſſion of the parliament of Ireland ſhall be provided; and that the Lords ſpiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain ſhall together with the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons ſo returned as aforeſaid, on the part of Ireland, conſtitute the two houſes of parliament of the united kingdom.

Reſolved, 17. That if his majeſty on or before the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, ſhall declare, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords and Commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain, ſhould be members of the reſpective houſe of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the ſaid Lords and Commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhall accordingly be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the Lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons ſo ſummoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, ſhall be the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; and ſuch firſt parliament may (in that caſe), if not ſooner diſſolved, continue to ſit ſo long as the preſent parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to ſit, and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom in the firſt and all ſucceeding parliaments, ſhall, until the parliament

parliament of the united kingdom ſhall otherwiſe provide, take the oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration, which are at preſent by law enjoined to be taken, made and ſubſcribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

Reſolved, 18. That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England and of Ireland ſhould be united into one church, and the archbiſhops, biſhops, deans and clergy of the churches of England and Ireland ſhall, from time to time, be ſummoned to and entitled to ſit in convocation of the united church in the like manner, and ſubject to the ſame regulations as are at preſent by law eſtabliſhed, with reſpect to the like orders of the church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government of the united church ſhall be preſerved as now by law eſtabliſhed for the church of England; and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government of the church of Scotland ſhall likewiſe be preſerved as now by law eſtabliſhed for the church of Scotland. And that the continuance and preſervation for ever of the ſaid united church, as the eſtabliſhed church of that part of the united kingdom called England and Ireland, ſhall be deemed and taken to be an eſſential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

Reſolved, 19. That for the ſame purpoſe, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain as now by law eſtabliſhed, ſubject only to ſuch alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumſtances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the Houſe of Lords of either kingdom, ſhall from and after the Union be finally decided by the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union there ſhall remain in Ireland an inſtance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of cauſes, civil and maritime only; and that all laws at preſent in force in either kingdom, which ſhall be contrary to any of the proviſions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

Reſolved, 20. That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe that his majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, from and after the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the ſame

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privileges, and be on the ſame footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, reſpectively and generally in reſpect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, with any foreign power, his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland ſhall have the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing as his majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain.

Reſolved, 21. That from the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth or manufacture of either country to the other ſhall ceaſe and determine; and that the ſaid articles ſhall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on ſuch export.

Reſolved, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, not herein-after enumerated as ſubject to ſpecific duties, ſhall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than ſuch countervailing duty as ſhall be annexed to the ſeveral articles contained in the Schedule No. I.; and that the articles herein after enumerated ſhall be ſubject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties ſpecified in the ſchedule No. II. annexed to this article, viz.

Apparel
Braſs, wrought
Cabinet ware
Coaches and carriages
Copper, wrought
Cottons
Glaſs
Haberdaſhery
Hats
Tin plates, wrought iron and hardware
Lace, gold and ſilver, gold and ſilver threads
Thread, bullion for lace, pearl and ſpangles
Millinery
Paper, ſtained
Pottery
Sadlery
Silk, manufacture
Stockings

And that the woollen manufacture ſhall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; ſalt and hops on importation into Ireland, duties not exceeding thoſe which are now paid in Ireland; and coals on importation to be ſubject to burdens not exceeding thoſe to which they are now ſubject.

That

That callicoes and muſlins be ſubject and liable to the duties now payable on the ſame, until the fifth day of January one thouſand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the ſaid day, the ſaid duties ſhall be annually reduced in ſuch proportions, and at ſuch periods as ſhall hereafter be enacted, ſo as that the ſaid duties ſhall ſtand at ten per cent. from and after the fifth day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and ſixteen, until the fifth day of January, which ſhall be in the year one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton, yarn, and cotton twiſt, ſhall alſo be ſubject and liable to the duties now payable upon the ſame, until the fifth day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the ſaid day, the ſaid duties ſhall be annually reduced at ſuch times, and in ſuch proportions, as ſhall be hereafter enacted, ſo as that all duties ſhall ceaſe on the ſaid articles from and after the fifth day of January one thouſand eight hundred and ſixteen.

Reſolved, 23. That any articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either country, which are or may be ſubject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are compoſed, may be made ſubject on their importation into each country reſpectively from the other, to ſuch countervailing duty as ſhall appear to be juſt and reaſonable in reſpect to ſuch internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the ſaid purpoſes the articles ſpecified in the ſaid ſchedule, No. I. ſhould, upon importation into Ireland, be ſubject to the duty which ſhall be ſet forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminiſhed or increaſed in the manner herein ſpecified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other reſpectively, a drawback ſhall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the articles herein before ſpecified, on the import into the ſame country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it ſhall be competent to the united parliament to impoſe any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminiſh ſuch exiſting countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be juſt and reaſonable, in reſpect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which ſuch article may be compoſed, or any abatement of the ſame; and that when any ſuch new or additional countervailing duty ſhall be ſo impoſed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to ſuch countervailing duty, ſhall be given in like manner on the export of every ſuch article reſpectively from the ſame country.

Reſolved, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, ſhall in all caſes be exported ſubject to the ſame charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce or manufacture.

Reſolved, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, ſhall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, ſhall be placed to the credit of the country to which they ſhall be ſo exported, ſo long as the general expences of the empire ſhall be defrayed by proportional contributions. Provided nothing herein ſhall extend to take away any duty, bounty or prohibition which exiſts with reſpect to corn, meal, malt, flower and biſcuit, but that the ſame may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the united parliament ſhall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Great Britain into Ireland, according to the ſixth article of Union.

Articles to be charged with countervailing duty in Ireland:

Beer	Silk
Glaſs	Spirits
Leather	Sugar, refined
Paper, ſtained	Sweets
Paper	Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties ſpecified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, according to the ſixth article of the Union.

Ten per cent. on the true value.

Apparel	Cotton, except callicoes and muſlins
Braſs, wrought	Glaſs
Cabinet ware	Haberdaſhery
Coaches and other carriages	Hats
Copper, wrought	

Tin

Tin plates, wrought iron and hardware
Lace, gold and ſilver, gold and ſilver threads, bullion for lace, pearl and ſpangles
Millinery
Paper, ſtained
Pottery
Sadlery and other manufactured leather
Silk manufacture
Stockings.

No. CXX.

(*P.* 1066.)

Veneris, 6° Junii, 1800.

The Houſe of Commons was moved, that the following Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty.

WE, your majeſty's loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland, at all times ſenſible of the numerous and eſſential advantages, which we, in common with your ſubjects in Ireland, have derived under your auſpicious reign, beg leave to aſſure you, that none have more impreſſed the hearts of your majeſty's ſubjects than the adjuſtment at your majeſty's gracious recommendation entered into by the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland in 1782, thereby forming the moſt ſolemn compact which can ſubſiſt between two countries under a common ſovereign; that the reſult of that compact and adjuſtment was the increaſe of our trade and of our revenue, together with the harmony of the two parliaments and the ſupport of the connection; that the ſaid compact on the part of your majeſty's parliament of Ireland, has been religiouſly and beneficially adhered to, inſomuch, that a final termination of all conſtitutional queſtions between the two nations took place, and the commercial points which at that time remained to be ſettled, have ſince, without agitation or ferment, been gradually and ſatisfactorily diſpoſed of.

That under theſe circumſtances it is with the deepeſt concern and the greateſt ſurprize we have ſeen a meaſure propounded, under the name of Union, to ſet aſide this moſt important and ſacred covenant, to deprive this country of her parliament in time to come, and in lieu thereof to introduce an innovation, conſiſting of a ſeparate Iriſh government without an Iriſh parliament, whoſe power is to be transferred to a Britiſh parliament without an availing

Iriſh

Iriſh repreſentation therein, an innovation ſuch as may impair and corrupt the conſtitution of Britain without preſerving the liberties of Ireland; ſo that this country ſhall be in time to come taxed without being duly repreſented and legiſlated by a body out of the realm, incapable of applying proper remedies, and remote from the means of knowing her wants, her wiſhes, and her intereſts.

That giving the name of Union to the meaſure is a deluſion; the two kingdoms are already united to each other in one common empire, one in unity of intereſt and unity of conſtitution, as has been emphatically pronounced from the throne by your majeſty's former viceroy, bound together by law, and what is more effectual than law, by mutual intereſt, mutual affection, and mutual duty, to promote the common proſperity of the empire, and it is our glory and happineſs that we form an inſeparable part of it.

That this union has ſtood the teſt of ages, unbroken by the many foreign wars, civil commotions and rebellions which have aſſailed it, and we dread the raſh and deſperate innovation which now would wantonly and unneceſſarily put it to the hazard; an innovation which does not affect to ſtrengthen the unalterable intereſt of each country in ſupporting the revolution that placed your majeſty's illuſtrious family on the throne, for that intereſt cannot be increaſed by any law; it is implanted in our hearts---it is interwoven with our proſperity—it grows with our growth, and ſtrengthens with our ſtrength.

Neither does it profeſs their connection together, becauſe that intereſt already exiſts, and we know and feel that ſuch connection includes all that is dear to us, and is eſſential to the common happineſs and exiſtence of both nations.

We therefore do, with all humility, implore your majeſty's protection of that glorious revolution, and of that eſſential connection againſt the perſeverance of your majeſty's miniſters in their endeavours to inforce this ruinous meaſure.

Their avowed object is a union of the two nations; but the only union they attempt is a union of the two parliaments, and the articles which are to attend their partial and defective union, are all ſo many enumerations of exiſting diſtinct intereſts in the two kingdoms, which it cannot identify, and which require ſeparate parliaments reſident in each duly to attend them.

In reſpect to taxes, the purſe of each nation is veſted in its own Houſe of Commons by the principles of the conſtitution; the ſecurity of our liberty, and

and the great conſtitutional balance of the powers of the ſtate, lie in its being left there; but the articles acknowledge a ſeparate purſe, and a ſeparate intereſt in that purſe, by providing for a ſeparate proportion of expence, ſeparate modes and laws of taxation, ſeparate debts, ſeparate ſinking funds, ſeparate treaſury, ſeparate exchequer, ſeparate accounts of revenue to be kept, and ſeparate articles of produce to be placed in the way of debtor and creditor between the two kingdoms as between two unconnected parties; and though they ſtate, acknowledge and attempt to form regulations for all theſe many diſtinct intereſts, which no laws can identify or conſolidate; and though even the legal intereſt of money remains different in the two kingdoms without their attempting to aſſimilate it, yet they take away the Iriſh parliament, which theſe diſtinctneſſes ought rather to have ſuggeſted the creation of, if it did not exiſt, and they lay the foundation of diſtreſs, diſcontent, and jealouſies in this kingdom, if not of worſe evils, and tend to familiarize ideas of ſeparation inſtead of union, to the utter ruin of this your ancient kingdom, and your loyal ſubjects therein.

In regard to manufactures, they acknowledge the intereſt in them to be ſo diſtinct, that they are forced to provide in expreſs terms againſt a free intercourſe being allowed between the two kingdoms, in more than twenty general denominations, and they eſtabliſh countervailing duties on the mutual import of at leaſt twenty-four ſpecies of goods, on account of the neceſſary difference in taxation and the diſtinctneſs of revenue, which, from the ſeparate intereſt of the two kingdoms in them, will not admit of conſolidation.

On the mutual interchange of corn, that great neceſſary of life, they not only continue duties, but they provide for retaining prohibitions and bounties; and inſtead of even alleging an identity of intereſt in ſo important and general an article, they avow ſuch ſeparate intereſt to exiſt in it as law cannot remove; and an interdict is neceſſary to be laid on its free communication between two kingdoms, which your majeſty's miniſters have at the ſame time the hardineſs to tell us, their project is to unite, identify, and conſolidate throughout all their intereſts.

We ſee with them that theſe intereſts are diſtinct, and we therefore raiſe up our voices to your majeſty againſt their impracticable attempt to conſolidate them; an attempt which they themſelves acknowledge to be ſo by their many proviſions, all intended to ſecure a continuance of their diſtinctneſs.

But, however ſeparate theſe intereſts are in taxes, in revenue, in trade, and in

in manufactures, and however incapable of being identified, we have the happineſs of knowing, that in the great point of conſtitution no difference exiſts; both nations have a full right to all the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, and we have an identity, not a diſtinctneſs of intereſt, in the poſſeſſion of it; yet ſuch is the ſtrange paſſion of your majeſty's miniſters for innovation, that not finding any ſuch diſtinctneſs, they do by theſe articles create ſeveral highly alarming to us, and to all your majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom, who claim an equal right with Great Britain in the full and free enjoyment of that conſtitution.

All the Iriſh temporal lords, except twenty-eight, are to be incapacitated by this meaſure exerciſing their rights and duties as peers and hereditary counſellors, while every Britiſh temporal lord is to retain his full functions.

Four ſpiritual lords only are to have a ſhare in the legiſlature, while all the Britiſh ſpiritual lords are to continue theirs; and two-thirds of the Iriſh commoners are to be diſqualified, while every Britiſh commoner remains.

The articles further declare, that all Iriſh peerages ſhall be conſidered as peerages of the united kingdom, whereby the Iriſh peers who are to be incapacitated from legiſlating as peers are to continue peers, and may legiſlate as commoners, againſt every known principle and eſtabliſhed practice of the conſtitution; nay, even when choſen commoners, they are not to repreſent any place in Ireland, the country from whence they derive their honors, although their voices as commoners will extend equally with that of every other commoner to all the corners of this kingdom; and thus the Iriſh purſe will be eventually put into the hands of the Iriſh peers, in direct defiance of a great and fundamental principle of the conſtitution.

All theſe degrading and unconſtitutional diſtinctions are not only created in the Iriſh peerage, but are to remain for ever without power of alteration, by a proviſion being made in the articles for a conſtant creation of peers for Ireland.

That the Iriſh peerage is to be kept for ever a diſtinct body from the Britiſh, though the project profeſſes a union of the two kingdoms of Britain and Ireland, and attempts a union of the two parliaments, of which the peerage, a conſtituent part, ſtripped as it will be of all parliamentary function, perpetuates a diſtinction inſulting and degrading to this kingdom, which our miniſters, if they had ſolely in view, without any regard to influence, a laſting union of the parliaments, to which this continuance no way contributes,

would

would have avoided by providing that the Iriſh peers when reduced to the propoſed number of twenty-eight, ſhould be declared peers of the united empire equally with the Britiſh, and thus would have diſſolved all national diſtinctions between them for the time to come.

But it is not in trade, revenue, and manufactures only, that diſtinct intereſts are declared to exiſt, nor in conſtitution alone that ſeparate intereſts are to be created; the ſame diſtinction is to be preſerved in the adminiſtration of juſtice, every difference of law, every variation of practice and of regulation which now prevails, is to be allowed to diſtinguiſh the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts, with this one exception only, that in the ultimate appeal every Iriſh ſuitor is to be again at the expence and hazard of going to Weſtminſter, inſtead of having a court in Dublin to reſort to.

We enlarge the more on theſe ſeveral enumerations of ſeparate intereſts, avowed or created by your majeſty's miniſters, becauſe the many proviſions they propoſe for their future regulation, are ſo many acknowledgments that no force of law can identify them ſo as to admit of their conſolidation. Proviſions all in themſelves preſumptuous and inſufficient, inaſmuch as it is not in the power of human wiſdom to foreſee the events of time, and provide now by a ſyſtem declared immutable, for the varying changes which muſt naturally take place in the lapſe of years.

Under the ſame conviction, though they profeſs a union of the two parliaments, they do not attempt out of them one with equal and common powers for both kingdoms; it is to be free in all its functions in reſpect to Britain, but ſhackled and bound up by reſtrictions as to Ireland.

In this they deprive your majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects of a parliament ſuch only as the Britiſh conſtitution acknowledges, free in its deliberations for every part of the empire it is to legiſlate for, ſuch as we have a right to enjoy, equally unreſtrained in its powers and unfettered in its proceedings as to the intereſts of this your majeſty's kingdom; and ſuch a one free and independent in all its functions, as we ſolemnly claimed to be our birthright in 1782, and as your majeſty in your wiſdom and juſtice did then graciouſly confirm to this kingdom for ever, but which claim and gracious confirmation your miniſters now ſeek to take away from the kingdom for ever.

That having thus ſhewn to your majeſty how very inefficient the project of your miniſters is to anſwer even the purpoſe it avows, and how very ruinous its operation muſt be, if you ſhall not be graciouſly pleaſed to interfere, we feel it our further duty to expoſe fully to your majeſty's view not only the

artful deluſions which thoſe miniſters have preſumed to hold out of ſuppoſed advantages in commerce, in revenue, in taxes and in manufactures to deceive the people into an approbation of their ſcheme, but the corrupt and unconſtitutional means which they have uſed, the undue manner in which they have employed the influence of the crown and the miſrepreſentations which they have made of the ſenſe of your majeſty's people of Ireland on the meaſure.

Were all the advantages, which without any foundation they have declared that this meaſure offers, to be its inſtant and immediate conſequence, we do not heſitate to ſay expreſsly, that we could not harbour the thought of accepting them in exchange for our freedom for commerce, or our conſtitution for revenue; but the offers are mere impoſitions, and we ſtate with the firmeſt confidence, that in commerce or trade their meaſure confers no one advantage, nor can it confer any, for by your majeſty's gracious and paternal attention to this your ancient realm of Ireland, every reſtriction under which its commerce laboured has been removed during your majeſty's auſpicious reign, and we are now as free to trade to all the world as Britain is.

In manufactures any attempt it makes, to offer any benefit which we do not now enjoy, is vain and deluſive, and wherever it is to have effect, that effect will be to our injury; moſt of the duties on import which operate as protections to our manufactures are under its proviſion either to be removed or reduced immediately, and thoſe which will be reduced are to ceaſe entirely at a limited time; though many of our manufactures owe their exiſtence to the protection of thoſe duties, and though it is not in the power of human wiſdom to foreſee any preciſe time, when they may be able to thrive without them. Your majeſty's faithful commons feel more than an ordinary intereſt in laying this fact before you, becauſe they have under your majeſty's approbation raiſed up and nurſed many of thoſe manufactures, and by ſo doing have encouraged much capital to be veſted in them, the proprietors of which are now to be left unprotected, and to be deprived of the parliament on whoſe faith they embarked themſelves, their families and properties in the undertaking.

In revenue we ſhall not only loſe the amount of the duties which are thus to be removed or lowered, and which the papers laid before us by the lord lieutenant ſhew to amount to the immediate annual ſum of 50,000*l.* but we ſhall be deprived of nearly as much more by the annihilation of various export duties, which have ſubſiſted for above a century on other articles of intercourſe

tercourſe, without being felt or complained of by us; and this whole revenue of 50,000*l.* operating beneficially to our manufactures, and of near 50,000*l.* more which oppreſſed no manufacture, is to be wantonly given up without the deſire or wiſh of either nation, at a time when our income is more than ever unequal to our expences, and when the difficulty of raiſing new taxes to ſupply its place, is alarmingly encreaſed by our having been obliged in this very ſeſſion, to impoſe new burthens to the eſtimated amount of 200,000*l.* a year, and we cannot but remark that in this arrangement, while we give up this revenue of near 100,000*l.* a year, Great Britain is to give up one not amounting quite to 40,000*l.* an inequality no way conſonant with the impartiality or juſtice profeſſed by your majeſty's miniſters, nor any wiſe conſiſtent with the comparative abilities of the two countries to replace the loſs.

But the impoſition of your majeſty's miniſters is ſtill more glaring, in their having preſumed to fix a proportion of contribution towards the general future expences, to be obſerved by the two kingdoms in the ratio of one by Ireland, for every ſeven parts and a half by Britain.

If they had any plauſible grounds, whereon they calculated this proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before your parliament, and the uſual and eſtabliſhed forms of committees to inveſtigate into matters of ſuch intricate and extended calculation have been ſuperſeded by them.

Your majeſty's faithful commons are ſatisfied that the calculation is extremely erroneous, and that on a juſt and fair enquiry into the comparative means of each country, this kingdom ought not and is not able to contribute in any thing like the proportion.

They feel a duty too to proteſt moſt ſolemnly againſt any arrangement of taxation, to none of which they have had documents, or made any enquiry to guide their judgments, and in which they underſtand no conſideration whatever has been had to the different legal intereſt of money in this kingdom, which cauſes a diſadvantage of 20*l.* per cent. in procuring capital, nor to the relative quantity of ſhipping poſſeſſed and uſed by each country, nor to the export trade in foreign articles, nor to the extent of manufacture for home conſumption, nor to the balance of trade which ſhews the annual increaſe of its clear profit, and of courſe the annual increaſe of the fund, it creates to contribute from, in all of which the means of Britain very far exceed the foregoing proportion, and particularly in the balance of trade, which in Ireland amounts to little more than half a million with all the world, but it is

ſtated by authority to have amounted to 14,800,000*l.* in Britain, excluſive of an annual influx of money from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies to the amount of four millions to the proprietors reſident in Britain, and of two millions from Ireland to the proprietors of Iriſh eſtates reſident there, and of another million from Ireland for the charges of her debt due in Britain; whereas the only known or viſible influx of money into Ireland is the above balance of trade of half a million only, and theſe two ſums of two millions and one million, while they add to the wealth and means of Britain unfortunately take away in the ſame amount from the ability of Ireland.

Thus had a due inveſtigation been made, and a fair enquiry gone into with a view to obtain a true knowledge of facts whereon to ground a juſt calculation, it would have appeared that this proportion for Ireland is not only unjuſt, but far beyond what it will be in her power to diſcharge; and the raſhneſs of your majeſty's miniſters in hazarding ſuch a meaſure, is the more to be lamented or wondered at, becauſe ſhould Ireland engage to pay more than ſhe is able to anſwer, the neceſſary conſequence muſt be a rapid decreaſe of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and in the end her total bankruptcy; but under ſuch circumſtances ſhe cannot be alone a bankrupt; and ſhould ſhe fatally become ſo by an injudicious or avaricious apportionment of conſtitution, Great Britain muſt ſhare in her ruin, and our great and glorious empire be brought to the brink of deſtruction, by an innovating attempt to take from Ireland its conſtitution, and ſubſtitute a theoretic, viſionary and untried ſyſtem in its room.

We ſhould therefore earneſtly ſupplicate your majeſty, to oblige your miniſters to defer the meaſure, until a full and ſatisfactory inveſtigation ſhould be made, if we did not feel, that it ought to be entirely relinquiſhed, and that the injuries and dangers attending on it, could not be removed by any change of that proportion, or reconciled by any modification of detail whatſoever.

Subordinate however as the conſideration of it is, we cannot omit remarking to your majeſty, that there is cunningly and inſidiouſly annexed to it a proviſion for its ceaſing, even within the ſhort period of three years, ſhould the war continue ſo long; and that when we ſhall increaſe our debt ſo, as that it ſhall bear the like proportion to the permanent debt of Britain, all the deluſive benefit held out by this proportion is to ceaſe, and we are to undergo common taxes with Britain.

We lament ſuch deluſion ſhould be reſorted to, it is too palpable not to be

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ſeen, and inſtead of the confidence which ought to attend every arrangement between the kingdoms, ſuch conduct muſt excite diffidence and diſtruſt.

This proportion of their reſpective permanent debts is to be attained by increaſing our debt, which we muſt do, and by Britain leſſening her's, which ſhe is in the actual courſe of reducing, as rapidly at leaſt as that of Ireland increaſes; the abſurdity therefore of the poſition is ſelf-evident, for it ſays, that Ireland by increaſing her debt, and its annual charges, will become more wealthy and more able to bear equal taxes with Britain, but that Britain by decreaſing her's will be leſs able to pay her contribution and can only pay equal taxes.

Another deluſion (omitted however in the articles propoſed,) has been alſo plauſibly offered, ſtill further to deceive your majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland into an approbation of this deſtructive meaſure, and a promiſe has been authoritatively announced or artfully inſinuated by your miniſters in this kingdom, that Ireland is to ſave by it, or that Great Britain is to give her a million a year revenue in time of war and half a million a year in time of peace.

But we know, that during a war like the preſent ſuch a promiſe is impracticable, and both kingdoms muſt ſtrain every nerve and draw forth every reſource.

We ſeek not to load our ſiſter kingdom unneceſſarily by leſſening our own burthen, and our loyalty forbids us to liſten to arguments which offer to ſave our purſe at the expenſe of Britain; but it is all a deluſion, for we ſee nothing in the uniting the two parliaments which can change the courſe of the war, or leſſen the total maſs of expenſe of both nations; and we aſſert moſt confidently, that no gift can be made or ſaving enſue in our expenſes by the Union, however they may be attempted to be encreaſed by the unfounded and unfair proportion aſcertained for us to bear of the general expenditure; but were the offer founded, were it effectual and deſirable, its advantages reſt on the misfortunes of war, and we ſhould feel ourſelves unworthy of the truſt repoſed in us, if we could ſuffer a hope, ariſing from the continuation of ſuch a dreadful calamity, to direct our conduct in any meaſure, much leſs in one which calls on us to give up our conſtitution for ever.

Neither can we look forward to any propoſed ſaving from the Union in peace, for we are not told, nor could we believe it, if your majeſty's miniſters did tell us, that a bill profeſſing to unite the two kingdoms, inſeparably united without a bill, can have an influence on the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, or that it can allow us, during the next peace, to diſpenſe with keeping up the

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ſame military force as during the laſt, and we are further given to underſtand, that your majeſty's royal court, and all its eſtabliſhment, the courts of law, the exchequer, and all the revenue expenſes are to be continued without the parliament equally as with it; but were the ſaving practicable, we feel it our own duty to make it without a Union, and we know no parliament can do it for Ireland, with the ſame ſafety as the reſident parliament of Ireland.

But it is not only in reſpect to theſe deluſions held out as to trade and revenue that we feel it our duty to lay before your majeſty the conduct of your miniſters on this meaſure; we muſt ſtate the means by which they have endeavoured to carry it. That in the firſt inſtance, admitting the neceſſity of conforming to the ſenſe of the parliament and the people, they took the ſenſe of the commons, and found that ſenſe to be againſt it; that they then affected to appeal againſt the parliament to the people, at the ſame time endeavouring by their choice of ſheriffs to obſtruct the regular and conſtitutional mode whereby the ſenſe of the people has been uſually collected; that on the contrary, they did uſe or abet and encourage the uſing of various arts and ſtratagems to procure from individuals of the loweſt order, ſome of whom were their priſoners and felons, ſcandalous ſignatures againſt the conſtitution; that notwithſtanding theſe attempts to procure a fallacious appearance of ſtrength and muſter againſt parliament, the people have expreſſed their ſentiments decidedly againſt the Union, and twenty-one counties at public meetings legally convened, and alſo many other counties by petitions ſigned by the freeholders, and many cities and towns, have expreſſed either to your majeſty or to this houſe, or to both, their decided and unalterable hoſtility to the Union; yet your miniſters have as we believe, taken upon them to ſtate to your majeſty and your miniſters in Britain, in defiance of all theſe facts, that the ſenſe of the nation is not adverſe to the meaſure; that if there could be any doubt that your majeſty's miniſters in the appointment of ſheriffs did conſider how they might obſtruct the people in delivering their opinion regarding the Union, that doubt is fully explained by their continuing in office the ſheriffs of the former year in more than one inſtance, whence it alſo appears how decidedly the ſenſe of the country is againſt this meaſure, when your majeſty's miniſters found it difficult to procure any perſon to ſerve the office of ſheriff who was properly qualified, and was alſo a friend to the meaſure; that finding the ſenſe of the people as well as the parliament to be againſt it, your majeſty's miniſters attempted to change the parliament itſelf,

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and refuſing to take the ſenſe of the nation by a general election, they procured a partial diſſolution, and did ſo publicly abuſe the diſqualifying clauſe in the Place Bill, (which was enacted for the expreſs purpoſe of preſerving the freedom and independence of parliament,) that by vacating ſeats under its authority very many new returns were made to this houſe for the purpoſe of carrying it, and thus did they change the parliament without reſtoring to the people; that before the miniſtry had perverted the place bill, the ſenſe of parliament was againſt their Union, and if that bill had not been ſo perverted, that ſenſe had remained unaltered; that of thoſe who voted for the Union, we beg leave to inform your majeſty that ſeventy-ſix had places or penſions under the crown, and others were under the immediate influence of conſtituents who held great offices under the crown; that the practices of influence above mentioned were accompanied by the removal from office of various ſervants of the crown who had ſeats in parliament, particularly the chancellor of the exchequer, the prime ſerjeant, three commiſſioners of the revenue, a commiſſioner of accounts, a commiſſioner of barracks and the curſitor of the court of chancery, becauſe they would not vote away the parliament, alſo by their withdrawing their confidence from others of your majeſty's faithful and able councellors for the ſame reaſon; that they procured or encouraged the purchaſe of ſeats in this houſe to return members to vote for the Union, alſo the introduction of perſons unconnected with this country to vote away her parliament; that they have alſo attempted to proſtitute the peerage by promiſing to perſons, not even commoners in parliament her ſacred honors, if they would come into this houſe and vote for the Union: and that, finally, they have annexed to their plan of Union an artful device, whereby a million and a half of money is to be given to private perſons poſſeſſing returns, who are to receive ſaid ſum of the event of the Union, for the carrying of which to ſuch an amount ſaid perſons are to be paid; and this nation is to make good the ſale by which ſhe is thus diſinherited of her parliament, and is to be taxed for ever to raiſe the whole amount, although if your miniſters ſhall perſevere in ſuch a flagrant, unconſtitutional ſcheme, and the money is to be raiſed, it is for the Union, and being therefore an imperial concern ought to be borne in the proportion already laid down for imperial expences, that is, two ſeventeenths by Ireland and fifteen ſeventeenths by Britain; that under theſe unconſtitutional circumſtances your majeſty's miniſters have endeavoured, againſt the

the declared ſenſe of the people, to impoſe upon them a new conſtitution, ſubverting the old one.

That when we conſider the peculiar ſituation of this kingdom, with the annual drains of money from it by perſons poſſeſſing property in it who don't reſide, to the eſtimated amount of at leaſt two millions annually, when we advert to the further inevitable drain of a million a year by the public revenue to be remitted to Britain for the annual charges of our public debt, and that to countervail theſe great and tremendous iſſues of money, amounting to three millions, we have only our general balance of trade not 600,000*l.* a year to balance againſt them; we look with dread on a meaſure which muſt, on the one hand, neceſſarily add to thoſe drains by adding a new and large portion of our wealthieſt fellow-ſubjects to the preſent abſentees, and which muſt, on the other hand, decreaſe that balance by encouraging and promoting new imports of manufacture in the room of thoſe which will decline here.

We look to it with the more dread, becauſe, notwithſtanding the great loans from England to the amount of ſix millions in the laſt three years, we have not been able to counterbalance the exiſting drains from hence and the exchange has been and ſtill continues regularly and uniformly againſt us.

And further, becauſe our inability to raiſe the neceſſary loans with this kingdom, even to the ſmall extent that has been expected, is unfortunately now too evident; and the continuing to ſupply our treaſury by loans from Britain, though it may afford ſome temporary relief, will regularly increaſe the evil.

Your majeſty's miniſters, therefore, if they promiſe to themſelves, or to the Britiſh nation, any eaſement to their own taxes from the ſuppoſed acceſſion of power over our wealth and over our reſources, will find themſelves moſt thoroughly diſappointed; and if the difficulty of remittance ſhall encreaſe, the manufacturers of Britain who have hitherto ſupplied this kingdom will find the demand for their goods decreaſe in proportion as that difficulty ſhall riſe.

That we underſtand one benefit which they hold out from the propoſed meaſure is what your miniſters affect to call tranquillizing Ireland, but that when we look to our parliament, and ſee with what efficacy and promptneſs it has contributed to put down the late unfortunate rebellion, how inadequate a parliament not reſident would have been; when we reflect that in a kingdom containing four and a half millions of people, a reſident parliament muſt poſ-

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ſeſs the quick and authoritative means of giving energy to the executive, which a parliament in another country cannot have; that the removing the parliament tends to remove with it from the kingdom thoſe men of large property and influence, of talents and reſpectability, whoſe preſence is at all times eſſential to tranquillity, and may at ſome conjuncture be alone capable of preſerving it; that their abſence will leave room for political agitators, and men of talents without principle or property, to diſturb and irritate the public mind; we tremble for the conſequences of that meaſure at once the moſt raſh and unneceſſary that ever was brought forward by any miniſters, and at a time moſt fitted to produce every evil dreaded, and leaſt fitted to promote any one benefit held forth.

That when we conſider the time choſen to introduce ſuch a meaſure we feel additional repugnance, it being the moment of our weakneſs and diſtreſs, when the country is of courſe leſs free to deliver its full and heart-felt ſentiments againſt the illiberality of ſuch an attempt; peculiarly mortifying to thoſe your majeſty's ſubjects who had recently exerted themſelves in defence of that conſtitution which they are now called upon to ſurrender, and at a time too when the ſpirit of innovation is abroad and likely to be much encouraged by the example of your majeſty's miniſters in this their proceeding againſt the ancient liberties of the people, who may be rendered an unprofitable or dangerous part of the Britiſh empire, whether in conſequence of this Union they become ſlaviſh and abject, or reſtleſs and diſſatisfied.

That when we reflect on the great value of the acts for trying controverted elections, how eminently and effectually they have been framed for preſerving the purity of election, without which purity of parliament cannot exiſt; and when we ſee that your miniſters, well knowing the value we ſet on them, have propoſed various means to continue thoſe benefits to us in the few elections which will remain to be held here after the Union, and have withdrawn them all from their inefficacy and inſufficiency almoſt as ſoon as they were propoſed, and have now abandoned all hope of framing any; we foreſee and dread the formidable power which the meaſure of Union will give to the miniſter in all Iriſh elections, by deſtroying the beneficial operation of theſe acts; for the expence, trouble and delay of trying controverted Iriſh elections in London, will deter many candidates, entitled to be returned, from ſeeking redreſs; the ſheriffs, who are all appointed by the miniſter, will, in fact, nominate the members, and many of them having already obeyed the wiſhes of the miniſter in

endeavouring to ſtifle the conſtitutional voice of the people, give us too ſure an omen of the conduct which may be expected from them in elections.

That whether we reſt on this incontrovertible and ſelf-evident truth, that no parliament in another kingdom can have the local information or knowledge of the manners, habits, wants or wiſhes of the nation, which its own parliament naturally poſſeſſes, and which is requiſite for beneficial legiſlation, nor can be ſupplied with the neceſſary information, either as promptly or accurately; or whether we look to the clear proofs of that truth which the progreſs of this meaſure has afforded, by your miniſters having called to their aſſiſtance in London the great officers of this kingdom moſt likely from their ſtation to give full information for framing their meaſure; and though all their talents and all their own information, and what they obtained by letters while it was pending, were employed for months there, yet when they brought it back, a few hours, or rather a few minutes enquiry on the ſpot in Dublin, forced them to alter their project in very many articles, complete and perfect as they thought it: we have ſtrong additional reaſon to feel and to repreſent the manifeſt and irreparable injuries which this kingdom muſt ſuſtain by the want of a reſident parliament, and the impoſſibility of legiſlation being carried on for it as it ought to be. Therefore, inaſmuch as the meaſure of a Union is an unneceſſary innovation, and innovations, at all times hazardous, are rendered peculiarly ſo now by the awful ſituation of the times; inaſmuch too, as far from being an innocent experiment, it is replete with changes injurious to our trade and manufactures and our revenues; inaſmuch alſo, as it deſtroys our conſtitution which has worked well, and ſubſtitutes a new one, the benefits of which we cannot ſee, but the numerous evils and dangers of which are apparent, and which in every change it offers militates againſt ſome known and eſtabliſhed principle of the Britiſh conſtitution; inaſmuch alſo, as it ſo far endangers the conſtitution of Britain, as not to leave us the certainty of enjoying a free conſtitution there when our own ſhall be deſtroyed;

Inaſmuch as it tends to impoveriſh and ſubjugate Ireland, without giving wealth or ſtrength to Britain;

Inaſmuch as it tends to raiſe and perpetuate diſcontent and jealouſies, to create new and ſtrengthen old diſtinctneſſes of intereſt in our concerns of trade, manufactures, revenue and conſtitution; and inſtead of encreaſing the connection between the two kingdoms, may tend to their ſeparation,

to

to our conſequent ruin, and to the deſtruction or diſmemberment of the empire;

Inaſmuch as it endangers inſtead of promoting or ſecuring the tranquillity of Ireland, as it degrades the national pride and character, debaſes its rank from a kingdom to that of a dependant province, yet leaves us every expenſe and mark of a kingdom but the great eſſential one of a parliament;

Inaſmuch as it has been propoſed and hitherto carried againſt the decided and expreſſed ſenſe of the people, notwithſtanding the improper means reſorted to to prevent that ſenſe being declared, and to miſrepreſent it when known;

Inaſmuch as it is not grounded in all its intricate and momentous parts on that ſolemn and full inveſtigation which ought to attend every meaſure of great moment, and has been introduced and conducted with various deluſions and impoſitions, and with an unbecoming and ſuſpicious haſte;

Inaſmuch as it provides for ſending one hundred of the preſent repreſentatives to legiſlate in another kingdom, though elected only to ſit in the parliament in this, and does not give the people an opportunity, by a new election, to exerciſe their diſcretion in a new choice of perſons for ſuch a new, altered and increaſed truſt;

Inaſmuch as it leaves to be determined, by the chance of drawing lots, the choice of thirty-two members to repreſent as many great cities and towns, with a levity which tends to turn into ridicule the ſacred and ſerious truſt of repreſentative; and while it commits to one perſon the office which the conſtitution commits to two, of ſpeaking the voice of the people and granting their money, it does not allow the electors to chuſe which of the two they will entruſt with that power;

And inaſmuch as means the moſt unconſtitutional, influence the moſt undue, and bribes openly avowed, have been reſorted to, to carry it againſt the known ſenſe of the commons and people during the exiſtence of martial law throughout the land:

We feel it our bounden duty to ourſelves, our country, and our poſterity, to lay this our moſt ſolemn proteſt and prayer before your majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to extend your paternal protection to your faithful and loyal ſubjects, and to ſave them from the danger threatened by your majeſty's miniſters in this their ruinous and deſtructive project, humbly declaring with the moſt cordial and warm ſincerity, that we are actuated therein by an irreſiſtible ſenſe of duty, by an unſhaken loyalty to your majeſty, by a veneration

for the Britiſh name, by an ardent attachment to the Britiſh nation, with whom we have ſo often declared we will ſtand or fall, and by a determination to preſerve for ever the connection between the two kingdoms on which the happineſs, the power and the ſtrength of each irrevocably and unalterably depend.

The queſtion being put on the foregoing motion, the houſe divided,

Tellers for the Ayes, who went out, Lord Viſc. Corry and Mr. Saurin, - - } 77

Tellers for the Noes, who ſtayed within, Right Hon. Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Robert John, } 135

It paſſed in the negative.

No. CXXI.

Proteſt of the Iriſh Peers againſt the Union. (*Page* 1066.)

DISSENTIENT,

1. Becauſe the meaſure recommended by our moſt gracious ſovereign was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be founded upon equal and liberal principles. We cannot help obſerving, that the terms propoſed in the ſaid bill are inconſiſtent with thoſe principles, and are totally unequal. That Great Britain is thereby to retain entire and undiminiſhed her Houſes of Lords and Commons, and that two-fifteenths of the Iriſh peers are to be degraded and deprived of their legiſlative functions, and that two-thirds of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons are to be ſtruck off.

Such a proceeding appears to us totally unequal, both in reſpect of numbers, and the mode of forming the united parliament; and we cannot ſuggeſt any reaſon for reducing the number of members of the Iriſh houſes of parliament, which does not apply with more force to reducing the number of the members in the Britiſh houſes of parliament, whoſe numbers ſo greatly exceed that of the members of the Iriſh houſes of parliament.

2. Becauſe the meaſure recommended by his majeſty, was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, by which we underſtand ſuch an Union as ſhould ſo perfectly identify the two nations, that they ſhould become

come one nation, and that there ſhould not exiſt any diſtinct intereſt between them.

When we conſider the proviſions of the ſaid bill, we find that although its profeſſed object is to form a perfect Union between them, it does not in any ſort effect it. It unites the legiſlature, but does not identify the nations. Their intereſts will remain as diſtinct as they are at preſent. Ireland will continue to be governed by a viceroy, aſſiſted by an Iriſh privy council. Her purſe, her revenues, her expenditure, and her taxes, will be as diſtinct as they are at preſent from thoſe of Great Britain, even their intercourſe of trade muſt be carried on as between two ſeparate nations, through the medium of revenue officers. Such diſtinctneſſes of intereſt prove that they require ſeparate parliaments, reſident in each kingdom to attend to them. That ſuch Union is only nominal, and that it does not effect that complete and entire Union recommended by his majeſty, but ſhews that from the circumſtances of the two nations, the ſame is totally impracticable.

3. Becauſe the adjuſtment of the numbers of the Iriſh members to be added to the two houſes of the imperial parliament, has been determined upon without any official documents, or other authentic information, having been laid before parliament. That upon the Union with Scotland, ſuch proportion was adjuſted by the commiſſioners appointed for England and Scotland, upon an examination of their reſpective claims, having thereupon agreed that the number of commoners to be added to the Engliſh commoners, conſiſting of five hundred and thirteen, ſhould be forty-five on the part of Scotland; and the number of Engliſh peers, being then one hundred and eighty-five, they calculated that ſixteen were the ſame proportion to that number which forty-five were to the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, and therefore determined upon that number of peers. This calculation juſtified the propriety of ſuch adjuſtment, and we cannot conceive upon what principle the number of Iriſh peers was reduced to thirty-two, when, according to the proportion aforeſaid, it ought to have been fifty-three. We muſt conſider ſuch conduct as unjuſt in its principle, and wantonly caſting a ſtigma upon the Iriſh peerage, by depriving twenty-one of their body of their juſt rights of ſitting in the united parliament.

4. Becauſe, that however proper it may have been for two parliaments to mark out the great outlines for forming an Union between the two nations, we think that from their ſituations in different kingdoms, and the impracti-

cability

cability of communication between them, they were ill ſuited to the adjuſtment of matters which required detail.

That the mode of proceeding adopted by the great Lord Somers upon the Union with Scotland, of appointing commiſſioners on the behalf of each nation, is proved by experience to have been well adapted to that purpoſe. That ſuch commiſſioners having the means of procuring information, and communication with each other, were thereby enabled to ſettle with propriety, and to the ſatisfaction of both nations, ſuch matters as ſhould be neceſſary to be adjuſted between them. That inſtead of adopting that wiſe and rational mode of proceeding, the adjuſtment of the numbers to be added to the imperial parliament has been eſtabliſhed in purſuance of the mandate of the Britiſh miniſter, without laying before Parliament any official document whatſoever, or taking any ſtep to procure information concerning the reſpective claims of the two nations.

5. Becauſe by the original diſtribution of power between the two houſes of parliament, it has been eſtabliſhed as a leading and fundamental principle of the conſtitution, that the commons ſhould hold the purſe of the nation without the interference of the peerage; notwithſtanding which, and that the ſaid bill declares that Iriſh peerages ſhall be conſidered as peerages of the united kingdom; it directs that Iriſh peers ſhall be eligible as commoners to repreſent any place in Great Britain, whereby the purſe of the nation will be eventually put into the hands of the peers of the united kingdom, under the deſcription of Iriſh peers, in direct defiance of the aforeſaid principle. That it is evident, that ſuch innovation was introduced by the miniſter, for the purpoſe of preventing the oppoſition which the meaſure might receive from ſuch Iriſh peers as were members of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, which is clearly evinced by their not being made eligible for any place in Ireland, from whence they derive their honours.

That by the proviſion in the bill for a conſtant creation of Peers for Ireland, the Iriſh peerage is to be kept up for ever, thereby perpetuating the degrading diſtinction by which the Iriſh peerage is to continue ſtripped of all parliamentary functions. That the perpetuity of ſuch diſtinction would have been avoided, by providing, that no Iriſh peer ſhould hereafter be created, (which is the caſe of Scotch Peers.) And that whenever the Iriſh peers ſhall be reduced to the number of twenty-eight, they ſhould be declared peers of the United Empire, agreeably with the Britiſh. From which time all national diſtinctions between them ſhould ceaſe.

6. Becauſe

6. Becauſe, when we advert to the corrupt and unconſtitutional language held out by the miniſters, to ſuch members as claimed property in boroughs, intimating to them, that they ſhould be conſidered as their private property, and ſhould be purchaſed as ſuch, and the price paid out of the public purſe, ſuch language appears to us to amount to a propoſal to buy the Iriſh parliament for government, and makes the Union a meaſure of bargain and ſale between the miniſter and the individual.

7. Becauſe, when we compare the relative abilities of Great Britain and Ireland, we find the contribution to be paid by two kingdoms to the expences of the united empire moſt unequally adjuſted, and that the ſhare of two-ſeventeenths, fixed upon as the proportion to be paid by Ireland, is far beyond what the reſources will enable her to diſcharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than ſhe ſhall be able to anſwer, the act will be irrevocable, and the neceſſary conſequences will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and finally, her total bankruptcy. Should Ireland fail, Great Britain muſt neceſſarily be involved in her ruin, and we will have to lament, that our great and glorious empire will be brought to the brink of deſtruction by the dangerous and viſionary ſpeculation of ſubſtituting a new ſyſtem of government for Ireland, in the place of that conſtitution, which ſhe has experienced to be the firmeſt ſecurity for the preſervation of her liberties. We think it proper to obſerve, that if the miniſtry had any plauſible grounds whereon they have calculated the ſaid proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before the parliament, nor have the uſual and eſtabliſhed forms of proceeding to inveſtigate matters of intricate and extended calculation been reſorted to, by appointing committees for their examination, neither have commiſſioners been appointed, as was done upon the Union with Scotland. Had the miniſter applied his attention to that very neceſſary enquiry, of aſcertaining the relative ability of the two nations, he would have compared the balance which Great Britain has in her favor from her trade with all the world, amounting to fourteen millions eight hundred thouſand pounds, with that of Ireland upon the whole of her trade, amounting to five hundred and nine thouſand three hundred and twelve pounds, bearing a proportion to each other of about twenty-nine to one. He would have examined into the amount of the revenue out of which the ſaid proportions muſt naturally be paid, namely, the produce of the permanent taxes of each nation, which he would.

would have found to have produced in Great Britain in the year ending the fifth of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine, the ſum of twenty-ſix millions, and that the permanent taxes of Ireland in the correſponding year did not exceed two millions, bearing a proportion to each other of about thirteen to one. He would have been informed, that the only influx of money into Ireland which can be diſcovered, is the ſaid balance of her trade of five hundred thouſand pounds, and that ſhe remits to Great Britain annually ſeven hundred and twenty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three pounds, a ſum exceeding by upward of two hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds the amount of ſuch balance.

That the remittances to her abſentees, as ſtated by Mr. Pitt, amount to one million, but are computed really to amount to double that ſum, and muſt neceſſarily greatly increaſe, ſhould the Union take place, ſuch drains exhauſting in a great degree the reſources of this kingdom, and adding to the opulence of Great Britain. The facility with which large ſums of money have lately been raiſed in Great Britain, compared with the unſucceſsful attempt to raiſe ſo ſmall a ſum in this kingdom as one million and a half, would have afforded to him the ſtrongeſt proof of the opulence of the one, and the poverty of the other. From the Iriſh miniſter's own ſtatement, he has computed, that the ſum for which this kingdom ſhall be called upon annually in time of war as her contribution, will amount to four millions four hundred and ninety-two thouſand ſix hundred and eighty pounds, but has not attempted to point out the means by which ſhe can raiſe ſo enormous a ſum. When the miniſter ſhall find, that the circumſtances of Ireland are ſuch as have been herein ſtated, and ſhall recollect, that this new project has been ſuggeſted by him, and forced upon this nation, he will feel the immenſe reſponſibility, which falls upon him for the diſaſtrous conſequence which it may produce, not only upon this kingdom, but upon the whole empire. He will be alarmed at the diſcontents, which an impoſition of taxes beyond the abilities of the people to pay muſt produce, and the fatal conſequences that they may occaſion.

8. Becauſe the transfer of our legiſlature to another kingdom will deprive us of the only ſecurity we have for the enjoyment of our liberties, and being againſt the ſenſe of the people, amounts to a groſs breach of truſt, and we conſider the ſubſtitute for our conſtitution, namely, the return of the propoſed number of perſons to the united parliament as deluſive, amounting indeed

to

to an acknowledgment of the neceſſity of repreſentation, but in no ſort ſupplying it. Inaſmuch as the thirty-two peers and the one hundred commoners will be merged in the vaſt diſproportion of Britiſh members, who will in fact be the legiſlators of Ireland; and when we conſider, that all the eſtabliſhments are to continue, which muſt add to the influence of the miniſter over the conduct of parliament, and advert to his power in the return of Iriſh members to parliament, we conceive, that ſuch portion is more likely to overturn the conſtitution of Great Britain than to preſerve our own.

9. Becauſe we conſider the intended Union a direct breach of truſt, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain with that of Ireland.

Inaſmuch as the tenor and purport of the ſettlement of one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, did intentionally and expreſsly exclude the re-agitation of conſtitutional queſtions between the two countries, and did eſtabliſh the excluſive legiſlative authority of the Iriſh parliament without the interference of any other, that the breach of ſuch a ſolemn contract, founded on the internal weakneſs of the country, and its inability at this time to withſtand the deſtructive deſign of the miniſter, muſt tend to deſtroy the future harmony of both, by forming a precedent, and generating a principle of mutual encroachment in times of mutual difficulties.

10. Becauſe, that when we conſider the weakneſs of this kingdom at the time that the meaſure was brought forward, and her inability to withſtand the deſtructive deſigns of the miniſter, and couple to the act itſelf the means that have been employed to accompliſh it, ſuch as the abuſe of the place bill for the purpoſe of modelling the parliament, the appointment of ſheriffs to prevent county meetings, the diſmiſſal of the old ſtedfaſt friends of conſtitutional government, for their adherence to the conſtitution, and the return of perſons into parliament, who had neither connexion nor ſtake in this country, and were therefore ſelected to decide upon her fate: when we conſider the armed force of the miniſter, added to his powers and practices of corruption, when we couple theſe things together, we are warranted to ſay, that the baſeſt means have been uſed to accompliſh this great innovation, that the meaſure of Union tends to diſhonor the ancient peerage for ever, to diſqualify both houſes of parliament, and ſubjugate the people of Ireland for ever. Such circumſtances, we apprehend, will be recollected with abhorrence, and

will create jealouſy between the two nations, in the place of that harmony, which for ſo many centuries has been the cement of their union.

11. Becauſe the argument made uſe of in favor of the Union, namely, that the ſenſe of the people of Ireland is in its favor, we know to be untrue; and as the miniſters have declared, that they would not preſs the meaſure againſt the ſenſe of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties their judgment againſt it, we have, together with the ſenſe of the country, the authority of the miniſter to enter our proteſt againſt the project of Union, againſt the yoke which it impoſes, the diſhonor which it inflicts, the diſqualification paſſed upon the peerage, the ſtigma thereby branded on the realm, the diſproportionate principle of expence it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the diſcontents it has excited, and muſt continue to excite: againſt all theſe, and the fatal conſequences they may produce, we have endeavoured to interpoſe our votes, and failing, we tranſmit to after-times our names, in ſolemn proteſt on behalf of the parliamentary conſtitution of this realm, the liberty which it ſecured, the trade which it protected, the connexion which it preſerved, and the conſtitution which it ſupplied and fortified, this we feel ourſelves called upon to do in ſupport of our characters, our honor, and whatever is left to us worthy to be tranſmitted to our poſterity.

Leinſter
Arran
Mount Caſhell
Farnham
Belmore, by proxy
Maſſy, by proxy
Strangford
Granard
Ludlow, by proxy
Moira, by proxy, for the 8th, 10th, and 11th reaſons
Rd. Waterford and Liſmore
Powerſcourt
De Veſci
Charlemont,
Kingſton, by proxy
Riverſdale, by proxy
Meath
Liſmore, by proxy
Sunderlin, except for the 7th reaſon.

DISSENTIENT.

1. BECAUSE I conceive that this bill, in radically altering the organization and powers of the ſtate, in and for the reſpective kingdoms, does eſſentially adulterate the ſpirit of the conſtitution as to both.

That

That in depriving Ireland of her local reſident parliament, it diveſts her of thoſe eſſential benefits of the Britiſh conſtitution, protection and control.

That by reducing the kingdom of Ireland to a Britiſh province, it merges eſſential powers of the crown and parliament of Ireland, not in the imperial crown, but in the imperial parliament of Great Britain, thereby rendering the Britiſh conſtitution by ſo much the more ariſtocratic, and by ſo much the leſs monarchical, in the *ratio* of the repreſentation of Ireland as ſet out in this bill. That this radical alteration of the Britiſh conſtitution is moſt prominently conſpicuous in the nomination and appointment of the peers to ſit in the incorporated parliament for Ireland, the term of which appointment not only diveſts the king of one of his elementary and brighteſt prerogatives, the excluſive creation of the peerage, but by its departure even from the precedent of the Scotiſh Union, (which, however inapplicable, has been pertinaciouſly inſiſted upon by the advocates for the meaſure,) does according to the tenor of this bill, for ever exclude his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, even from the benefit, which might be derived to the monarchy from a periodical return of ſuch nomination.

2. Becauſe I apprehend that this radical alteration of the conſtitution of both kingdoms, may ſooner or later be productive of the moſt injurious and fatal conſequences to the crown and to the people of each, by warping the intereſts of the miniſter from the intereſts of the crown, and by identifying the perſonal intereſts of the former with the perſonal intereſt of the imperial parliament, thus drawing a line of diſtinction between thoſe intereſts, which every principle of the conſtitution has provided ſhould at all times be one and the ſame, and blending thoſe perſonal intereſts which every principle of the conſtitution does provide, ſhould be for ever kept diſtinct, thereby deſtroying the reſponſibility of the miniſter, and with it that great preſerver of order and of right, a ſtrong executive under the control of a ſtrong balanced conſtitution, the poſſible ultimate conſequence of which, however remote, cannot eſcape the eye of any man, who is capable of taking a proſpective view of cauſes and effects.

3. Becauſe every allegation which has been advanced, and every argument, which has been urged by the advocates for this meaſure, may with equal truth and conſiſtency be made a plea for a total ſubverſion and abolition of the Britiſh conſtitution as to Great Britain herſelf, to whom alone, we are now to look forward for the preſervation of any veſtige of that ineſtimable bleſ-

ſing. A conſideration rendered more weighty to the underſtanding, and impreſſive on the mind of every thinking loyal ſubject of both kingdoms, by the apophthegm, with which this ſyſtem has been from high official authority wound up, and the alarming innovation to which it is applied. It is as follows, " that in this meaſure is recorded a main and fundamental principle of " the Britiſh conſtitution, viz. that the liberties of the people do not depend " upon their being repreſented in any one preciſe and ſpecific manner, or " upon each individual having a vote in the repreſentation, but, they reſult " from the admiſſion of various modes of election, and from the different " combinations of the various intereſts of the country.

" This is fully recognized in the article as approved of by *both* legiſlatures, " that there is no ſpecies of repreſentation, which *may not* with propriety and " benefit be admitted into the conſtitution, *provided* it be admitted within " a limited degree." A doctrine, which dangerous in theory, and critical in practice, is here ſubverſively brought into action by the fifth clauſe of the fourth article of this bill, which provides, that peers of Ireland may upon certain conditions ſit in the Houſe of Commons for the imperial parliament for any Britiſh county, city, or borough, for which they may be ſo elected, though by the thirteenth clauſe of the ſaid article, all peerages of Ireland now ſubſiſting, or hereafter to be created, ſhall from the date of the Union, be conſidered as peerages of the united kingdom under certain limitations and reſtrictions therein ſtated, thereby breaking down the lines eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, and with them, every idea of diſtinctneſs, of function, and of inherent dignity attached to peerage, introducing a principle tending to divert the reſpective orders of the ſtate from their conſtitutional channels.

4. Becauſe the plea, upon which this meaſure is avowedly founded, viz. that of neceſſity ariſing from the exiſting ſtate of things in this kingdom, together with the cauſes, which are conſidered as having conduced thereto, is as I conceive, with regard to the neceſſity of the meaſure merely factitious in this, that each and every of thoſe cauſes as to times paſt, together with every poſſible conſequence as to times to come, might have been, as was ſuggeſted, for ever effectually done away, and prevented by an act of the Iriſh parliament alone, " declaring and enacting the rightful ſupremacy of the " Britiſh ſtate as to all matters of imperial, external concern, upon terms of " equal benefit to Ireland as to Great Britain, ſaid act further declaring and " enacting, that as Ireland did by original compact derive the benefits and

" enjoyment

" enjoyment of the Britiſh conſtitution, communicated and guaranteed to " her upon terms of her maintenance thereof, and conformity thereto, the " parliament of Ireland does for ever diſclaim all right, faculty, and power " of altering as to herſelf, without the expreſs conſent of the Britiſh ſtate, " and of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, whether as origi- " nally eſtabliſhed, or as ſince modified," that as the adjuſtment reſpecting the act of navigation and channel trade, as likewiſe the adoption and adjuſtment of a contribution on the part of Ireland, have from their nature required, that they be regulated and carried into effect by the reſpective parliaments of the reſpective kingdoms, as eſtabliſhed previous to the paſſing of this bill, and until it receive the royal aſſent, it cannot be aſſumed, even by the moſt daring aſſertion, that thoſe meaſures could not be validated, and for ever rendered to all intents and purpoſes alike authentic and permanent, although this bill were for ever to fall to the ground, thus ſteering clear of the manifold, obvious, and unforeſeen dangers inſeparable from experimental projects on ſuch vital points, renovating the ſpirit and faculties, without innovating upon the principles or organization of that imperial conſtitution of the united kingdom, which for more than ſix hundred years has ſtood the ſhock of time and event. A conſtitution ſo founded, upon an union of intereſts and ſentiments, that it has given to each kingdom ſuch rapid proſperity and ſolid reſources, and to the empire at large, ſuch unexampled energy and authority as have enabled her to ſtand the unſhaken bulwark of religion, civil government, and ſocial order, even at this awful period, when the greater part of the civilized world ſuffers under the ineffable horrors of innovation, revolution, and inteſtine warfare, without any apparent practicable object or termination to their ſelf-extirpating diſtractions. And finally, becauſe in whatever point of view I conſider this bill, whether as referring to the monarchy, the ariſtocracy, or the repreſentation, and people of both kingdoms, throughout every department and order of the entire ſtate, upon the moſt mature conſideration directed for a ſeries of years to this great ſubject, and to all its relative bearings, tendencies, and conſequences, I do moſt ſtrongly apprehend that this bill will, in its operation and effects, prove alike injurious to all, and that it will ſo undermine the confidence even of the well-diſpoſed in this kingdom, that the utmoſt influence which will remain to ſuch of the nobility, firſt rate gentry, and other perſons of high character, and to this of perſonal weight, who ſhall continue to reſide therein, will prove ineffectual

to

to prevent the abatement of thoſe affections, and of that zeal, which from the nature and formation of the human mind, ever riſe or ſink in proportion to that confidence, on which they are founded. For which reaſons, together with many others, which it is not my object to enumerate or to ſet forth, and which are, I fear, already too deeply and impulſively felt by almoſt the entire kingdom, I feel it incumbent upon me, in aſſertion of my national pride and perſonal character, in juſtice to my political conſiſtency and perſonal honor, to tranſmit to poſterity this my ſolemn proteſt againſt this dereliction of national right, the degradation of national dignity.

BELLAMONT.

DISSENTIENT.

TO that clauſe in the bill recited in the fourth article, which makes it competent to the peers of Ireland to be elected members of the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom as the repreſentatives of places in Great Britain.

1. Becauſe, as the peers of Ireland are after the Union to enjoy all the privileges of the peers of Great Britain, (with the exception of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords) it gives to the counties and boroughs of Great Britain the power of chooſing a repreſentative from the peers, and is therefore an anomaly in the conſtitution.

2. Becauſe I conſider the peerage to be degraded thereby, inaſmuch as the peer ſo elected muſt diveſt himſelf of the rights and privileges of the peerage, and aſſume the condition of a commoner.

3. Becauſe I conceive it to be repugnant to a fixed principle of the conſtitution, that the peerage with the privileges incident thereto, conſtitute an indefeaſible inheritance, and cannot be ſurrendered.

4. Becauſe it creates a confuſion of the orders of the ſtate, enabling the ſubject, being a peer, to act in the capacity of a commoner, and then upon his ceaſing to be a repreſentative of the commons, to return to his condition of a peer.

Impreſſed with ſuch conſiderations, I cannot refrain from recording my opinion thereupon, although theſe proviſions to which I diſſent make part of a meaſure, to the remainder of which I have given every ſupport, and which, conſidered as to its general ſcope, and its other relations, will, I am convinced, be productive of the greateſt advantages to Ireland, at the ſame time

that

that it will increaſe the ſtrength, the ſecurity, and the reſources of the Britiſh empire.

GLANDORE.

No. CXXII.

A correct Liſt of all the Writs iſſued with a View to parliamentary Arrangements in Ireland, in the Year 1800. (*P.* 1067.)

No.	For what Place.	In the Room of	On what Account.	Date.
				1800
1	Ardfert	Lorenzo Moore, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
2	———	John Talbot, Eſq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Aug. 1
3	Armagh, county	Lord Viſcount Caulfield	Earl of Charlemont	Jan. 15
4	Athboy	Hugh Howard, Eſq.	Deceaſed	Ibid.
5	Athenry	Theophilus Blakeney, Eſq. William Blakeney, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter Eſcheator of Munſter	April 12
6	Athlone	Sir Rich. Bligh St. George	Eſcheator of Ulſter	May 12
7	Ballynakill	Hon. Montague Matthew	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
8	———	David Walſhe, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	March 1
9	Banagher	Edward Hoare, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	May 28
10	Bannow	Robert Shaw, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
11	———	Major-Gen. Wm. Loftus	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	March 1
12	Belfaſt	George Crookſhank, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Ibid.
13	———	Alexander Hamilton, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	
14	Belturbet	Charles King, Eſq.	Deceaſed	Jan. 15
15	Bleſſington	Rt. Hon. R. Annelly, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 20
16	Carrick	William Gore, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of Barracks	Jan. 17
17	———	Nathaniel Sneyd, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Ibid.
18	Carysfort	Robert Aldridge, Eſq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 20
19	Caſtlebar	Thomas Lindſay, ſen.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	Ibid.
20	Caſtlemartyr	John Townſhend, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of the Revenue	Jan. 17
21	Charleville	Hon. Charles Boyle	Eſcheator of Munſter	Feb. 14
22	Clogher	Jonah Barrington, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 17
23	— ——	Thomas Burgh, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of Account	Ibid.
24	Clonmel	Thomas Newenham, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Feb. 13
25	Clonmines	Henry Luttrell, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	Jan. 15
26	Cork, city	Mountiford Longfield, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of the Revenue	Ibid.
27	Dingle-Icouch	William Monſell, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	Ibid.
28	———	Rt. Hon. Lodge Morres	Lord Baron Frankfort	Aug. 2
29	Donegal, borough	Colonel Hugh O'Donnel	Deceaſed	Jan. 15
30	Doneraile	Hon. Barry Boyle St. Leger	Eſcheator of Ulſter	Ibid.
31	Duleek	Ch. Mont. Ormſby, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of Barracks	Jan. 15
32	Dungannon	Rich. Forteſ. Sharkey, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	July 18
33	Dunleer	Henry Coddington, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Feb. 5

No.

97	For what Place.	In the Room of	On what Account.	Date.
				1803
34	Ennis	J. Ormſby Vandeleur, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of the Revenue	July 15
35	Enniſcorthy	Robert Cornwall, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of Barracks	Ibid.
36	———	Thomas Whaley, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	June 21
37	Enniſkillen	Hon. Col. Galbraith Lowry Cole	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 18
38	Fethard	George H. Read, Eſq.	Port Surveyor of Wexford	Jan. 15
39	Fore	Sir John Tydd, Bart.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Feb. 3
40	Galway, county	Joſeph Henry Blake, Eſq.	Lord Baron Wallſcourt	Aug. 1
41	Gowran	George Bunbury, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	March 28
42	Granard	Geo. Fulke Lyttleton, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
43	Hillſborough	Wm. Montgomery, Eſq.	Deceaſed	Ibid.
44	———	Robert Johnſon, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	Jan. 20
45	Kells	Hon. Robert Taylor	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
46	Kerry, county	Maurice Fitzgerald, Eſq.	Commiſſioner of the Revenue	Ibid.
47	Kilbeggan	Sir Fran. Hopkins, Bart.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Ibid.
48	Killyleagh	Hans Blackwood, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Feb. 13
49	Knocktopher	Sir George Shee, Bart.	Secretary to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury	Jan. 15
50	———	Right Hon. Sir Hercules Langriſhe, Bart.	Eſcheator of Munſter	March 10
51	———	Thomas Staples, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	April 12
52	Laneſborough	Richard Martin, Eſq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Aug. 1
53	Londonderry, co.	Rt. Hon. Thos. Conolly	Eſcheator of Munſter	May 8
54	Longford, borough	Hon. Edw. Packenham	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	March 28
55	Maryborough	General Eyre Coote	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 18
56	Meath, county	Hon. Clotworthy Rowley	Lord Baron Longford	Aug. 1
57	Middleton	General Cradock	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	April 12
58	Monaghan, bor.	William Forteſcue, Eſq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 18
59	Monaghan, co.	Ch. Powell Leſlie, Eſq.	Deceaſed	Aug. 1
60	Naas	Hon. F. Hely Hutchinſon	Collector of Dublin Port	Jan. 15
61	Newtownards	Robert Alexander, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Ulſter	Jan. 20
62	Philipſtown	Robert Crowe, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
63	———	Francis Knox, Eſq.	King's Counſel	Ibid.
64	Portarlington	Thomas Stannus, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Leinſter	Jan. 20
65	Roſcommon, bor.	Hen. Moore Sandford, Eſq.	Lord Baron Sandford	Aug. 1
66	St. Johnſtown, co. Donegal	Rt. Hon. Wm. Forward	Treaſurer of the Poſt Office	Jan. 20
67	St. Johnſtown, co. Longford	Hon. Wm. Moore	Eſcheator of Munſter	Jan. 15
68	Thomaſtown	George Dunbar, Eſq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	March 6
69	———	James Kearney, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	March 28
70	———	Hon. Ch. Wm. Stuart	Eſcheator of Ulſter	May 8
71	Tuam	Hon. Walter Yelverton	Curſitor of the Court of Chancery	Jan. 15
72	———	John Bingham, Eſq.	Eſcheator of Munſter	Feb. 8
73	Tulſk	Anthony Botel, Eſq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 20
74	Wexford, co.	Lord Viſcount Loftus	Commiſſioner of the Treaſury	Aug. 1
75	Wexford, town	James Boyd, Eſq.	Collector of Wexford Port	Jan. 15
76	Wicklow, bor.	Daniel Gahan, Eſq.	Deceaſed	Ibid.
77	Youghall	Robert Uniacke, Eſq.	Surveyor General of the Ordnance	Ibid.

Iriſh Parliament Annuitants.

The following is the liſt of the annuities voted by the parliament of Ireland, to the ſeveral perſons under-named, for their reſpective lives, to the amount affixed to their reſpective names, net, without any deduction or abatement whatſoever, as a compenſation for their reſpective loſſes by reaſon of the diſcontinuance of their emoluments or offices as officers or attendants of the two houſes of parliament.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
John, Earl of Clare, lord chancellor, ſpeaker	3973	3	4
John, Earl of Mayo, chairman of the committees	1443	6	0
Edmond Henry, Lord Glentworth, clerk of the crown in chancery	379	10	0
William Meek, Eſq. clerk of the parliament	2705	16	0
Thomas Lindſay, Eſq. uſher of the black rod	964	9	9
Edward Weſtby, Thomas Walker, William Hornn, and S. King, Eſqs. maſters in chancery, each	104	4	2
Joſeph Gayer, Eſq. deputy clerk of the parliament	631	13	4
Thomas Bourchier, Eſq. deputy clerk of the crown in chancery	101	2	1
Joſeph Gregg, Eſq. clerk of aſſizes	786	12	4
Joſeph Griffith, Eſq. reading clerk	293	3	1
Henry Minchin, Eſq. ſerjeant at arms	314	2	2
Richard C. Smith, jun. Eſq. committee clerk	231	6	0
Edward Fenner, Eſq. journal clerk	287	7	6
B. Connor, Eſq. yeoman uſher	243	16	6
W. Walker, Eſq. add. clerk	70	0	0
T. R. O'Flaherty, clerk in the parliament office	74	10	8
W. Corbett, door-keeper to the ſpeaker's chamber	105	0	4
C. W. Jolly, J. Polden, P. Martin, W. Graham, P. Thompſon, and G. Payn, door-keepers, each	92	2	8
P. Long, W. Cavendiſh, M. Quinan, and J. Tobin, meſſengers, each	91	13	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament houſe	877	18	9
Mary Foſter, houſe-keeper	472	18	11
Mary Anne Foſter, houſe-maid	30	9	6

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Sir Chicheſter Forteſcue, Ulſter king at arms -	290	19	5
Philip O'Bryen, gate-keeper - - -	42	6	8
Richard Taylor, keeper of the ſpeaker's chamber -	50	0	0
Henry Welbore, Viſcount Clifden, clerk of the council -	181	13	4
Henry Upton, Eſq. deputy do. - -	104	8	11
Joſ. Patrickſon, Eſq. deputy clerk, uſher of the council-chamber, and ſolicitor for turnpike-bills - -	421	9	5
Mr. William M'Kay, aſſiſtant clerk of the council -	100	17	0
John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, door-keeper and council-office keeper - - - - -	14	8	2
John Dwyer, Eſq. ſecretary to the lord chancellor -	29	2	8
John Beresford, Eſq. purſe bearer to do. - -	14	11	2
Andrew Bowen, water porter - - -	4	11	0
Right Honorable John Foſter, ſpeaker *of the* Houſe of Commons	583	8	4
Henry Alexander, Eſq. chairman *of* the committees of ſupply and ways and means - - -	500	0	0
Sir G. Fitzgerald *Hill, Bart.* clerk of the houſe -	2263	13	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Edward Cooke, clerk of the houſe in reverſion -	500	0	0
John M'Clintock and William F. M'Clintock, Eſqs. ſerjeants at arms, including 100*l.* on the civil liſt - -	1200	0	0
Edward Treſham, clerk aſſiſtant - -	594	6	10
G. F. Winſtanley, and Jonathan Rogers, committee clerks, each	250	0	0
D. Ellis, ſuperin. engroſſing clerk - -	140	0	0
C. H. Tandy, engroſſing clerk - - -	398	7	0
T. Richardſon, aſſiſtant do. - - -	150	0	0
William Ratferty, clerk in the chief clerks office, clerk of the minutes, and clerk of the fees - -	470	0	0
H. Coddington, Eſq. deputy ſerjeant at arms - -	350	0	0
James Corry, Eſq. clerk of the journals and records -	660	0	0
John Smith, aſſiſtant do. - - -	230	0	0
R. Connor, attending clerk - - -	60	0	0
Mr. Hume, clerk of the brief - - -	100	0	0
John Judd, aſſiſtant clerk in the chief clerk's office -	63	6	8
J. L. Foſter, Eſq. ſpeaker's ſecretary - -	10	0	5
G. Dunleavy, meſſenger - - -	68	0	0
R. Burnſide and R. Fleming, back-door keepers, each -	48	0	0

John

	l.	s.	d.
John Dogherty, and D. Smith, meſſengers, each	46	0	0
L. Dunlevey, R. Grace, R. Garland, E. Byrne, D. Brenan, H. Gahan, J. Brown, A. Carſon, P. Ferrall, J. Morley, G. Shirley, M. Dalton, and J. King, each	36	0	0
J. Banen, do.	51	18	6
W. Brown, diſtributor of votes	130	0	0
Sarah Connor, houſe-keeper	401	13	2
John Kennedy and John Walker, front door-keepers, each	168	4	9½
Mary Connor, houſe attendant	4	11	0
T. Seavers, fire-lighter	11	7	6
R. Watham, do.	6	16	6
Lord Viſcount Glentworth, clerk of the crown and hanaper	131	8	6½
T. Bouchier, deputy do.	52	5	6
John Beresford, Eſq. purſe bearer to the lord chancellor	33	18	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament houſe	140	0	0

An account of Gold coined at his Majeſty's Mint, from Michaelmas 1796, *to the preſent time, diſtinguiſhing the quantity in each year.*

Year.	*Quantity coined in pounds weight.*	*Value.*
1796 from Michaelmas	3,480	162,603 0 0
1797	42,810	2,000,297 5 0
1798	63,510	2,967,504 15 0
1799	9,630	449,961 15 0
1800 to the 20th November	4,065	189,937 2 6
Total	£123,495	£5,770,303 17 6

Mint Office, 20th November, 1800. HAWKESBURY, Maſter.

A Correct Liſt of the Anti-Unioniſts and Unioniſts.

ANTI-UNIONISTS.

Hon. A. Acheſon	David Babbington	Charles Buſhe
Wm. C. Alcock	John Ball	Wm. Blakeney
Wm. H. Armſtrong	J. C. Beresford	H. V. Brooke
Mervyn Archdal	Wm. Burton	Col. J. Maxwell Barry

Blayney Balfour
Sir Richard Butler
Peter Burrowes
John Bagwell
John Bagwell, jun.
Wm. Bagwell
Lord Vif. Corry
Lord Clements
Lord Cole
Jof. Edward Cooper
R. S. Carew
D. B. Daly
Noah Dalway
Richard Dawſon T.
Arthur Dawſon
Francis Dobbs
John Egan
Geo. Evans
R. L. Edgworth
Sir John Freke, Bart.
Fred. John Falkiner
Rt. Hon. Jam. Fitzgerald
Wm. Charles Forteſcue
Hon. Thomas Foſter
Arthur French
Chicheſter Forteſcue
Sir Thomas Fetherſton
Hamilton Gorges
Henry Grattan
Thomas Gould
Hans Hamilton
Edward Hardman
Francis Hardy
Sir Joſeph Hoare
Hon. A. C. Hamilton
Wm. Hoare Hume
Edward Hoare
H. Irvin
Gilbert King
John King
Hon. Robert King
Hon. G. Knox
Rt. Hon. Henry King
Guſtavus Lambart
John Latouche
John Latouche, jun.
Robert Latouche
Charles Powel Leſlie
Edward Lee
Sir Thomas Lighton
Lord Maxwell
Alexander Montgomery
Sir John Macartney
Arthur Moore
Lord Mathew
John Metge
Step. Moore, Clonmell
John Moore
Thomas Mahon
Charles O'Hara
Sir Edward O'Brien
James M. O'Donnell
Hon. W. O'Callaghan
Right Hon. G. Ogle
Henry Oſborne
Joſeph Preſton
Sir John Parnell
Henry Parnell
William C. Plunket
R. H. Wm. B. Ponſonby
J. B. Ponſonby
Major Wm. Ponſonby
George Ponſonby
Sir Lau. Parſons
Richard Power
Guſtavus Rochfort
John St. Rochfort
Sir William Richardſon
Wm. Ruxton
Wm. P. Ruxton
John Reilly
W. E. Reilly
Clotworthy Rowley
S. C. Rowley
W. Rowley
Francis Saunderſon
Wm. Smyth—Weſtmeath
James Stewart
Hon. W. J. Skeffington
Francis Savage T.
Francis Synge
Robert Shaw
Wm. Saurin
Sir R. St. George
William Tighe
Henry Tighe
John Taylor
Thomas Townſhend
Charles Vereker T.
Owen Wynne
John Waller
E. D. Wilſon
Nic. Weſtby
John Wolfe
Thomas Whaley

UNIONISTS.

UNIONISTS.

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Hon. D. Alexander
R. Archdall
Rt. Hon. Rich. Anneſley
Wm. Bailey
Rt. Hon. J. Beresford
J. Beresford, jun.
Col. M. Beresford
J. Bingham
Joſeph Henry Blake
Sir J. S. Blackwood
Sir J. Blaquiere
Hon. Col. Burton
Lord Boyle
Rt. Hon. D. Brown, T.
Stewart Bruce
George Burdet
G. Bunbury
Arthur Browne
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Edward Bligh
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G. Cavendiſh
Sir H. Cavendiſh
Sir Broderick Chinnery
James Cane
Thomas Caſey
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Gen. Cradock
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E. Cooke
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Sir J. Cotter
R. Cotter

W. A. Croſbie
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Hon. J. Creighton
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Sir C. Forteſcue
A. Ferguſon
Luke Fox
Faithful Forteſcue
R. U. Fitzgerald
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Wm. Gregory
General Gardiner
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Wm. Hare
Gen. B. Henniker
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Hon. F. H. Hutchinſon
Hugh Howard
Wm. Handcock
John Hobſon
Sir Vere Hunt
Richard Herbert
Col. G. Jackſon
Denh. Jephſon
Hon. J. Jocelyn

W. Jones
Theophilus Jones
Major Geo. Jackſon
Wm. Johnſon
Robert Johnſon
John Keane
James Kearney
Henry Kemmis
William Knott
James Knox
Andrew Knox
Rt. H. Sir H. Langriſhe
Thomas Lindſay, jun.
John Longfield
Capt. J. Longfield
Montiford Longfield
Lord Loftus
General Lake
Rt. Hon. D. Latouche
General Loftus
Francis Leigh
Francis M'Namara
Roſs Mahon
Richard Martin
Rt. Hon. J. M. Maſon
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S. Moore
N. M. Moore
Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris
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Col. Charles M'Donnell
Richard Magennis
G. Miller
James Mahon

Edward

Edward May
John M'Clean
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Richard Neville
William Odell
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T. Packenham
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Wm. Talbot
P. Tottenham
John Townſend
Robert Tighe
Robert Uniacke
James Verner
J. O. Vandaleur
Colonel Wemys
Henry Weſtenra
Benjamin B. Woodward
Hon. R. Ward
P. Walſh

No. CXXIII.

(*P.* 1067).

An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. 2*d July* 1800.

WHEREAS in purſuance of his majeſty's moſt gracious recommendation to the two houſes of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, to conſider of ſuch meaſures as might beſt tend to ſtrengthen and conſolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houſes of the parliament of Great Britain and the two houſes of the parliament of Ireland have ſeverally agreed and reſolved, that, in order to promote and ſecure the eſſential intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, and to conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the Britiſh empire, it will be adviſeable to concur in ſuch meaſures as may beſt tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in ſuch manner, and on ſuch terms and conditions,

tions, as may be eſtabliſhed by the acts of the reſpective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the ſaid reſolution, both houſes of the ſaid two parliaments reſpectively have likewiſe agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and eſtabliſhing the ſaid purpoſes, in the tenor following:

Article I. That it be the firſt article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, upon the firſt day of January which ſhall be in the year of our Lord one thouſand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; and that the royal ſtile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the ſaid united kingdom and its dependencies; and alſo the enſigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, ſhall be ſuch as his majeſty, by his royal proclamation under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, ſhall be pleaſed to appoint.

Art. II. That it be the ſecond article of Union, that the ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of the ſaid united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, ſhall continue limited and ſettled in the ſame manner as the ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now ſtands limited and ſettled, according to the exiſting laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Art. III. That it be the third article of Union, that the ſaid united kingdom be repreſented in one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtiled *The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Art. IV. That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords ſpiritual of Ireland by rotation of ſeſſions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, ſhall be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the Univerſity of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one moſt conſiderable cities, towns, and boroughs), be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom:

That ſuch act as ſhall be paſſed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons, to ſerve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, ſhall be ſummoned and returned to the ſaid parliament, ſhall be conſidered

conſidered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and ſhall be incorporated in the acts of the reſpective parliaments by which the ſaid Union ſhall be ratified and eſtabliſhed:

That all queſtions touching the rotation or election of lords ſpiritual or temporal of Ireland to ſit in the parliament of the united kingdom, ſhall be decided by the Houſe of Lords thereof; and whenever, by reaſon of an equality of votes in the election of any ſuch lords temporal, a complete election ſhall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of thoſe peers for whom ſuch equality of votes ſhall be ſo given, ſhall be written on pieces of paper of a ſimilar form, and ſhall be put into a glaſs, by the clerk of the parliaments at the table of the Houſe of *Lords* whilſt the houſe is ſitting; and the peer or peers whoſe name or names ſhall be firſt drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments, ſhall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the caſe may be:

That any perſon holding any peerage of Ireland now ſubſiſting, or hereafter to be created, ſhall not thereby be diſqualified from being elected to ſerve if he ſhall ſo think fit, or from ſerving or continuing to ſerve, if he ſhall ſo think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom, unleſs he ſhall have been previouſly elected as above, to ſit in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom; but that ſo long as ſuch peer of Ireland ſhall ſo continue to be a member of the Houſe of Commons, he ſhall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to ſerve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any ſuch election; and that he ſhall be liable to be ſued, indicted, proceeded againſt, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged:

That it ſhall be lawful for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union; provided that no new creation of any ſuch peers ſhall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which ſhall have been exiſting at the time of the Union, ſhall have become extinct; and upon ſuch extinction of three peerages, that it ſhall be lawful for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner ſo often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall become extinct, it ſhall be lawful for his majeſty his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create one

other

other peer of the ſaid part of the united kingdom; and if it ſhall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall, by extinction of peerages or otherwiſe, be reduced to the number of one hundred, excluſive of all ſuch peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as ſhall hold any peerage of Great Britain ſubſiſting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created ſince the Union, by which ſuch peers ſhall be entitled to an hereditary ſeat in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom, then and in that caſe it ſhall and may be lawful for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of ſuch one hundred peerages ſhall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall become entitled, by deſcent or creation, to an hereditary ſeat in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it ſhall and may be lawful for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of ſuch of the ſaid peers as ſhall be entitled by deſcent or creation to an hereditary ſeat in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom:

That if any peerage ſhall at any time be in abeyance, ſuch peerage ſhall be deemed and taken as an exiſting peerage; and no peerage ſhall be deemed extinct, unleſs on default of claimants to the inheritance of ſuch peerage for the ſpace of one year from the death of the perſon who ſhall have been laſt poſſeſſed thereof: and if no claim ſhall be made to the inheritance of ſuch peerage, in ſuch form and manner as may from time to time be preſcribed by the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the ſaid period of a year, then and in that caſe ſuch peerage ſhall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein ſhall exclude any perſon from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage ſo deemed extinct; and if ſuch claim ſhall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom, reported to his majeſty, ſuch peerage ſhall be conſidered as revived; and in caſe any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall have taken place in the interval, in conſequence of the ſuppoſed extinction of ſuch peerage, then no new right of creation ſhall accrue to his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, in conſequence of the next extinction

which ſhall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland:

That all queſtions touching the election of members to ſit on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom ſhall be heard and decided in the ſame manner as queſtions touching ſuch elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter ſhall by law be heard and decided; ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch particular regulations in reſpect to Ireland as, from local circumſtances, the parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient:

That the qualifications in reſpect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to ſit in the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom, ſhall be reſpectively the ſame as are now provided by law in the caſes of elections for counties and cities and boroughs reſpectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unleſs any other proviſion ſhall hereafter be made in that reſpect by act of parliament of the united kingdom:

That when his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhall declare his, her, or their pleaſure for holding the firſt or any ſubſequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation ſhall iſſue, under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, to cauſe the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to ſerve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in ſuch manner as by any act of this preſent ſeſſion of the parliament of Ireland ſhall be provided; and that the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain ſhall, together with the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons ſo returned as aforeſaid on the part of Ireland, conſtitute the two houſes of the parliament of the united kingdom:

That if his majeſty, on or before the firſt day of January one thouſand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, ſhall declare, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhould be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; then the ſaid lords and commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhall accordingly be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; and they, together with the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons, ſo ſummoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, ſhall be the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom;

dom; and ſuch firſt parliament may (in that caſe) if not ſooner diſſolved continue to ſit ſo long as the preſent parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to ſit, if not ſooner diſſolved: provided always, that until an act ſhall have paſſed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what caſes perſons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, ſhall be incapable of being members of the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding ſuch offices or places as aforeſaid, ſhall be capable of ſitting in the ſaid Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; and if ſuch a number of members ſhall be returned to ſerve in the ſaid houſe as to make the whole number of members of the ſaid houſe holding ſuch offices or places as aforeſaid more than twenty, then and in ſuch caſe the ſeats or places of ſuch members as ſhall have laſt accepted ſuch offices or places ſhall be vacated, at the option of ſuch members, ſo as to reduce the number of members holding ſuch offices or places to the number of twenty; and no perſon holding any ſuch office or place ſhall be capable of being elected or of ſitting in the ſaid houſe, while there are twenty perſons holding ſuch offices or places ſitting in the ſaid houſe; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the Houſe of Commons in the united kingdom, in the firſt and all ſucceeding parliaments, ſhall, until the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall otherwiſe provide, take the oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration, and take and ſubſcribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and ſubſcribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain:

That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom, ſhall at all times have the ſame privileges of parliament which ſhall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the lords ſpiritual and temporal reſpectively on the part of Ireland ſhall at all times have the ſame rights in reſpect of their ſitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords ſpiritual and temporal reſpectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords ſpiritual of Ireland ſhall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the lords ſpiritual of the ſame rank and degree of Great Britain, and ſhall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords ſpiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the ſame (the right and privilege of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of ſitting on the trial of peers, excepted); and that the perſons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland,

exiſting at the time of the Union, ſhall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after all the perſons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, ſubſiſting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the Union ſhall have rank and precedency with the peerages of the united kingdom, ſo created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now ſubſiſting or hereafter to be created, ſhall in all other reſpects, from the date of the Union, be conſidered as peerages of the united kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland ſhall, as peers of the united kingdom, be ſued and tried as peers, except as aforeſaid, and ſhall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of ſitting on the trial of peers, only excepted:

Art. V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law eſtabliſhed, be united into one Proteſtant Epiſcopal church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland*; and that the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government of the ſaid united church ſhall be and ſhall remain in full force for ever, as the ſame are now by law eſtabliſhed for the church of England; and that the continuance and preſervation of the ſaid united church, as the eſtabliſhed church of England and Ireland, ſhall be deemed and taken to be an eſſential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government of the church of Scotland, ſhall remain and be preſerved as the ſame are now eſtabliſhed by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland:

Art. VI. That it be the ſixth article of Union, that his majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, from and after the firſt day of January one thouſand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country reſpectively, and generally in reſpect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, with any foreign power, his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland ſhall have the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing, as his majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain:

That, from the firſt day of January one thouſand eight hundred and one, all

all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, ſhall ceaſe and determine; and that the ſaid articles ſhall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on ſuch export:

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein after enumerated as ſubject to ſpecific duties), ſhall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than ſuch countervailing duties on the ſeveral articles enumerated in the ſchedule number One A. and B. hereunto annexed, as are therein ſpecified, or to ſuch other countervailing duties as ſhall hereafter be impoſed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein after provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the ſchedule number Two hereunto annexed, ſhall be ſubject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties ſpecified in the ſaid ſchedule number Two; and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, ſhall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding thoſe which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhall be ſubject to burthens not exceeding thoſe to which they are now ſubject:

That callicoes and muſlins ſhall, on their importation into either country from the other, be ſubject and liable to the duties now payable on the ſame on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thouſand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the ſaid day, the ſaid duties ſhall be annually reduced, by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, ſo as that the ſaid duties ſhall ſtand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January one thouſand eight hundred and ſixteen, until the 5th day of January one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-one: and that cotton yarn and cotton twiſt ſhall, on their importation into either country from the other, be ſubject and liable to the duties now payable upon the ſame on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thouſand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the ſaid day, the ſaid duties ſhall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, ſo that as that all duties ſhall ceaſe on the ſaid articles from and after the fifth day of January one thouſand eight hundred and ſixteen:

That

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be ſubject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are compoſed, may be made ſubject, on their importation into each country reſpectively from the other, to ſuch countervailing duty as ſhall appear to be juſt and reaſonable in reſpect of ſuch internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the ſaid purpoſes the articles ſpecified in the ſaid ſchedule number one, A. and B. ſhall be ſubject to the duties ſet forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminiſhed, or increaſed, in the manner herein ſpecified; and that upon the export of the ſaid articles from each country to the other reſpectively, a drawback ſhall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on ſuch articles on the import thereof into the ſame country from the other; and that in like manner in future it ſhall be competent to the united parliament to impoſe any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminiſh ſuch exiſting countervailing as may appear, on like principles, to be juſt and reaſonable in reſpect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which ſuch article may be compoſed, or of any abatement of duty on the ſame; and that when any ſuch new or additional countervailing duty ſhall be ſo impoſed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to ſuch countervailing duty, ſhall be given in like manner on the export of every ſuch article reſpectively from the ſame country to the other:

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, ſhall in all caſes be exported ſubject to the ſame charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture:

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, ſhall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, ſhall be placed to the credit of the country to which they ſhall be ſo exported, ſo long as the expenditure of the united kingdom ſhall be defrayed by proportional contributions: Provided always, that nothing herein ſhall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exiſts with reſpect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biſcuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on the ſaid articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the united parliament ſhall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great Britain into Ireland, reſpectively, according to the ſixth article of Union.

(A.) *On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

Beer.—For every barrel conſiſting of thirty-ſix gallons, Engliſh beer meaſure, of Iriſh beer, ale, or mum, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity, to be paid by the importer thereof, 8*s.* exciſe.

Bricks and Tiles.—For every thouſand of Iriſh bricks, 5*s.* exciſe.

For every thouſand of Iriſh plain tiles, 4*s.* 10*d.* exciſe.

For every thouſand of Iriſh pan or ridge tiles, 12*s.* 10*d.* exciſe.

For every hundred of Iriſh paving tiles, not exceeding ten inches ſquare, 2*s.* 5*d.* exciſe.

For every hundred of Iriſh paving tiles exceeding ten inches ſquare, 4*s.* 10*d.* exciſe.

For every thouſand of Iriſh tiles, other than ſuch as are herein-before enumerated and deſcribed, by whatſoever name or names ſuch tiles are or may be called or known, 4*s.* 10*d.* exciſe.

Candles.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh candles of tallow, and other candles whatſoever (except wax and ſpermaceti), 1*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh candles, which may be made of wax or ſpermaceti, or which are uſually called or ſold either for wax or ſpermaceti, notwithſtanding the mixture of any other ingredient therewith, 3½*d.* exciſe.

Chocolate, &c.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh cocoa, cocoa paſte, or chocolate, 2*s.* exciſe.

Cordage; videlicet.—To be uſed as ſtanding rigging, or other cordage made from topt hemp, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* cuſtoms.

Of any other ſort, cable yarn, packthread, and twine, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* cuſtoms.

Cyder and Perry.—For every hogſhead, conſiſting of ſixty-three gallons Engliſh wine meaſure, of Iriſh cyder and perry, which ſhall be imported as mer-

merchandize or for ſale, and which ſhall be ſent or conſigned to any factor or agent to ſell or diſpoſe of, 19*s.* 2*d.* exciſe.

Glaſs.—For every ſquare foot ſuperficial meaſure of Iriſh plate glaſs, 2*s.* 2¼*d.* exciſe.

For every hundred weight of Iriſh flint, enamel, ſtained, paſte, or phial glaſs, 2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* exciſe.

For every hundred weight of Iriſh ſpread window glaſs, commonly called broad glaſs, 8*s.* 1*d.* exciſe.

For every hundred weight of Iriſh window glaſs (not being ſpread glaſs) whether flaſhed or otherwiſe manufactured, and commonly called or known by the name of *crown glaſs*, or *German ſheet glaſs*, 1*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* exc.

For every hundred weight of veſſels made uſe of in chemical laboratories, and of garden glaſſes, and of all other veſſels or utenſils of common bottle metal, manufactured in Ireland, common bottles excepted, 4*s.* 0½*d.* exc.

For every hundred weight of any ſort or ſpecies of Iriſh glaſs, not hereinbefore enumerated or deſcribed, 2*l.* 2*s.* exciſe.

Bottles of common green glaſs, the dozen quarts, 9*d.* cuſtoms.

Hops.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh hops, 1$\frac{1}{20}$*d.* exciſe.

Leather, unmanufactured.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of hides, of what kind ſoever, and of calf ſkins, kips, hog ſkins, dog ſkins, and ſeal ſkins, tanned in Ireland, and of ſheep ſkins and lamb ſkins ſo tanned for gloves and bazils, which ſhall be imported in the whole hide or ſkin, and neither cut nor diminiſhed in any reſpect whatever, 1½*d.* exciſe.

For every dozen of goat ſkins tanned in Ireland to reſemble Spaniſh leather, 4*s.* exciſe.

For every dozen of ſheep ſkins tanned in Ireland for roans, being after the nature of Spaniſh leather, 2*s.* 3*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides or ſkins not hereinbefore enumerated and deſcribed, and of all pieces and parts of hides or ſkins which ſhall be tanned in Ireland, 6*d.* exciſe.

For all hides of horſes, mares, and geldings, which ſhall be dreſſed in allum and ſalt or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, for each and every ſuch hide, 1*s.* 6*d.* exciſe.

For all hides of ſteers, cows, or any other hides of what kind ſoever (thoſe of horſes, mares, and geldings excepted) which ſhall be dreſſed in allum

and

and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, for each and every ſuch hide, 3*s.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all calf ſkins, kips, and ſeal ſkins, which ſhall be ſo dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, in the whole ſkin, neither cut nor diminiſhed in any reſpect whatever, 1½*d.* exciſe.

For every dozen of ſlink calf ſkins which ſhall be ſo dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed with the hair on, in Ireland, 3*s.* exciſe.

For every dozen of ſlink calf ſkins which ſhall be ſo dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed without hair, in Ireland, and for every dozen of dog ſkins and kid ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, 1*s.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of buck and doe ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, and which ſhall be imported in the whole ſkin, and neither cut nor diminiſhed in any reſpect whatever, 6*d.* exciſe.

For every dozen of goat ſkins and beaver ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, 2*s.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of ſheep ſkins and lamb ſkins which ſhall be dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, and which ſhall be imported in the whole ſkin, and neither cut nor diminiſhed in any reſpect whatever, 1¼*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and ſkins, not hereinbefore enumerated and deſcribed, and of all pieces or parts of hides or ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in allum and ſalt, or meal, or otherwiſe tawed in Ireland, 6*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck, deer, and elk ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in oil in Ireland, and imported in the whole ſkin, and neither cut nor diminiſhed in any reſpect whatever, 1*s.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all ſheep and lamb ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in oil in Ireland, 3*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and ſkins, and parts and pieces of hides and ſkins, which ſhall be dreſſed in oil in Ireland, 6*d.* exciſe.

For every dozen of Iriſh vellum, 3*s.* 5½*d.* exciſe.

For every dozen of Iriſh parchment, 1*s.* 8¾*d.* exciſe.

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares:

For every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods or wares in Ireland, 1½*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh made boots and ſhoes, and gloves, and other manufactures made of tawed or dreſſed leather, 1*d.* ex.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer ſkins, and elk ſkins, dreſſed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Ireland, 1*s.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all ſheep and lamb ſkins, dreſſed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, 3*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and ſkins, not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, dreſſed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, 6*d.* exciſe.

Mead or Metheglin.—For every gallon, *Engliſh* wine meaſure, of Iriſh mead or metheglin, 1*s.* 0½*d.* exciſe.

Paper.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh paper, fit or proper, or that may be uſed for or applied to the uſes or purpoſes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and of all Iriſh elephant papers and cartridge papers, 2½*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh coloured papers and whited brown papers (other than and except elephant and cartridge papers) fit and proper for the uſe and purpoſe of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being uſed for or applied to the purpoſes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 1*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh brown paper, fit and proper for the uſe and purpoſe of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being uſed for or applied to the uſes and purpoſes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 0½*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every ſort or kind of Iriſh paper, not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, ſheathing, and button paper and button board excepted, 2½*d.* exciſe.

For every one hundred weight of Iriſh paſteboard, millboard, and ſcale-board, 10*s.* 6*d.* exciſe.

For every one hundred weight of Iriſh glazed papers for clothiers and hot preſſers, 6*s.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of books, bound or unbound, and of maps

maps or prints, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, 2*d.* exciſe.

Printed Goods.—For every yard ſquare of Iriſh printed, painted, or ſtained papers, to ſerve for hangings, or other uſes, 1¾*d.* exciſe.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of foreign callicoes and foreign muſlins, which ſhall be printed, painted, ſtained, or dyed in Ireland (except ſuch as ſhall be dyed throughout of one colour), over and above any duty of cuſtoms payable on the importation of foreign callicoes and muſlins, 7*d.* exciſe.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Iriſh printed, painted, ſtained, or dyed Iriſh-made callicoes, muſlins, linens, and ſtuffs, made either of cotton or linen, mixed with other materials, fuſtians, velvets, velverets, dimities, and other figured ſtuffs, made of cotton and other materials, mixed or wholly made of cotton wool (except ſuch as ſhall be dyed throughout of one colour only), 3½*d.* exciſe.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Iriſh printed, ſtained, painted, or dyed Iriſh made ſtuffs not before enumerated or deſcribed (except ſuch as ſhall be dyed throughout of one colour only and except ſtuffs made of woollen, or whereof the greateſt part in value ſhall be woollen), 3½*d.* exciſe.

For every yard in length, reckoning half yard wide, of all Iriſh printed, ſtained, painted, or dyed ſilks, (ſilk handkerchiefs excepted) over and above any duty of cuſtoms payable on the importation of ſilk, 1*s.* 1¼*d.* exciſe.

For every yard ſquare of Iriſh printed, ſtained, painted, or dyed ſilk handkerchiefs, and ſo in proportion for wide or narrow ſilk handkerchiefs, over and above every duty of cuſtoms payable on ſilk, 4½*d.* exciſe.

Salt.—For every buſhel, conſiſting of fifty-ſix pounds weight avoirdupois, of Iriſh ſalt, or Iriſh Glauber or Iriſh Epſom ſalt, 10*s.* exciſe.

For every buſhel, conſiſting of ſixty-five pounds weight avoirdupois of Iriſh rock ſalt, 10*s.* exciſe.

Silk.—Manufactures of ribbons and ſtuffs of ſilk only, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 5*s.* cuſtoms.

Note, Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape, is to be deducted for gum and dreſs.

Silk and ribbons of ſilk, mixed with gold or ſilver, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 6*s.* 8*d.* cuſtoms.

Silk ſtockings, ſilk gloves, ſilk fringe, ſilk laces, ſtitching or ſewing ſilk, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 3*s.* cuſtoms.

Silk, manufactures of, not otherwiſe enumerated or deſcribed, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 4*s.* cuſtoms.

Stuffs of ſilk and grogram yarn, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 1*s.* 2*d.* cuſtoms.

Stuffs of ſilk mixed with incle or cotton, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 1*s.* 8*d.* cuſtoms.

Stuffs of ſilk and worſted, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 10*d.* cuſtoms.

Stuffs of ſilk mixed with any other material, the pound, containing ſixteen ounces, 1*s.* 3*d.* cuſtoms.

Soap.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh hard, cake, or ball ſoap, 2¼*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight of Iriſh ſoft ſoap, 1¾*d.* exciſe.

Spirits, Britiſh.---For every gallon, Engliſh wine meaſure, of ſpirits, Aqua Vitæ, or ſtrong waters, which ſhall be diſtilled or made in Ireland, and imported at a ſtrength not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, 5*s.* 1¼*d.* exciſe.

Note.—Spirits above the ſtrength of one to ten will be charged in proportion: and on ſweetened or compounded ſpirits, the duty will be computed upon the higheſt degree of ſtrength at which ſuch ſpirits can be made.

Starch.---For every pound weight of Iriſh ſtarch or hair powder, of what kind ſoever, 3¾*d.* exciſe.

Sugars.---Refined; *videlicet*, called *Baſtards*, whole or ground, the hundred weight, 18*s.* 2*d.* cuſtoms.

Lumps, the hundred weight, 1*l.* 14*s.* 0¾*d.* cuſtoms.

Single loaf, the hundred weight, 1*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* cuſtoms.

Powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight, 1*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* cuſtoms.

Sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight, 1*l.* 14*s.* 0¾*d.* cuſtoms.

Sugar candy, white, the hundred weight, 1*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* cuſtoms.

Sugar, refined, of any other ſort, the hundred weight, 1*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* cuſtoms.

Sweets.—For every barrel, conſiſting of thirty-one gallons and a half, Engliſh wine meaſure, of Iriſh ſweets, or other Iriſh liquor, made by infuſion, fermen-

fermentation, or otherwiſe, from fruit or ſugar, or from fruit or ſugar mixed with any other materials or ingredients whatſoever, commonly called *ſweets*, or called or diſtinguiſhed by the name of *made wines*, 2*l.* 2*s.* exciſe.

Tobacco and Snuff.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Ireland, over and above any duty of cuſtoms, 1*s.* 1*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured ſhort cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spaniſh, 1*s.* 7*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured ſhag tobacco, 1*s.* 5¾*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured roll tobacco, 1*s.* 7*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured carrot tobacco, 1*s.* 5½*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other ſort of Iriſh manufactured tobacco, not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, 1*s.* 7*d.* ex.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured rappee ſnuff, 1*s.* 4¼*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured Scotch ſnuff, 1*s.* 10½*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured brown Scotch ſnuff, 1*s.* 3¾*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh manufactured tobacco ſtalk flour, 1*s.* 9*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other ſort or kind of Iriſh manufactured ſnuff, or ſnuff-work, not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, 1*s.* 10½*d.* exciſe.

Tobacco unmanufactured, the pound, 6$\frac{6}{20}$*d.* cuſtoms.

Verjuice.—For every hogſhead conſiſting of ſixty-three gallons, Engliſh wine meaſure, of Iriſh verjuice, 7*s.* 8*d.* exciſe.

Vinegar.—For every barrel conſiſting of thirty-four gallons, Engliſh beer meaſure, of Iriſh vinegar, 12*s.* 8¼*d.* exciſe.

Wire.—For every ounce troy weight of Iriſh gilt wire, 9¼*d.* exciſe.

For every ounce troy of Iriſh ſilver wire, 7*d.* exciſe.

For

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh gold thread, gold lace, or gold fringe, made of plate wire ſpun upon ſilk, 7*s.* 8*d.* exciſe.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Iriſh ſilver thread, ſilver lace, or ſilver fringe, made of plate wire ſpun upon ſilk, 5*s.* 9*d.* exciſe.

(B.) *On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

Beer.—For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons, imported from Great Britain, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Glaſs Bottles.—For and upon each reputed quart, 0¼*d.*

Leather, unmanufactured.—For and upon each pound in every hide or ſkin, or piece of any ſuch hide or ſkin of what kind or denomination ſoever, other than ſuch as are herein-after mentioned and deſcribed, 1*d.*

For and upon each hide of horſes, mares, or geldings, 1*s.*

For and upon all ſkins called veal ſkins, and all ſkins of hogs, for every dozen ſkins thereof, and after the ſame rate for any greater or leſs quantity, 5*s.*

For and upon all ſkins for ſhoes and other like purpoſes, and all ſeal ſkins, for every dozen thereof, and after the ſame rate for any greater or leſs quantity, 2*s.* 6*d.*

For and upon all ſkins for bookbinders uſe, for every dozen thereof, and after the ſame rate for any greater or leſs quantity, 1*s.*

For and upon all goat ſkins tanned with ſhumack, or otherwiſe to reſemble Spaniſh leather, and all ſheep ſkins tanned for roans, being after the nature of Spaniſh leather, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 1*d.*

For and upon all ſheep and lamb ſkins tanned for gloves and baſils, for every pound weight avoirdupois, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity, 0½*d.*

Leather, dreſſed in oil.—For and upon every hide and ſkin, and piece of ſuch hide and ſkin, other than ſuch as are herein-after mentioned or deſcribed, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 2*d.*

For and upon all deer ſkins, goat ſkins, and beaver ſkins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 3*d.*

For and upon all calf ſkins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 2*d.*

For and upon all ſheep and lamb ſkins, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 0½*d.*

Vellum and Parchment.—For and upon every dozen ſkins of vellum, 6*d.*

For and upon every dozen ſkins of parchment, 3*d.*

Leather,

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares.---For and upon all tanned leather manufactured into goods and wares, whereof leather is the moſt valuable part, the following duties; *videlicet*,

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the moſt valuable part, 1*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tawed or dreſſed leather, manufactured and actually made in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the moſt valuable part, 1*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer ſkins, and elk ſkins, dreſſed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the moſt valuable part, 3*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all ſheep and lamb ſkins dreſſed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the moſt valuable part, 0½*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and ſkins, not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, dreſſed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the moſt valuable part, 2*d.*

Paper.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of paper, fit or proper for, or that may be uſed for or applied to the uſes or purpoſes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and all elephant paper, and all cartridge paper, 2½*d.*

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all coloured paper, and whited-brown papers, other than and except elephant and cartridge paper, fit or proper for the uſes or purpoſes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being uſed for or applied to the uſes or purpoſes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and alſo except paper hangings, 1*d.*

For every pound weight avoirdupois of brown paper, fit and proper for the uſe or purpoſe of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being uſed for or applied to the uſes or purpoſes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, 0½*d.*

For and upon every one hundred weight of glazed paper for clothiers and hotpreſſers, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity, 5*s.*

For

For and upon every hundred weight of paſteboard, millboard, and ſcale-board, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity, 10*s.*

For and upon every pound weight of every ſort or kind of paper, not hereinbefore particularly enumerated or deſcribed, other than and except papers commonly called or known by the names of ſheathing paper, and button paper or button board, and paper hangings, 2½*d.*

Stained Paper.---For and upon every ſquare yard of printed, painted, or ſtained paper, for hangings or other uſes, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity, 1*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of books bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which ſhall be imported into Ireland from Great Britain, 2*d.*

Cards.---For and upon every pack of printed, painted, or playing cards, made or manufactured in Great Britain, 1*s.* 5*d.*

And a further duty of 2¾*d.* per pound weight.

Dice.---For and upon every pair of dice made or manufactured in Great Britain, 10*s.*

Wrought Plate.---For and upon every ounce troy weight of gold or ſilver plate, which ſhall be wrought, made, or manufactured in Great Britain, and imported into Ireland.

Silk Manufacture.---For and upon all ſilks being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties; *videlicet*,

For and upon all ribbons and ſtuffs of ſilks only, for every pound weight thereof containing ſixteen ounces, 2*s.* 1*d.*

For and upon all ſilks and ribbons of ſilk, mixed with gold or ſilver, for every pound weight thereof containing ſixteen ounces, 2*s.* 9*d.*

For and upon all ſilk ſtockings, ſilk gloves, ſilk fringe, ſilk laces, ſtitching and ſewing ſilk, for every pound weight thereof containing ſixteen ounces, 1*s.* 3*d.*

For and upon all manufactures of ſilk not otherwiſe enumerated or deſcribed, for every pound weight thereof containing ſixteen ounces, 1*s.* 8*d.*

For and upon all ſtuffs of ſilk and grogram yarn, the pound weight containing ſixteen ounces, 6*d.*

For

For and upon all ſtuffs of ſilk mixed with incle or cotton, the pound weight containing ſixteen ounces, 9*d.*

For and upon all ſtuffs of ſilk and worſted mixed, the pound weight containing ſixteen ounces, 4*d.*

For and upon all ſtuffs of ſilk mixed with any other material, the pound weight containing ſixteen ounces, 6½*d.*

Spirits.—For and upon every gallon of ſpirits, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence, a duty of 3*s.* 7*d.*

Sugar, refined—of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, *videlicet.*

For and upon all ſugar called baſtards, white or ground, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 19*s.* 8*d.*

For and upon all ſugar called lumps, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.*

For and upon all ſugar called ſingle loaf ſugar, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*

For and upon all ſugar called powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

For and upon all ſugar called ſugar candy, brown, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

For and upon all ſugar called ſugar candy, white, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

For and upon all ſugar refined of any other ſort, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

Sweets.—For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons wine meaſure, of Britiſh ſweets, or other Britiſh liquor made by infuſion, fermentation, or otherwiſe, from fruit or ſugar, or from fruit or ſugar mixed with any other material or ingredients whatſoever, commonly called ſweets, or called or diſtinguiſhed by the name of made wines, 10*s.*

For and upon every gallon of mead or metheglin, 4*d.*

For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons, of vinegar, 3*s.*

Tobacco and Snuff.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Great Britain, over and above any duty of cuſtoms now payable, 5*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured ſhort cut tobacco,

bacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spaniſh, 1*s.* $0\frac{7}{10}$*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured ſhag tobacco cut, 11*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured roll tobacco, 1*s.* $0\frac{7}{10}$*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured carrot tobacco, 11*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of every other ſort of Britiſh manufactured tobacco not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, 1*s.* $0\frac{7}{10}$*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of Britiſh manufactured rappee ſnuff, $10\frac{1}{2}$*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured ſnuff called Scotch ſnuff, 1*s.* 4*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured ſnuff called brown Scotch ſnuff, $9\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of Britiſh manufactured ſtalk flour, 1*s.* 3*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of every other ſort or kind of Britiſh manufactured ſnuff, or ſnuff work, not herein-before enumerated or deſcribed, 1*s.* 4*d.*

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties ſpecified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, according to the ſixth article of Union.

Apparel - - - - -	Ten pounds *per cent.* on the true value.
Braſs, wrought - - -	
Cabinet ware - - -	
Coaches and other carriages - -	
Copper, wrought - - -	
Cottons, other than callicoes and muſlins	
Glaſs - - - -	
Haberdaſhery - - - -	
Hats - - - - -	
Tin plates, wrought iron and hard ware	

Gold

Gold and ſilver lace, gold and ſilver thread, bullion for lace, pearl, and ſpangles	Ten pounds *per cent.* on the true value.
Millinery	
Paper ſtained	
Pottery	
Saddlery and other manufactured leather	
Silk manufacture	
Stockings	

Art. VII. That it be the ſeventh article of Union, that the charge ariſing from the payment of the intereſt, and the ſinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, ſhall continue to be ſeparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, except as herein-after provided:

That for the ſpace of twenty years after the Union ſhall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, ſhall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the ſaid twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the intereſt and charges of the debt to which either country ſhall be ſeparately liable) ſhall be defrayed in ſuch proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall deem juſt and reaſonable upon a compariſon of the real value of the exports and imports of the reſpective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of reviſion; or on a compariſon of the value of the quantities of the following articles conſumed within the reſpective countries, on a ſimilar average; viz. beer, ſpirits, ſugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion reſulting from both theſe conſiderations combined; or on a compariſon of the amount of income in each country, eſtimated from the produce for the ſame period of a general tax, if ſuch ſhall have been impoſed on the ſame deſcriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall afterwards proceed in like manner to reviſe and fix the ſaid proportions according to the ſame rules, or any of them, at periods not more diſtant than twenty years, nor leſs than ſeven years from each other; unleſs, previous to any ſuch period, the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the expenditure

of the united kingdom ſhall be defrayed indiſcriminately, by equal taxes impoſed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the ſaid expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland ſhall hereafter conſtitute a conſolidated fund, which ſhall be charged, in the firſt inſtance, with the intereſt of the debt of Ireland, and with the ſinking fund applicable to the reduction of the ſaid debt, and the remainder ſhall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, ſhall be raiſed by ſuch taxes in each country reſpectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall from time to time deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their reſpective proportions ſhall be levied, no article in Ireland ſhall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any ſurplus ſhall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the intereſt, ſinking fund, and proportional contribution and ſeparate charges to which the ſaid country ſhall then be liable, taxes ſhall be taken off to the amount of ſuch ſurplus, or the ſurplus ſhall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purpoſes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may ariſe in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be inveſted, by the commiſſioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound intereſt, in eaſe of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the ſurplus ſo to accumulate ſhall at no future period be ſuffered to exceed the ſum of five millions: that all monies to be raiſed after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the ſervice of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, ſhall be conſidered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof ſhall be borne by the reſpective countries in the proportion of their reſpective contributions; provided that, if at any time, in raiſing their reſpective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall judge it fit to raiſe a greater proportion of ſuch reſpective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to ſet apart a greater proportion of ſinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raiſed on account of the one country than that raiſed on account of the other country, then ſuch part of the ſaid loan, for the liquidation

tion of which different proviſions ſhall have been made for the reſpective countries, ſhall be kept diſtinct, and ſhall be borne by each ſeparately, and only that part of the ſaid loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the reſpective countries ſhall have made proviſion in the proportion of their reſpective contributions: that, if at any future day the ſeparate debt of each country reſpectively ſhall have been liquidated, or, if the values of their reſpective debts (eſtimated according to the amount of the intereſt and annuities attending the ſame, and of the ſinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of ſuch debt ſhall appear to be redeemable by ſuch ſinking fund) ſhall be to each other in the ſame proportion with the reſpective contributions of each country reſpectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of ſuch debts ſhall vary from ſuch proportion, ſhall not exceed one hundredth part of the ſaid value; and if it ſhall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom, that the reſpective circumſtances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiſcriminately, by equal taxes impoſed on the ſame articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it ſhall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the intereſt and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to ſuch declaration, ſhall be ſo defrayed indiſcriminately by equal taxes impoſed on the ſame articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumſtances may require, to impoſe and apply ſuch taxes accordingly, ſubject only to ſuch particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumſtances may appear from time to time to demand: that, from the period of ſuch declaration, it ſhall no longer be neceſſary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any ſpecific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before preſcribed; provided nevertheleſs, that the intereſt or charges which may remain on account of any part of the ſeparate debt with which either country ſhall be chargeable, and which ſhall not be liquidated or conſolidated proportionably as above, ſhall, until extinguiſhed, continue to be defrayed by ſeparate taxes in each country: that a ſum, not leſs than the ſum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland on the average of ſix years immediately preceding the firſt day of January, in the year one thouſand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture

agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining inſtitutions for pious and charitable purpoſes, ſhall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to ſuch local purpoſes in Ireland, in ſuch manner as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall direct: that, from and after the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, all public revenue ariſing to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, ſhall be ſo applied in the proportions of the reſpective contributions of the two countries.

Art. VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain as now by law eſtabliſhed within the ſame, ſubject only to ſuch alterations and regulations from time to time as circumſtances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals, depending at the time of the Union or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the Houſe of Lords of either kingdom, ſhall, from and and after the Union, be finally decided by the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided that, from and after the Union, there ſhall remain in Ireland an inſtance court of admiralty, for the determination of cauſes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from ſentences of the ſaid court ſhall be to his majeſty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at preſent in force in either kingdom, which ſhall be contrary to any of the proviſions which may be enacted by any act for carrying theſe articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas the ſaid articles having, by addreſs of the reſpective houſes of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his majeſty, his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to approve the ſame; and to recommend it to his two houſes of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to conſider of ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for giving effect to the ſaid articles: in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the ſame, be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they

they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſame ſhall be in force and have effect for ever, from the firſt day of January, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord, one thouſand eight hundred and one; provided that, before that period an act ſhall have been paſſed by the parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the ſaid foregoing recited articles.

II. And whereas an act, intituled, "An Act to regulate the Mode by "which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, to ſerve in the "Parliament of the United Kingdom on the Part of Ireland, ſhall be ſum-"moned and returned to the ſaid Parliament," has been paſſed by the parliament of Ireland; the tenor whereof is as follows: an act to regulate the mode by which the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons, to ſerve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, ſhall be ſummoned and returned to the ſaid parliament. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of Union, that four lords ſpiritual of Ireland, by rotation of ſeſſions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, ſhall be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one moſt conſiderable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, that the ſaid four lords ſpiritual ſhall be taken from among the lords ſpiritual of Ireland in the manner following; that is to ſay, that one of the four archbiſhops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen biſhops of Ireland, ſhall ſit in the Houſe of Lords of the united parliament in each ſeſſion thereof, the ſaid right of ſitting being regulated as between the ſaid archbiſhops reſpectively by a rotation among the archiepiſcopal ſees from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, and in like manner that of the biſhops by a like rotation among the epiſcopal ſees: that the primate of all Ireland for the time being ſhall ſit in the firſt ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom, the archbiſhop of Dublin for the time being in the ſecond, the archbiſhop of Caſhel for the time being in the third, and the Archbiſhop of Tuam for the time being in the fourth, and ſo by rotation of ſeſſions

ſions for ever, ſuch rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, notwithſtanding any diſſolution or expiration of parliament: that three ſuffragan biſhops ſhall in like manner ſit according to rotation of their ſees, from ſeſſion to ſeſſion in the following order; the Lord Biſhop of Meath, the Lord Biſhop of Kildare, the Lord Biſhop of Derry, in the firſt ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Biſhop of Raphoe, the Lord Biſhop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, the Lord Biſhop of Dromore in the ſecond ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Biſhop of Elphin, the Lord Biſhop of Down and Connor, the Lord Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, in the third ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Lord Biſhop of Cloyne, the Lord Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, in the fourth ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Biſhop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the Lord Biſhop of Kilmore, the Lord Biſhop of Clogher, in the fifth ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Biſhop of Oſſory, the Lord Biſhop of Killala and Achonry, the Lord Biſhop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the ſixth ſeſſion of the parliament of the united kingdom; the ſaid rotation to be nevertheleſs ſubject to ſuch variation therefrom from time to time as is herein-after provided: that the ſaid twenty-eight lords temporal ſhall be choſen by all the temporal peers of Ireland in the manner herein-after provided; that each of the ſaid lords temporal ſo choſen ſhall be entitled to ſit in the Houſe of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life; and in caſe of his death, or forfeiture of any of the ſaid lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland ſhall, in the manner herein-after provided, chooſe another peer out of their own number to ſupply the place ſo vacant. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to ſit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, ſixty-four ſhall be choſen for the counties, and thirty-ſix for the following cities and boroughs, viz. for each county of Ireland two; for the city of Dublin two; for city of Cork two; for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin one; for the city of Waterford one; for the city of Limerick one; for the borough of Belfaſt one; for the county and town of Drogheda one; for the county and town of Carrickfergus one; for the borough of Newry one; for the city of Kilkenny one; for the city of Londonderry one; for the town of Galway one; for the borough of Clonmell one; for the town of Wexford one; for the town of Youghall one; for the town of Bandon Bridge one; for the borough of Armagh one; for the borough of Dundalk one; for the town of Kinſale one;

for

for the borough of Liſburne one; for the borough of Sligo one; for the borough of Catherlough one; for the borough of Ennis one; for the borough of Dungarvan one; for the borough of Downpatrick one; for the borough of Colraine one; for the town of Mallow one; for the borough of Athlone one; for the town of New Roſs one; for the borough of Tralee one; for the city of Caſhel one; for the borough of Dungannon one; for the borough of Portarlington one; for the borough of Enniſkillen one. And be it enacted, that in caſe of the ſummoning of a new parliament, or if the ſeat of any of the ſaid commoners ſhall become vacant by death or otherwiſe, then the ſaid counties, cities, or boroughs, or any of them, as the caſe may be, ſhall proceed to a new election; and that all the other towns, cities, corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforeſaid, ſhall ceaſe to elect repreſentatives to ſerve in parliament; and no meeting ſhall at any time hereafter be ſummoned, called, convened, or held, for the purpoſe of electing any perſon or perſons to ſerve or act, or be conſidered as repreſentative or repreſentatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforeſaid, or as repreſentative or repreſentatives of the freemen, freeholders, houſeholders, or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or elſewhere, (unleſs it ſhall hereafter be otherwiſe provided by the parliament of the united kingdom;) and every perſon ſummoning, calling, or holding any ſuch meeting or aſſembly, or taking any part in ſuch election or pretended election, ſhall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and ſuffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the ſtatute of proviſion and præmunire, made in the ſixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. For the due election of the perſons to be choſen to ſit in the reſpective houſes of parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, be it enacted, that on the day following that on which the act for eſtabliſhing the Union ſhall have received the royal aſſent, the primate of all Ireland, the Lord Biſhop of Meath, the Lord Biſhop of Kildare, and the Lord Biſhop of Derry, ſhall be, and they are hereby declared to be the repreſentatives of the lords ſpiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, for the firſt ſeſſion thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland ſhall aſſemble at twelve of the clock on the ſame day as aforeſaid, in the now accuſtomed place of meeting of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, and ſhall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to repreſent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the

united kingdom, in the following manner; that is to ſay, the names of the peers ſhall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who ſhall then and there attend for that purpoſe; and each of the ſaid peers, who, previous to the ſaid day, and in the preſent parliament ſhall have actually taken his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, and who ſhall there have taken the oaths, and ſigned the declaration, which are or ſhall be by law required to be taken and ſigned by the lords of the parliament of Ireland before they can ſit and vote in the parliament hereof, ſhall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himſelf or by his proxy (the name of ſuch proxy having been previouſly entered in the books of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, according to the preſent forms and uſages thereof) to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy (who ſhall then and there attend for that purpoſe), a liſt of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown or his deputy ſhall then and there publicly read the ſaid liſts, and ſhall then and there caſt up the ſaid liſts, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who ſhall be choſen by the majority of votes in the ſaid liſts, and ſhall make a return of the ſaid names to the Houſe of Lords of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; and the twenty-eight lords ſo choſen by the majority of votes in the ſaid liſts ſhall, during their reſpective lives, ſit as repreſentatives of the peers of Ireland in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of ſummons to that and every ſucceeding parliament; and in caſe a complete election ſhall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reaſon of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown ſhall return ſuch number in favor of whom a complete election ſhall have been made in one liſt, and in a ſecond liſt ſhall return the names of thoſe peers who ſhall have an equality of votes, but in favor of whom, by reaſon of ſuch equality, a complete election ſhall not have been made, and the names of the peers in the ſecond liſt, for whom an equal number of votes ſhall have been ſo given, ſhall be written on pieces of paper of a ſimilar form, and ſhall be put into a glaſs by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the Houſe of Lords thereof, whilſt the houſe is ſitting, and the peer whoſe name ſhall be firſt drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, ſhall be deemed the peer elected; and ſo ſucceſſively as often as the caſe may require; and whenever the ſeat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal ſo elected ſhall be vacated

vacated by deceaſe or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper or commiſſioners of the great ſeal of the united kingdom for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and ſeal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the deceaſe of ſuch peer, or on view of the record of attainder of ſuch peer, ſhall direct a writ to be iſſued under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper or commiſſioners of the great ſeal of Ireland for the time being, directing him or them to cauſe writs to be iſſued, by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who ſhall have ſat and voted in the Houſe of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or whoſe right to ſit and vote therein, or to vote at ſuch elections, ſhall, on claim made on his behalf, have been admitted by the Houſe of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or after the Union by the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom; and notice ſhall forthwith be publiſhed by the ſaid clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin gazettes, of the iſſuing of ſuch writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the ſame are directed; and to the ſaid writs there ſhall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank ſhall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the ſaid writs ſhall enjoin each peer, within fifty-two days from the teſte of the writ, to return the ſame into the crown office of Ireland with the blank filled up, by inſerting the name of the peer for whom he ſhall vote, as the peer to ſucceed to the vacancy made by demiſe or forfeiture as aforeſaid; and the ſaid writs and returns ſhall be bipartite, ſo as that the name of the peer to be choſen ſhall be written twice, that is, once on each part of ſuch writ and return, and ſo as that each part may alſo be ſubſcribed by the peer to whom the ſame ſhall be directed, and likewiſe be ſealed with his ſeal of arms; and one part of the ſaid writs and returns ſo filled up, ſubſcribed and ſealed as above, ſhall remain of record in the crown office of Ireland, and the other part ſhall be certified by the clerk of the crown to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom; and no peer of Ireland, except ſuch as ſhall have been elected as repreſentative peers on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom, and ſhall there have taken the oaths, and ſigned the declaration preſcribed by law, ſhall, under pain of ſuffering ſuch puniſhment as the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to ſuch writ, unleſs he ſhall, after the iſſuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths and ſigned the declaration which are or ſhall be by law required

quired to be taken and ſigned by the lords of the united kingdom, before they can ſit and vote in the parliament thereof; which oaths and declaration ſhall be either taken and ſubſcribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof, ſigned by ſuch juſtices of the peace, or by the regiſter of the ſaid court of chancery, ſhall be tranſmitted by ſuch peer with the return, and ſhall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the crown office of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown ſhall forthwith after the return day of the writs, cauſe to be publiſhed in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the perſon choſen by the majority of votes; and the peer ſo choſen ſhall during his life, be one of the peers to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Lords of the united kingdom; and in caſe the votes ſhall be equal, the names of ſuch perſons who have an equal number of votes in their favor, ſhall be written on pieces of paper of a ſimilar form, and ſhall be put into a glaſs by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the Houſe of Lords, whilſt the houſe is ſitting, and the peer whoſe name ſhall be firſt drawn out by the clerk of the parliament ſhall be deemed the peer elected. And be it enacted, that in caſe any lord ſpiritual, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, ſhall be choſen by the lords temporal to be one of the repreſentatives of the lords temporal, in every ſuch caſe, during the life of ſuch ſpiritual peer being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, ſo choſen to repreſent the lords temporal, the rotation of repreſentation of the ſpiritual lords ſhall proceed to the next ſpiritual lord, without regard to ſuch ſpiritual lord ſo choſen a temporal peer, that is to ſay, if ſuch ſpiritual lord ſhall be an archbiſhop, then the rotation ſhall proceed to the archbiſhop whoſe ſee is next in rotation, and if ſuch ſpiritual lord ſhall be a ſuffragan biſhop, then the rotation ſhall proceed to the ſuffragan biſhop whoſe ſee is next in rotation. And whereas by the ſaid fourth article of Union it is agreed, that, if his majeſty ſhall, on or before the firſt day of January next, declare, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhould be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhall accordingly

cordingly be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; be it enacted, for and in that caſe only, that the preſent members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, ſhall be, and they are hereby declared to be, by virtue of this act, members for the ſaid counties and cities in the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; and that, on a day and hour to be appointed by his majeſty under the great ſeal of Ireland, previous to the firſt day of January one thouſand eight hundred and one, the members then ſerving for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs, that is to ſay, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfaſt, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmell, town of Wexford, town of Youghall, town of Bandon-Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinſale, borough of Liſburne, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvon, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New Roſs, borough of Tralee, city of Caſhel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlington, and borough of Enniſkillen, or any five or more of them, ſhall meet in the now uſual place of meeting of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then ſerving for the ſaid places and boroughs, ſhall be written on ſeparate pieces of paper, and the ſaid papers being folded up, ſhall be placed in a glaſs or glaſſes, and ſhall ſucceſſively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who ſhall then and there attend for that purpoſe; and the firſt drawn name of a member of each of the aforeſaid places or boroughs ſhall be taken as the name of the member to ſerve for the ſaid place or borough in the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; and a return of the ſaid names ſhall be made by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to the Houſe of Commons of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; and a certificate thereof ſhall be given reſpectively by the ſaid clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to each of the members whoſe names ſhall have been ſo drawn: Provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the ſaid places or boroughs, by perſonal application, to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be tranſmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the ſaid day ſo appointed

as

as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot; in which caſe, or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwiſe of one of the members of any of the ſaid places or boroughs, at the time of ſo drawing the names, the name of the other member ſhall be returned as aforeſaid as the name of the member to ſerve for ſuch place in the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; or if both members for any ſuch place or borough ſhall ſo withdraw their names, or if there ſhall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforeſaid, the clerk of the crown ſhall certify the ſame to the Houſe of Commons of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom, and ſhall alſo expreſs, in ſuch return, whether any writ ſhall then have iſſued for the election of a member or members to ſupply ſuch vacancy; and if a writ *ſhall* ſo have iſſued for the election of one member only, ſuch writ ſhall be ſuperſeded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon ſhall be null and of no effect; and if ſuch writ ſhall have iſſued for the election of two members, the ſaid two members ſhall be choſen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, one of the ſaid names ſhall then be drawn, by lot, in ſuch manner and time as the ſaid Houſe of Commons ſhall direct; and the perſon whoſe name ſhall be ſo drawn, ſhall be deemed to be the member to ſit for ſuch place in the firſt parliament of the united kingdom; but if, at the time aforeſaid, no writ ſhall have iſſued to ſupply ſuch vacancy, none ſhall thereafter iſſue until the ſame be ordered by reſolution of the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the caſe of any other vacancy of a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom. And be it enacted, that whenever his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall, by proclamation under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, ſummon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commiſſioners of the great ſeal of Ireland, ſhall cauſe writs to be iſſued to the ſeveral counties, cities, the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, ſpecified in this act, for the election of members to ſerve in the parliament of the united kingdom, according to the numbers herein-before ſet forth; and whenever any vacancy of a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons or the parliament of the united kingdom, for any of the ſaid counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the ſaid college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, ſhall ariſe, by death or otherwiſe, the chancellor, keeper, or commiſſioners of the great ſeal, upon

ſuch

ſuch vacancy being certified by them reſpectively, by the proper warrant, ſhall forthwith cauſe a writ to iſſue for the election of a perſon to fill up ſuch vacancy; and ſuch writ, and the returns thereon, reſpectively being returned into the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, ſhall from thence be tranſmitted to the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the Houſe of Commons in the ſame manner as the like returns have been uſually or ſhall hereafter be certified; and copies of the ſaid writs and returns, atteſted by the chancellor, keeper or commiſſioners of the great ſeal of Ireland for the time being, ſhall be preſerved in the crown office of Ireland, and ſhall be evidence of ſuch writs and returns, in caſe the original writs and returns ſhall be loſt; be it enacted, that the ſaid act, ſo herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purpoſes incorporated within the ſame.

III. And be it enacted, that the great ſeal of Ireland may, if his majeſty ſhall ſo think fit, after the Union, be uſed in like manner as before the Union, except where it is otherwiſe provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that his majeſty may, ſo long as he ſhall think fit, continue the privy council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

No. CXXIV.

Second Proclamation on the Union. (*Page* 1067.)

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, by the firſt article of the articles of Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, as the ſame have been ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one made in our parliament of Great Britain, and the other in our parliament of Ireland, it was provided, that the enſigns, armorial flags, and banners of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, ſhould be ſuch as we ſhould appoint by our royal proclamation under the great ſeal of our ſaid united kingdom; and whereas we have by our royal proclamation, dated this day, appointed and declared, that the arms or enſigns armorial of the ſaid united kingdom ſhould be as therein

therein expreſſed, and whereas, according to ancient uſage, the enſigns, flags, jacks, and pendants, worn by our ſhips, and appointed as a diſtinction for the ſame, ought not to be worn on board any ſhip or veſſel belonging to any of our ſubjects, ſo that our ſhips and thoſe of our ſubjects may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed and known: We have therefore thought fit, by and with the adviſe of our privy council, to order and appoint the enſigns, deſcribed on the ſide or margin hereof, to be worn on board all ſhips or veſſels belonging to any of our ſubjects whatſoever; and to iſſue this our royal proclamation to notify the ſame to all our loving ſubjects, hereby ſtrictly charging and commanding the maſters of all merchant ſhips and veſſels belonging to any of our ſubjects, whether employed in our ſervice or otherwiſe, and all other perſons whom it may concern, to wear the ſaid enſign on board their ſhips or veſſels. And to the end that none of our ſubjects may preſume, on board their ſhips, to wear our flags, jacks, and pendants, which, according to ancient uſage have been appointed as a diſtinction to our ſhips; or any flags, jacks, or pendants, in ſhape and mixture of colours ſo far reſembling ours as not to be eaſily diſtinguiſhed therefrom: We do with the advice of our privy counſel, hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our ſubjects whatſoever, that they do not preſume to wear, in any of their ſhips or veſſels, our jack commonly called the union jack, nor any pendants, nor any ſuch colours as are uſually borne by our ſhips, without particular warrant for their ſo doing from us, or our high admiral of Great Britain, or the commiſſioners for executing the office of high admiral for the time being: And we do hereby alſo further command all our loving ſubjects, that, without ſuch warrant as aforeſaid, they preſume not to wear on board their ſhips or veſſels any flags, jacks, pendants, or colours, made in imitation of or reſembling ours, or any kind of pendant whatſoever, or any other enſign than the enſign deſcribed on the ſide or margin hereof, which ſhall be worn inſtead of the enſign before this time uſually worn in merchant ſhips; ſaving, that for the better diſtinction of ſuch ſhips as ſhall have commiſſions of letters of marque or repriſals againſt the enemy, and any other ſhips or veſſels which may be employed by the principal officers and commiſſioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commiſſioners for victualling our navy, the commiſſioners of our cuſtoms and exciſe, and the commiſſioners for tranſportation for our ſervice, relating particularly to thoſe officers, our royal will and pleaſure is, that all ſuch ſhips as have commiſſions or letters of marque or repriſals ſhall, beſides the colours or

enſign

enſign hereby appointed to be worn by merchant ſhips, wear a red jack with a union jack, deſcribed in a canton at the upper corner thereof next the ſtaff; and that ſuch ſhips and veſſels as ſhall be employed for our ſervice by the principal officers and commiſſioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commiſſioners for victualling our navy, the commiſſioners for our cuſtoms and exciſe, and the commiſſioners for tranſportation for our ſervice, relating particularly to thoſe officers, ſhall wear a red jack, with a union jack in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the ſtaff as aforeſaid, and in the other part of the ſaid jack ſhall be deſcribed the ſeal uſed in ſuch of the reſpective offices aforeſaid, by which the ſaid ſhips and veſſels ſhall be employed. And we do ſtrictly charge and command, that none of our loving ſubjects do preſume to wear any of the ſaid diſtinction jacks, unleſs they ſhall have commiſſions of letters of marque or repriſals, or be employed in our ſervice by any of the before-mentioned officers. And we hereby require our high admiral, and commiſſioners for executing the office of high admiral, the governors of our forts and caſtles, the officers of our cuſtoms, and the commanders or officers of any of our ſhips for the time being, upon their meeting with, or otherwiſe obſerving any ſhips or veſſels belonging to any of our ſubjects, neglecting to wear the enſign hereby appointed to be borne as aforeſaid, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or enſign, contrary hereunto, whether at ſea or in port, not only to ſeize, or cauſe to be forthwith ſeized, ſuch flag, pendant, jack, or enſign, worn contrary to our royal will and pleaſure herein expreſſed, but alſo to return the names of ſuch ſhips and veſſels neglecting to wear the enſign hereby appointed, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or enſign, contrary hereunto, together with the names of their reſpective maſters or commanders, unto our high admiral, or commiſſioners for executing the office of high admiral, or the judge of our high court of admiralty for the time being, to the end that all perſons offending may be duly puniſhed for the ſame. And we do hereby command and enjoin the judge and judges of our high court of admiralty for the time being, that they make ſtrict inquiry concerning all ſuch offenders, and cauſe them to be duly puniſhed: And all vice admirals and judges of the vice admiralties are hereby alſo required to proceed in like manner within the ſeveral ports and places belonging to their reſpective precincts. And our further pleaſure is, that this proclamation ſhall take place according to the times hereafter mentioned; viz. for all ſhips in the Channel or Britiſh Seas, and in the North Seas, after twelve days from the

date of theſe preſents, and from the mouth of the Channel unto Cape Saint Vincent, after ſix weeks from the date of theſe preſents; and beyond the Cape, and on this ſide the Equinoxial Line, as well in the Ocean and Mediterranean as elſewhere, after ten weeks from the date of theſe preſents; and beyond the Line, after the ſpace of eight months from the date of theſe preſents.

Given at our court at St. James's, the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and one, in the forty-firſt year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

FINIS.

C. Roworth, Printer,
Bell Yard, Fleet Street.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

TO

THE SECOND PART

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

A.

ABERCROMBIE, Gen. diſapproves of burning houſes and free quarters, 860.
Acheſon, Hon. Major, againſt Union, 848.
Addington, Right Hon. Mr. ſpeech in favor of Union, 909 to 912.
Addreſs voted by the commons to the lord-lieutenant, approving vigorous meaſures, 691.
Of the Britiſh peers to the king, that they will conſider the Union, 817.
Ditto of the commons on ditto, *ib.*
Of Galway for Union, 919.
Of both houſes of Britiſh parliament for Union, 947-8.
Of both houſes of Iriſh parliament, with the articles of union, 1045.
Aggregate meeting, vide Dublin.
Amneſty, act of, propoſed and paſſed, 774.
Antrim, taken by rebels, abandoned, 768.
Anti-Unioniſts, their joy in Ireland on defeat of miniſters, and honors paid to Mr. Foſter, 914. and Appendix No. CXVII.
Catholic of Dublin, their meeting and reſolutions, 980-1-2-3.
Triumvirate Marquis Downſhire, Earl Charlemont, and Mr. B. Ponſonby, 978, 1033.
Archdall, Colonel, againſt Union.
Mr. R. for diſcuſſing queſtion of Union, 848.
Arklow, garriſon of, treat brutally the inhabitants of Gorey, 725.
Battle of, 737-8-9.
Army more ſavage in ſome inſtances than the rebels, 704-5, 708
Savage in their retreat from Wexford, 725, 764.
Diſgraceful retreat of, at Caſtlebar, 794
Number on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment ſerving in Ireland in 1799, 921.
Articles of Union, 1043, and Appendix CXIX.
Attainder, act of, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. C. Grogan, and B. B. Harvey, condemned by many, 784
Attorney General for Union, 989.
Oppoſition motion for diſſolution, 1042.
Auckland, Lord, for Union, 936-7.

B.

Babes of the Wood of Killaugram, who, 781
Bagwell, Colonel, for Union, 848.
Expoſes the infamy of Judkin Fitzgerald, 957-8.
Sides with the landed property againſt Union, 1002.
Ball, Mr. againſt Union, 847.
Baltinglaſs, rebels defeated at, 704.
Bankes, Mr. againſt Union, 909, 1061.
Bar, Meeting on the Union in December, 1798, 820.

Bar, A majority of 134 againſt it, 821.
Barrington, (Judge of the Admiralty) vehement againſt Union, 834 to 837, 916, 993.
Bellamont, Lord, againſt Union, 1044.
Beresford, Mr. J. C. againſt Union, 846.
Arraigns miniſters for unfair uſe of patronage, 972.
Pledges after Union to ſupport Catholic claims, 1021.
Beresford Counſellor John, for Union, 859.
Blaquiere, Sir John, for Union, 838, 891.
Bloody Friday, why ſo called, 764-5.
Bolton, Lord, for Union, 1062.
Borrington, Lord, for Union, 947.
Boroughs, Mr. againſt Union, 1021.
Boroughs, recompence to proprietors of, oppoſed by Meſſrs. Plunket and Goold, 1041
Ditto by Meſſrs. Saurin, J. C. Beresford, and Dawſon, 1067.
Boyd, Captain of the Wexford cavalry, ſeizes Meſſrs. Harvey, Colclough, and Fitzgerald, and ſends them on an embaſſy to Enniſcorthy, effects thereof, 720.
His houſe plundered by the rebels, 724.
Brown, Dr. againſt Union, 847.
For it upon maturer reflection, 991.
Brown, Hon. Denis, for Union, 859.
Mr. Iſaac Hawkins, for Union, though doubted the advantage of bringing 100 Iriſh into their houſe, 947.
Burdett, Sir Francis, thought Mr. Pitt an improper miniſter to carry an Union, 947.
Buckingham, Marquis of, for Union, 978.
Buſh, Mr. againſt Union, 990.
Byrne, Mr. Garret, obtained terms from General Moore, 778.

C.

Camden, Lord, writes an official letter to the Duke of Portland in favor of yeomen, &c. 704.
Admits that rigor accelerated rebellion, 932.
For Union, on account of the vicious government in Ireland, *ib.* 1062.
Canning, Mr. anſwers Mr. Sheridan, and ſupports Union, 882-3-4.
Carliſle, Earl of, for Union, 936.
Carlow, defeat of the rebels at, 695-6.
Carnew, defeat of the rebels near it by 200 yeomen, 718.
Attempted by rebels, who fail, 772.
Carlton, Lord, for Union, 1033.
Carnaervon, Earl of, againſt Iriſh peers ſitting in the Commons, 1062.
Caſhell, Archbiſhop of, for Union, 1033.
Caſtle Comer taken by rebels and burnt, 771.
Caſtlereagh, Lord, oppoſes Colonel Maxwell's motion for maſſacring the priſoners, 692.
Delivers a meſſage from his excellency about indemnifying loyaliſts, &c. 782-3.
Lays before the commons papers for a ſecret committee, 783.
Gives notice of a future motion on Union, 829.
Alleges his reaſons for Union, 840-1-2.
Speech in reply to Sir Laurence Parſons, 855-6-7-8.
Charged with having uttered ſeveral abuſive things of the profeſſion and country gentlemen: *petty-fogging*, *Round Robbins*, and *Cabals*, 862-3.
Propoſes a month's adjournment, 915.
Never will bring forward the queſtion of Union whilſt it is not the ſenſe of the country, 917.
Shews the neceſſity of the Inſurrection bill, 959.
Oppoſes the Regency bill, 961.
Arraigned of partiality in granting and refuſing the Eſcheatorſhip of Munſter for corrupt purpoſes, 968.
Oppoſes Sir Laurence Parſons' amendment, 987.
Communicates the addreſs of the Britiſh parliament, and opens the plan of Union, 1004 to 1020.
His motion carried by 158 againſt 115, 1024.
Propoſes compenſation to borough proprietors, 1041.
Cenſures Mr. Grattan for inflammatory language, 1065-6.
Catholics preſent addreſſes to the lord lieutenant, 700, and Appendix CX.
Deſpoiled by the rebels as well as Proteſtants, 709.
Chapels deſtroyed by troops, 726, and Appendix CXII.
A double number of them killed for any Proteſtants killed by Holt and Hacket, 782.
Their emancipation pledged for by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, 944-5.
Diſpoſed rather to Union, becauſe the Orangemen, their enemies, were againſt it, 979.
Their motives for generally ſupporting it, 980.

INDEX.

Catholics, the oppoſition to the Union by the Catholics of Dublin, cauſes ſome diſunion in the body, 981.
Lord Holland's motion for a clauſe for emancipating the Catholics, negatived, 1060.
Clare, Earl of, heads the Unioniſts, 820.
Speech in favor of Union, 10th February, 1800, 1025 to 1032.
Said to have repented of the Union on his death bed, 1032.
Cavendiſh, Sir Henry, for Union, 848, 916.
Complains of perſonal outrage from mob, 918.
Propoſes to remove parliament to Cork, 918.
Caulfield, Dr. Catholic biſhop at Wexford, juſtified by government, 744.
His account of the bloody ſcenes at Wexford, 749–50–1.
His defence againſt Sir Richard Muſgrave, 756 to 760.
Supported by affidavits, *ib.* and Appendix, No. CXV.
Charlemont, his exertions to oppoſe Union, 978.
Avows them in Dublin Evening Poſt, 1032.
Clane, rebels repulſed at, 697.
Clements, Lord, againſt Union, 831.
Coercion, Lord Cornwallis againſt it, 806.
Mr. Ogle for its continuance, 807.
Cole, Lord, againſt Union, 847.
Colonel, ordered to Corfu, and refuſed the Eſcheatorſhip of Munſter becauſe againſt the Union, 968.
Conolly Mr. for the Union, 830.
Cork, violent conteſt there about Union, 920.
Coote, Mr. for diſcuſſing the queſtion of Union, 846.
Corry, Lord, againſt Union, 847.
Moves an addreſs againſt it in nature of a proteſt, 1066, and App. No. CXX.
Corry, Mr. for the Union, 845, 874.
Replies to Mr. Grattan, 998.
Cenſures and challenges Mr. Grattan, and is wounded, 1035.
Colclough, Mr. ſeized by Captain Boyd, and ſent to Enniſcorthy, 720.
Returns and gives account of his embaſſy, 221.
Permitted to go to his family, and returns to priſon, *ib.*
Taken by order of General Lake, 766,
Executed, 767.
Cornwallis arrives on the 20th of June, and changes the ſyſtem, 705, 773.
Cornwallis Iſſues a proclamation to encourage ſurrenders, 773, 806.
Happy effects of his moderation, 784, 806, 974.
Marches with great caution to meet Humbert, 793.
Speech to parliament, 808–9.
Incurs the odium of Orangemen, by diſgracing Lord Enniſkillen, 806 to 813.
Recommends Union in a ſpeech from the throne, 825.
Promotes Union out of parliament, 919.
Canvaſſes ſucceſsfully for Union, 922.
His pledge to the Catholics for procuring them emancipation, 945.
Speech from the throne on prorogation of parliament, 974–5–6.
Advances Union by his progreſs through the kingdom, 978.
Mentions not Union in his ſpeech from the throne, 984.
Laſt ſpeech to the Iriſh parliament, 1068-9.
Croſbie, Sir Edward, condemned and executed, though generally ſuppoſed innocent, 696.
Crookſhankes, Mr. againſt Union, 833.

D.

Darnley, Earl, for ſuſpending Union, 932, 1063.
Daly, Mr. George, for Union, 834.
Mr. Denis, againſt Union, 846.
Dawſon, Mr. againſt Union, 848.
His amendment of the Inſurrection bill negatived, 939.
Arraigns the miniſter of partiality, 968.
Devereux, Mr. Walter, found guilty from direct perjury, 788.
Dillon, Lord, againſt Union, 1033.
Dixon, a rebel captain at Wexford, 741.
His character and conduct, 741-2.
Executes ſummary juſtice on one Murphy, through whoſe evidence the Rev. Mr. Dixon had been condemned, and ſent to Botany bay, 744.
Diſobeys the orders of the general, and prepares his wretched miſcreants for general maſſacre, 749.
Thwarted by Mr. E. Hay, and others, *ib.*
His ſavage mode of ſummary trial, *ib.*
Dobbs, Mr. M. P. intermediates for propoſals for ſaving the lives of Meſſrs. O. Bond, Byrne, &c. 778.
Againſt Union, 838–9, 860, 1021.

INDEX.

Dobbs, commended by Lord Lanſdown, 931.
Donoughmore for Union, as tending to inſure Catholic conceſſions, 1033.
Douglas, Mr. Sylveſter, for Union, 908-9.
Downſhire, Marquis of, his efforts to oppoſe Union, 978.
Diſplaced and diſgraced, 979.
Avows his exertions againſt Union not by money, 1032-3.
Oppoſes Union in the Britiſh Lords, 1063.
Doyle v. Fitzgerald, caſe of, 816-17.
Dublin, proclaimed on 23 May, 686.
Quiet by the vigilance of government, 692, 703-4.
All maſters deſerted by their ſervants, &c. *ib.*
Adverſe to union, 821, 863.
Catholics of, oppoſe union, 980-1.
Proceedings of the aggregate meeting againſt union, 990, 1000.
Evening Poſt calls the miniſter, &c. corrupt, 919.
Duigenan, Dr. in favor of union, 1023.
Dunlavin, rebels defeated at, 704.
Dundas, Lieut. General, accepted ſurrender of Perkins at the Curragh, 705-5.
Right Hon. Mr. introduces queſtion of union into the Houſe of Commons, 875.
For union, 903, 1047.

E.

Edgworth, Mr. againſt Union, 846, 1021-2.
Egan, Mr. againſt Union, 874, 993.
Elliott, Mr. his humane conduct prevents his tenants from joining in rebellion, 696.
Enniſcorthy taken by rebels, and the garriſon falls back upon Wexford, 719.
Emmett, Mr. examination before the ſecret committee, advertiſement and affidavit about it, 803 to 806.
Enniſkillen, Earl of, diſqualified to ſit on any future court-martial for his conduct on the trial of Wollaghan, 809 to 818.
Eſcheatorſhip, the intent and proper uſe of, 970.
Eſmond, Dr. his infamous conduct, 697-8-9.

F.

Falkener, Mr. Frederick, againſt union, commends Lord Camden's, and cenſures Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration, 830.
Farnham, Lord, againſt Union, 1048.
Fawcett, General, loſes part of his men going to the relief of Wexford, and retreats, 722.
Fife, Earl of, againſt Iriſh peers ſitting in the commons, 1062.
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, act for his attainder, 784.
Fitzgerald, Mr. of Newpark, ſeized by Captain Boyd, ſent to Enniſcorthy, and detained by rebels, 721.
Obtains terms from Gen. Moore, 778.
Major, inveſted with extraordinary powers to forward a ſyſtem of conciliation, 784-5.
Vouches for the truth of Hay's hiſtory, 787.
Fitzgerald, Judkin, (the flogging ſheriff of Tipperary), his conduct to Doyle, and acquitted by an Orange jury, 816-7.
His petition for indemnification preſented to the commons by Lord Matthew, referred to a committee, then dropped, 950 to 958.
His inhumanity defended, *ib.*
Rewarded with a penſion, 958.
Fitzgerald, Prime ſerjeant diſmiſſed for oppoſing the Union, 820.
Speech againſt Union, 831-2, 988.
Brings in the Regency bill, 960.
Colonel, (member for Cork) for Union, 827.
(Knight of Kerry) for Union, 832.
Fitzwilliam, Earl, againſt Union, becauſe not agreeable to the Iriſh, for Catholic emancipation, and juſtifies his own conduct, 928-9.
Againſt the Union, 1062.
Foſter, Right Hon. Mr. heads the Anti-Unioniſts, 820.
His firſt ſpeech againſt Union being on the Regency bill, 962 to 966.
Speech againſt the plan of Union, 1037-8.
French, Mr. againſt Union, 834.
French, weakneſs of government prevents their invading Ireland, 788.
They land under Humbert in Killala bay, 789.
Commit no act of plunder, 790.
Paid for what they had in drafts on the future Directory, 190.
Deliver clothing, arms, &c. to natives, 791.
Freke, Sir John, againſt Union, 840, 916.

G.

Glendore for Union, 1033.
Glentworth for Union, 1033

Gordon,

INDEX.

Gordon, Rev. Mr. his hiſtory and his candor, 720.
His reaſoning on the Catholic prieſts not having ſooner ſtopped the maſſacre, 761.
Gorey, inhabitants of, retire to Arklow, where they are brutally treated by the army, &c. 725.
Rebels quit that neighbourhood.
Gosforde, Viſcount, commands at Naas, prepared for the rebels, 687.
His conduct towards Eſmond, 699.
Grogan, Mr. Cornelius, taken, 766.
Executed, though ſuppoſed innocent, 767.
Act for his attainder, 784.
Government publiſh unfaithful accounts, 708-9.
Grant, Mr. for Union, 905.
Granard, inſurrection there, 796.
Quelled by Captain Cottingham, *ib.*
Grattan, Henry, his opinion about coercion, 807.
Entry into the houſe, and ſpeech againſt Union, 993 to 998.
Grattan, returns to the favor of the inhabitants of Dublin, 1000-1.
His anſwer to their addreſs, *ib.*
Speaks ſtrongly againſt Union, 1022-8.
Replies to and goes out on a challenge to fight Mr. Corry, 1035.
Supports Sir John Parnell's motion for diſſolution, 1042.
Propoſes to put off Union bill to 1 Aug. 1065.
Spoke ſtrongly againſt it, *ib.*
Rejoins ſharply to L. Caſtlereagh, 1066.
Grenville, Lord, introduces the queſtion of Union to the lords, 875.
Speech on introducing the reſolutions, 19 March, 923 to 926.
Contradicts Lord Fitzwilliam, 929.
Supports the Union, 1045-6.
For poſtponing the Catholic queſtion, 1060.
Griffiths, Capt. commands at Clane and marches to Naas, is informed of Eſmond's treaſon, 697.
Grey, Mr. againſt Union, 902.
Strongly againſt the principles, the meaſure, and means of carrying Union, 1052 to 1056.
Moves for an addreſs to his majeſty to direct his miniſters to ſuſpend all proceedings on Union till the will of Ireland be known, 1056.

H.

Hacket, outſtanding rebel, 781.
Killed near Arklow, 782.
Hacketſtown, rebels defeated at, 702.
Hamilton, Mr. Hans, againſt Union, 840.
Hardy, Major, his imprudent conduct, 787.
Mr. againſt Union, 844-5, 990.
Harvey, Mr. Bagnal, ſeiſed by Captain Boyd and impriſoned, 720.
Conceals himſelf in the chimney for fear of aſſaſſination by the yeomen, 722.
Elected and appointed commander in chief, 729.
Form of his appointment 1ſt June, 1798, *ib.*
Summons the town of New Roſs, 730.
His flag of truce killed by a centinel, 730.
Reſigns in diſguſt, 734.
His laſt orders humane, *ib.*
Is ſucceeded by Father Roche, 735.
Taken by orders of General Lake, 766.
Executed, 767.
Act for his attainder, 784.
Hawkeſbury, Lord, ſupports Union, 900.
Hay, Mr. Edward, his letter to Mr. Gordon, 742. and Appendix, CXIII.
Writes hiſtory of inſurrection of Wexford, never had a command with the rebels, 742.
His account of the maſſacre at Wexford, 755.
Obnoxious to the Wexford inquiſition, 775-6.
Hobart, Lord, for Union on account of the imperfect conſtitution of Iriſh parliament, 933.
Hobhouſe, Mr. againſt Union, 909.
Holland, Lord, againſt Union, 936, 1046, 1063.
Moves for a clauſe for emancipating Catholics, 1059.
Holmes, Mr. for Union, 847.
Seconds Lord Matthew's preſentation of Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald's petition, 958.
Hompeſch, Ferdinand, his dragoons diſgraceful atrocities, 764.
Houſe of Commons, Britiſh, carry queſtion of Union, 149 againſt 15, 901.
Eight reſolutions paſs in committee, 906.
In committee on articles of Union, 1049.
Houſe of Commons, Iriſh, meet 24 May, 691.
Vote an addreſs to lord lieutenant, *ib.*
Firſt debate on Union laſted 22 hours and the miniſter carried it by one voice, 827 to 852.
Union rejected by a majority of 5, 875.
Liſt of diviſion, Appendix CXVI.
Majority of 42 for Union, 15 Jan. 1800, 999.
Diviſion on Lord Caſtlereagh's motion on 15 Feb. 1800, 158 againſt 115, 1024.
In committee on the Union bill, 1034.

INDEX.

Houſe of Commons, ſend a meſſage to the lords, that they had approved the articles of Union, 1043.
Bill for regulating the repreſentation of it in the imperial parliament, 1063–4.
Carried by a majority of 55, 1064.
Liſt of voters for and againſt the Union, 1067, Appendix, CXXII.
Writs iſſued with a view to parliamentary arrangements, *ib.*
Holt, outſtanding rebel, 781.
Surrenders to Lord Powerſcourt, 782.
Humbert, makes the biſhop's palace his head-quarters, 790.
Marches to Ballina, thence to Caſtlebar, with 800 French and about 1500 rebels, 790.
Defeats 6000 of our troops at Caſtlebar, 791.
Joined by many Iriſh peaſants, 793.
Checked by Col. Vereker with 200 men, 794.
Surrenders at Ballynamuck, 8th September, 794.
Hunter, General, reconciles by a ſyſtem of moderation and juſtice, 768.
Excellent ſpeech on the Union, 1035–6–7.
Hutchinſon, Mr. F. for Union, particularly as the ſureſt way of emancipating Catholics, 972.

I.

Iriſh, call the Engliſh *Saſſonah*, and know them only as enemies, 701–2.
Jackſon, the Narrator of the Wexford cruelties, turns informer to Dixon, 749.
Inſurrection bill, oppoſed by many on account of too large powers thereby veſted in the lord lieutenant for the time being, 958–9.
Johnſon, General defends New Roſs againſt rebels, 730–1.
Mr. Wm. for Union, 1039.
Johnſtone, Mr. in Britiſh parliament for Union, 1056.
Jones, Mr. oppoſes Union, 913, 1047–8.

K.

Kelly, wounded at Roſs, was executed at Wexford with unuſual atrocity, 767–8.
Kenmare, Viſcount (now Earl) for the Union, 1061.
Keugh, choſen governor of Wexford, 740.
His origin and character, *ib.*
Tried and executed, 26 June, 1798, 767.
Killala, French land there, 789.
Left in the hands of the rebels long after Humbert ſurrendered, 796.
The biſhop's account of our regaining the town, and the French conduct therein, 797 to 801.
Kildare, Curragh of, the diſarmed rebels maſſacred by General Duff.
Kilcullen Bridge, rebels defeated at, 702.
Kilwarden, Lord, for Union, 1033.
King, Colonel, againſt Union, 842.
King, *v. White & Goring*, Caſe of, 815–6.
Sends a meſſage to both houſes of the Britiſh parliament about Union, 875.
Speech to both houſes of Britiſh parliament relative to the Union with Ireland, 977.
Ditto on paſſing the act of Union, 29th July, 1800, 1067.
Speech to parliament 31ſt December, 1800, 1071–2.
Lord, againſt Union, 1063.
Kinnoul, Earl of, for Union, 947.
Kingsborough, (now Earl of Kingſton) taken priſoner, 746.
His undertaking for the ſafety of the inhabitants of Wexford diſregarded, 762–766.
Knox, Mr. againſt Union, 839.
Hon. Geo. againſt Union, 851.

L.

Lake, General, continues the old ſyſtem, 766.
Diſcontinued on his recal, 28th June, 1798. 768.
Diſgraceful conduct of his army at Caſtlebar, 791.
Lanſdown, Marquis, high opinion of Lord Cornwallis, 922.
Speech for Union and Catholic emancipation, 929 to 932–1059.
Lawrence, Dr. againſt diſcuſſing the Union, 900–909.
Againſt the meaſure, 1056.
Lee, Mr. for Union, 833.
Le Hunte, Mr. impriſoned through the malice of Mrs. Dixon and wounded, 742.
Preſerved by Mr. Edward Hay and Mr. Carty, two Catholic gentlemen, 742.
Landaff, Biſhop of, ſpeech for Union, 937 to 940.
Langriſhe, Sir Hercules, oppoſes the bill brought in for preventing any one that had taken the oath of United Iriſhmen from ſitting in or voting for members of parliament, 919.
Latouche, Mr. for Union, 988.

Leinſter, Duke of, oppoſes the Union, 1045.
Proteſts with other lords againſt Union bill, 1066, and Appendix CXXI.
Loftus, General, at Gorey, fails in his attack upon the rebels, loſes great part of his army and retires from Gorey, 728–9.
For Union in Britiſh parliament, 1056.
Lords, Iriſh, difference between them and Scotch peers, marked by Ld. Grenville, 1057-8.
Warm debates about ſuch Iriſh peers as ſhould ſit in the commons, 1062.

M.

M'Neven, Dr. examination, advertiſement, affidavit, &c. relative to his evidence before ſecret committee, 803 to 806.
M'Naghton, Mr. for Union, 834.
Macarthy, Sir J. againſt Union, 993.
Macomores, who and how quieted, 785–6.
Mahon, Mr. for Union, 846.
Martial, Courts, under Lord Enniſkillen, 806 to 813.
Incompetent to try Tone whilſt court of King's Bench was ſitting, 814–5.
Mail-Coaches, their ſtoppage ſignal for rebellion, 687.
Maſon, Mr. Monk, for Union, 1040.
Martin, Mr. for Union, 847–860.
Diſplays the virtues of Lord Cornwallis, 973–4.
Maſſacre of priſoners at Wexford by Dixon, 748.
Stopped by Father Corrin, 749–750.
Maſſey, Mr. for Union, 848.
Maxwell, Colonel, moves the commons that all priſoners ſhould be inſtantly executed, 692.
Oppoſed by Lord Caſtlereagh, *ib.*
Againſt Union, 834.
Military executions without trial, 699.
Exceſſes, 754.
Minto, Lord, ſpeech for Union, 940 to 947.
Mitford, Sir John, for Union, 907–918.
Moira, Earl, for not paſſing Union till a change in the Iriſh mind in its favor; ſpeech againſt coercion, 938–4–5–6.
Declares his objections to Union greatly removed by the votes of the Iriſh parliament, approves of the detail of the meaſure, 1060.
Moore, Mr. Arthur, ſtrongly againſt Union, 849, 874, 878, 990.
Severe on Mr. Coote, *ib.*
Moore, Mr. S. for Union, 848.
Moore, General, his humane conduct, 747, 763.
Defeats the rebels at Goff's Bridge, 754.
Mountnorris, Earl of, his conduct to Rev. J. Redmond, 776–7.
Morris, Mr. Lodge, for Union, 851.
Murphy, Father John, how driven into rebellion, 716.
Rallies his men and cuts to pieces a detachment of the North Cork militia, near Oulart, 718–9.
They march to Camolin and ſeize 800 muſkets, 719.
Pretends to be invulnerable, 736.
Father Michael, ditto, *ib.*
Killed at the head of his men, 739.
Father Michael inſulted, whipped and executed, 762–3.
John at the head of 15000 Wexford rebels, 770.
Mulgrave, Lord, oppoſes the clauſe about the peers, 1058.
Muſgrave, Sir Richard, defends terroriſm and cruelty, 693–4–5.
Some of his falſities detected, 708.
Wiſhes to criminate Catholic clergy at Wexford, 744.

N.

Naas, attacked by the rebels, 688, 698, 708.
Nation, ſtate of, turbid though not rebellious, 977.
Shocking picture of it by Lord Clare ſince the Union, 1029, 1030.
Needham, General, conteſt between Sir Richard Muſgrave and Mr. Gordon, about his conduct at Arklow, 739, 754.
Comes too late to his poſt at Vinegar Hill, 754.
His army conſpicuous in devaſtation, 764.
Nelſon, ſeiſed by Gregg keeper of Newgate, 687.
Newcomen, Sir Geo. for diſcuſſing the queſtion of Union, 848.
Nicholl, Mr. for Union, 1056.

O.

O'Bryen, Sir Edward, againſt Union, 848.
O'Connel, Counſellor, ſpeech at the meeting of the Catholic Anti-unioniſts of Dublin, 981–2.
O'Connor, Mr. Arthur, the terms on which he and other rebels ſubmitted to give evidence, 779.
Charges Lord Caſtlereagh with deviating from his engagement, 779, 780.
Signs advertiſement cautioning public not to give credit to publiſhed reports of ſecret committee, 804–5.

O'Connor, his affidavit thereon, and account of the memoir given in, 803 to 306.
Odell, Mr. for Union, 850.
O'Donnell, Colonel, againſt Union, 846.
Mr. J. M. againſt Union, 847.
Attacks Mr. Cuffe for inconſiſtency, 861, 990.
Ogle, Mr. for coercion, 807.
Againſt Union, 844, 988.
O'Hara, Mr. againſt Union, 832, 988.
O'Neil, Lord, killed at Antrim, 768.
Orangemen of the North Cork introduce their ſpirit into Wexford, 712.
Their barbarous and outrageous cruelty, 713–4.
The real enemies of the United Iriſhmen, 771.
Their hatred to Lord Cornwallis for his juſtice and moderation, 806 to 813.
Encreaſed in deſpite of Lord Cornwallis, 815-6-7.
Warily abſtain from the queſtion of Union, 980
Oſborne, Mr. C. for Union, 844, 990.
Mr. H. againſt Union, 846.
Oulart, poſt occupied by rebels on Whit-Sunday, 717–8.

P.

Parliament of Great Britain, Union ſubmitted to, 875.
Aſſembles, 24 Sept. 1799, 978.
Parliament of Ireland, ſat during the rebellion, 803.
Prorogued 6 October, 1798, 808.
Meets 22 January, 1799, 824.
Prorogued 1 June, 1799, 974.
Aſſembles 15 January, 1800, 985.
Adjourned for ſome weeks after the queſtion of Union was carried by 42, 1001.
From 15 February, guarded by a troop of horſe during debates, 1024.
Addreſs of both houſes, with their reſolutions, approving of the articles of Union preſented to Britiſh parliament by Duke of Portland, 1045.
Laſt ſeſſion put an end to 2 Auguſt, 1800, 1068.
Imperial, how members of, ſelected, 1069, 1070.
Parſons, Sir Lawrence, againſt Union, 851, 1043.
Speech for expunging the paragraph relating to the Union from the addreſs, 852–3–4–5.
Arraigns the miniſter for packing a parliament, 986.
Parſons, Sir L. moves amendment for continuing independence of Iriſh parliament, 986.
Ditto for attendance of Major Rogers and Sheriff Derby, 1003.
Parnell, Sir John, diſmiſſed for oppoſing Union, 820.
Speech againſt Union, 827-8-9, 1020, 1041.
Oppoſes adjournment, 915.
Moves for a diſſolution of parliament, 1041-2.
Peele, Sir Robert, for Union, 912.
Peers, Britiſh, Union introduced 22 January, 1799, 875.
Allow a month's interval for conſidering Union, 914.
Approve of articles with ſome alterations, 1043.
Perceval, Hon. Mr. for Union, 909.
Peers, Iriſh, 14 Anti-unioniſts proteſt, 827.
Firſt diviſion on Union, 49 for, 16 againſt it, 829.
Pendergaſt, Mr. for Union, 990.
Pitt, Right Hon. Wm. propoſes to bring forth an addreſs to the king on the Union, 876.
Pitt, Strong ſpeech for Union, 885–6–7–8.
Ditto before he propoſed the eight reſolutions for forming an Union with Ireland on 31 January, 1799, 888 to 896.
The eight reſolutions, 896 to 899.
Aſſerts that Lord Fitzwilliam was not authoriſed to make promiſes afterwards retracted, 907.
Declared he never would abandon the queſtion of Union till carried, 915–6.
His ardor for Union unchecked by oppoſition, 923.
His pledge to the Catholics for procuring them emancipation, and cauſe of his reſignation, 944.
Said that Ireland had always been treated with injuſtice and illiberality, 990.
Speech upon the articles of Union in the committee, 21 April, 1800, 1049 to 1052.
Plunket, Mr. ſtrongly oppoſes Union, 842–3–4, 917, 993.
Vehement againſt the unfair uſe of miniſterial power, 971.
Severe on Dr. Brown for changing ſides 993.
Ponſonby, Mr. Geo. againſt Union, 829, 830, 851–2.
Warm reply to Lord Caſtlereagh, 858–9, 988, 1020.
Diviſion on his motion at eight in the morning 155 againſt 107, 1041.

INDEX.

Ponſonby, Mr. W. B. againſt Union, 849.
His exertions to oppoſe Union with Marquis Downſhire and Earl Charlemont, 978–9.
Powerſcourt, Viſcount, moves amendment againſt addreſs for Union, 826, 1033.
Portland, Duke of, for union, 986.
Proclamation, by General Lake to keep within doors from 8 to 5, &c. 687.
From lord mayor to poſt up liſts of families and inmates, 690.
From lord lieutenant for execution by military law, *ib.*
Preſs, liberty of, deſtroyed by licentiouſneſs, 709.
Prieſts, why ſome muſt join in inſurrections, 716.
Account of ſeveral who joined the rebellion, 716–7.
Their conduct when once engaged, 718, 736.
How treated by rebels at Wexford, 746.
Prime Serjeant for union, 993.
Proclamation for the members to become members of the imperial parliament, read in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, 31ſt Dec. 1800, 1073–4.
For union's taking effect, publiſhed 1ſt Jan. 1801, 1074–5–6.
For enſigns, colors, &c. at ſea, 1076.
Proſperous, rebels attack it ſucceſsfully, 697.
Protection, form of, 774.

R.

Rebellion, ſettled for 23 May, 1798, 687.
Extent of, 693.
Induſtriouſly tinctured with religious acrimony, 701.
How rendered ferocious, 701–2, 705.
Extends ſouthward, 709.
Breaks out in the North, 768.
Slight inſurgeney near Bandon, 770.
Ended, 808.
Regency Bill, brought forward by Anti-unioniſts, 960.
Oppoſed by Lord Caſtlereagh, 961.
Loſt by a ſmall majority, 967.
Rebels, fail at Naas, 688.
Their ſanguinary plans, 698.
Reſpect the ſex, 705.
Defeated near Carnew, 718.
March to Camolin, and there ſeize 800 ſtand of arms, 719.
Attack and carry Enniſcorthy, *ib.*
How received in Wexford, 724.
Encamp on Vinegar Hill, 725.
Deſtroy the church at Enniſcorthy, 726.
Rebels, a body defeated at Balymanaann Hill, and at Newtonbarry, 726.
Defeat detachment under Colonel Walpole, and drive General Loftus from Gorey, 728.
Under Harvey march to Carrickburn mountain to attack Roſs, 729.
Ultimately defeated at New Roſs, 731.
Their furious aſſault and ſubſequent intoxication, 731.
Remain ſeveral days ſupine and on Lacken Hill, 736.
Defeated at Arklow, 738–9.
Publiſh a proclamation againſt certain obnoxious perſons, 741.
Said by Mr. Gordon to have maſſacred 101 in three weeks, *ib.*
Profeſſed retaliation, 742.
Quit the neighbourhood of Gorey, 752.
Defeated and fled from Vinegar Hill, 753–4.
Defeated by Gen. Moore at Goff's Bridge, 754.
Northern inſurgents at Saintfield and Ballynahinch, 769.
Attempt Carnew and are repulſed, 772.
Surpriſe a body of cavalry in ambuſcade and kill 80, *ib.*
Diſcomfit a body of yeomen at Ballyrakeen Hill, *ib.*
Defeated near White Heaps by Sir James Duff, 774.
Aſſemble at Carrigrew and reſolve to diſperſe, 775.
Inſurgents of Kildare under Wm. Aylmer, 777.
Some Wexford men under Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Garret Byrne hold out, and then diſperſe, 778.
All ſubdued except Holt and Hacket, 781.
Riſe at Granard and in Mayo, 796.
Several at Killala tried and executed, 800.
Their chiefs examined before ſecret committee, 813.
Redmond, Rev. John, haſtily condemned and executed, 776.
Conduct of Lord Mountnorris towards him, and Mr. Gordon's account of him, 776.
Religion, abuſed on both ſides to ſharpen the conteſt, 701–2, 735.
Richards, Mr. and brother, go to capitulate with the rebels for ſurrender of Wexford, 724.
Romney, Lord, againſt Iriſh peers ſitting in the commons, 1062.
Ryder, Hon. Mr. for union, though he did not expect it at firſt to be perfect, 1061.

Roche,

INDEX.

Roche, Sir Boyle, for union, 834.
Roche, Father Philip, choſen to ſucceed Harvey, 735.
Prevents an intended maſſacre, 762.
Deceived by the acceptance of terms promiſed by Lord Kingſborough not ratified, 763.
Tried and executed, 26 June, 767.
Edward, a rebel general, 740.
Goes to Wexford to ſummon all to Vinegar Hill, 746.
Rogers, major, threatens to blow up the ſeſſion-houſe at Birr, where ſome Anti-unioniſts were, 1003.
Rokeby, Lord, his letter to Lord Cornwallis againſt union, 922–3.
Roſs, New, ſiege of, 730–1.

S.

Saurin, Mr. arraigns the miniſter with carrying the union by corrupt means, 1039.
Saunderſon, Mr. againſt union, 848.
Scullabogue, maſſacre at, 732.
Evidence of the cauſe of it by Mr. Frizell, *ib.*
Secret Committees, examine the chiefs of the rebels in Auguſt and September, 1798, 803.
Anxious for credit to their reports, *ib.*
Cautions appear in newſpapers, ſigned by O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Neven, againſt it, 804–5.
Sheridan, Mr. R. B. oppoſes the conſideration of the queſtion of union, in Britiſh Commons, 876.
Propoſes amendment to addreſs, 877 to 882.
Oppoſes eight reſolutions, 898 to 900.
Propoſes reſolutions about free conſent of both parliaments, 900.
Charged by Mr. Percival with giving evidence in favor of Mr. O'Connor, 908.
Strong againſt union, 1056–7.
Skeffington, Hon. Mr. againſt union, 834.
Smith, Mr. Wm. for union, 850, 1039.
Notable ſpeech for union, 863 to 874, 1022.
Snow, Captain, his laudable conduct at Wexford, 720.
Stanley, Serjeant, for union, 851, 1040.
Stewart, Mr. of Killymoon, againſt union, 848.
Sun, an Engliſh miniſterial newſpaper complained of for libelling Iriſh parliament, 920–1.
Burned by common hangman, 921.

T.

Tandy, Mr. Napper excepted out of amneſty act, 784.
Tarah, ſignal defeat of the rebels at, 703.
Temple, Lord, for Union, 913.
Terroriſm, extent and effects of, 693.
Tighe, Mr. againſt Union, 829, 1022.
Tierney, Mr. againſt Union.
Toler, Mr. vide attorney general.
Tone, Theobald Wolfe, his trial and lamentable end, 813–4–5.
Townſend, Mr. Thomas againſt Union, 851.
Viſcount for Union, reprobates certain abuſes, 932, 1062.
Trench, Mr. for poſtponing queſtion of Union, 848.
His mind altered upon the queſtion, 863, 916.
Turner, Sir G. Page, for Union, 1056.

U.

Union of Great Britain with Ireland, 803.
Strong reaſons for bringing it to bear, 817.
The particulars, motives for voting *pro and con*, uſeleſs to go into, 818.
Before the cloſe of the rebellion Mr. Cooke's pamphlet appeared, 818.
And in November, 1798, thirty others on ſaid ſubject, 819.
It divides the nation into new parties, 820.
Majority of 134 of the bar againſt it, 821.
Violent efforts of the oppoſite parties, 822–3–4
Recommended in ſpeech from the throne, 825.
Firſt queſtion of, carried in peers, by 49 againſt 16, 829.
Ditto in commons, after twenty-two hours debate by 1, 827, to 852.
Queſtion carried againſt it by 111 againſt 106, 875.
Introduced to Britiſh peers by Lord Grenville, 875.
Ditto to Britiſh commons by Mr. Dundas, *ib.*
The four heads of the law in Ireland for it, 908.
Votes of Britiſh Commons in favor of Union, communicated to Britiſh lords, 914.
Proceedings pro and con out of parliament, 919.
Wiſhed by ſome to be carried from awe of military diſcipline, 921.
Conference of the two houſes of the Britiſh parliament upon it, 947.
Addreſs to crown for Union from Britiſh parliament, 948.
Unjuſtifiable means for and againſt it, 967–8, 977.

Union, that nineteen counties had petitioned for Union denied, 990.
Unjuſtifiable means of carrying it, 1003.
Government patronage employed to carry it, 1024.
Council appear at the bar of the Iriſh commons to oppoſe the commercial arrangements, 1040.
Petitions pro and con, 1041.
Of churches as well as parliaments voted, 1042.
Carried in Iriſh Lords by 72 againſt 22, 1045.
Petitions of Britiſh woollen manufacturers againſt the commercial articles, 1060.
Several motions in Britiſh Commons, concerning it, negatived, 1062.
The plan of, approved and ſent to Ireland, 1063.
For bringing in the Union bill 160 againſt 100, 1065.
Bill for, paſſed the commons on 7th of June —The Lords on 13th, 1066.
Bill for, paſſed Britiſh Commons 24th June, and the Britiſh Lords 29th July, 1800.
Act of, 1067, Appendix No. CXXIII.
Received royal aſſent in Britiſh parliament, 2d July, 1800, 1067.
Ditto in the Iriſh, 1 Auguſt, 1800, *ib.*
United Iriſhmen, bill for diſqualifying all who had taken the oath from ſitting in and voting for members of parliament—Rejected—Supported only by Meſſrs. Ogle, J. C. Beresford, and Dr. Duigenan, 919.
Uniach, Col. for Union, 850.

V.

Vereker, Col. makes an honorable ſtand againſt the French—Humbert's honorable teſtimony, 794.
Oppoſes Union, 832.
Vinegar-Hill, rebel camp at, 725.

W.

Walpole, Col. overpowered by the rebels and killed, 728.
Weſtmoreland, Earl of, for Union, 936, 1063.
Wexford, riſing in that county and why, 710–1–2.
Special cauſe of their riſing, 716.
Confuſion from the influx of the garriſon and inhabitants of Enniſcorthy, 719, 720.
Ditto from the miſconduct of ſome troops, *ib.*
ſurrender to the rebels, 723.
Wexford, Confuſed retreat and panic of the troops, 723
Entered by the rebels, 724.
Their conduct during three weeks poſſeſſion, 739, 740.
All the atrocities at Wexford by Dixon, 741.
Number of Proteſtants encreaſed by fugitives, 742.
Ten maſſacred by rebels on 6th June, *ib.*
Conſternation at the approach of the army, marking its progreſs by burnings, &c. 747.
Relieved on 20th June, 1798, 754.
Evacuated by the rebels, 763.
The ſick and wounded maſſacred by the troops, 763.
Old ſyſtem continued by general Lake, at Wexford, for ſome days, 766.
Progreſs of Wexford rebels, 770.
Diſperſion of them, 775.
Vindictive cruelty of the Wexford men compoſing a committee to ſuperintend proſecutions, 775–6.
Continuation of the ſyſtem of terroriſm, in the caſe of Mr. Sparkes, 823.
Wicklow, riſing in that county and why, 712, 714–5.
Cauſes of ferocity in the Wicklow rebels; 715
Windham, Right Hon. Mr. for Union, 903.
Whelan, Timothy, an infuriate rebel, 762.
Whippings, &c. defended by Terrorifts, 693–4–5–6.
Fatal effects of, 711.
White, Mr. Hawtrey, gives falſe information to General Hunter to create alarm, 787.
Wood, Col. for Union, 913.

Y.

Yelverton, Mr. expoſes the inhumanity of Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald, 953–4–5.
Lord, ſpeaks for Union, 1043–4.
Yeomen defeat rebels near Carnew, and burn two Catholic chapels and above 100 houſes and cabins of Catholics, 718.
Their intent to maſſacre the priſoners at Wexford, heard by the goaler who gave the key to Mr. Harvey, 722.
Their bloody ſyſtem proved on the trial of Wollaghan, 806 to 813.
The infamous conduct of ſome of them in caſe of *King v. White & Goring*, 815–6.
Young, Lieutenant, of the Donegal Militia, his ſhameful conduct, 727.
Sir Wm. for Union, 1061.

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